INDIAN NEWSPAPER REPORTS, c1868-1942,

from the British Library, London

Part 7: Bombay, 1901-1921

Adam Matthew Publications

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Indian Newspaper Reports, c1868-1942
from the British Library, London

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Indian Newspaper Reports, c1868-1942
Part 7: Bombay, 1901-1921

Introduction

Bombay, known as Mumbai since 1995, is the capital of the state of Maharashtra. It is the world's most populated city, with an estimated population of 13 million and is the commercial and entertainment capital of India, housing the headquarters of the large Indian banks and Bollywood, India's Hindi film and television industry. The early decades of the twentieth century were very significant in shaping the future of this modern metropolis.

The town of Bombay was the East India Company's first port in 1668 and in 1687 became the Company's headquarters. During the American Civil War (1861-1865) the city became the world's chief cotton trading market and the opening of the Suez canal in 1869 transformed it into one of the largest seaports on the Arabian Sea.

By 1906 it had a population of one million, making it the second largest city after Calcutta. It was the capital of the Bombay Presidency and was a major base for the Indian independence movement – especially boycotts of non-Indian goods, the political activities of prominent moderates and their demands for Dominion status, the All India Home Rule League and the protests from the large migrant labour force such as the general strike of Bombay mill workers in January 1919. Later on, it was in Bombay that the Quit India movement was launched in August 1942. After India's independence in 1947 it became the capital of Bombay state.

Criticism of British rule, British agents and the administration of justice throughout the Bombay Presidency increased in the period after 1880. Lord Ripon's repeal of Lytton's Vernacular Press Act in 1881 saw the abolition of the Press Commissionership. The relaxation in the attempted exercise of political control by the British over the press in India opened the way for vigorous debate on the future of India. The writings of the Indian intelligentsia found their way into an increasing number of new newspapers, Anglo-Indian and Vernacular. The increasingly active independence movement later formed into two separate camps in 1907. There was the *Garam Dal* (the extremists or "hot faction") of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who founded the Marathi daily *Kesari* (The Lion), and the *Naram Dal* of Gopal Krishna Gokhale (the moderates or "soft faction"). Gokhale was a champion of public education and a mentor to men such as Mahatma Gandhi and Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the future founder of Pakistan. Tilak was

arrested and tried for sedition in 1908 after he had defended the Bengali youths who had killed a District Judge. *"In spite of the verdict of the Jury, I maintain that I am innocent. There are higher powers that rule the destiny of men and nations and it may be the will of providence that the cause which I represent may prosper more by my suffering than my remaining free"*. These were his last words at his trial and they are now imprinted in the wall of Room No 46 at the Bombay High Court. The Press Act of 1914 only served to exacerbate problems with its imposition of even stricter censorship on the press. Any editor who disregarded the rules on what could be published was liable to find himself in prison.

These reports of the Bombay newspapers, 1901-1921 cover landmarks in India's history - the repercussions of Lord Curzon's arrival as Viceroy in 1899, the partition of Bengal in 1905, the founding of the *Bombay Chronicle* in 1910, the Press Act of 1914, Gandhi's arrival in Bombay in 1915, the new Government of India Act and Rowlatt Act of 1919, the Amritsar Massacre of the same year and the growth in the demand for Home Rule.

Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, founder of the *Bombay Chronicle* in 1910, and a member of the Bombay Legislative Council from 1893, is recognised as a significant figure in Indian history. He is known as 'the Father of Municipal Government in Bombay'. He had been municipal commissioner in 1873 and was chairman of the Municipal Council in 1884-5 and again in 1905. He had been responsible for drafting the Bombay Municipal Act of 1872 setting out the duties of the municipal corporation in key areas such as sanitation and health, the water supply, the creation and maintenance of roads, the management of hospitals, refuse collection and disposal, sewerage, cemeteries, crematoria, parks, public spaces, beaches and building works. When Gandhi arrived in India from South Africa, Mehta presided over the public meeting held to welcome him. He was twice President of the reception committee when the Congress sessions met in Bombay in 1899 and 1904. Mehta had also presided over the Congress meeting in Calcutta in 1890. In his dual role of political activist and newspaper owner Mehta made his English language weekly into an important nationalist voice of its time documenting the political upheavals of a volatile pre-independent India.

The Indian National Congress, formed in 1885, was comprised chiefly of members of the western-educated professional elite. The very first meeting of Congress was in Bombay. Public opinion had started to turn against the British government of India and it sought to represent the views of the populace from both urban and rural areas. There was an undercurrent of feeling that British rule was unfair and this is reflected in the newspaper reports contained in this collection. Agitation and disturbances in the streets were common and the media played a huge role in re-enforcing feelings of real and imagined grievances. Congress during the first two decades of the twentieth century continued to be a moderating influence with the professional elites keeping the upper hand.

During the First World War the newspaper reports provide a good indication of the mixed reactions to Indian involvement in the conflict. The Indian National Congress decided that the cause of Indian Independence would be best served by helping the British Empire as much as possible – but many people in India disagreed. Despite this, 800,000 troops fought in the various different theatres of conflict. Some 1.5 million volunteered to fight. Tilak was released from prison in Burma in 1914. He re-united with his fellow nationalists and rejoined the Indian National Congress in 1916.

With lots of Indian soldiers fighting on behalf of the British Empire there were growing demands for Dominion status for India. The All India Home Rule League was founded in 1916 by Annie Besant, Muhammed Ali Jinnah and Tilak to demand self government for India. Jinnah headed up the League's Bombay branch. Although Tilak was a critic of Gandhi's strategy of non-violence, in his later years he mellowed considerably and favoured political dialogue and discussion as an effective way to obtain political freedom for India. Gandhi paid his respects at Tilak's cremation in Bombay in 1920 along with 200,000 people.

The Government of India Act of 1919 was passed by the British to enable more Indians to participate in the government of India. The Act provided for a dual form of government whereby in each province some areas of government were answerable to a Provincial Council and other areas of government remained under the control of the Viceroy. The Indian National Congress was unhappy at these reforms and condemned them, believing they did not go far enough in political reform.

Mahatma Gandhi returned to India from South Africa in 1915. His struggle from this point to 1921, when he was invested with executive authority on behalf of the Indian National Congress, can be followed in these newspaper reports. He believed that Indian independence could be obtained not by violence but by non-cooperation and peaceful resistance and under his leadership the National Congress was reorganised with the goal of "Swaraj" (self rule). As part of his strategy he adopted the "swadeshi" policy, the aim of which was to boycott foreign made goods, especially British goods. He also encouraged Indians to wear homespun cloth (khadi) and to actually spin the material themselves in support of the independence movement. He took a major role as peacemaker after the Amritsar massacre on April 1919 when innocent civilians were massacred in the Jallianwala Bagh near the Golden Temple in the Punjab by British troops. After the disturbances at Chauri Chaura in Uttar Pradesh in February 1922 when Gandhi felt that his movement was becoming violent he called off the campaign of civil disobedience. He was arrested in March 1922 for sedition and was sentenced to six year's imprisonment of which he only served two owing to ill health. He spent most of the 1920s out of the limelight but returned to prominence in 1928 when he resumed his campaign for Indian independence and for Home Rule.

The Rowlatt Act of 1919 was passed by the British to extend "emergency measures" after the end of the First World War and was aimed at controlling public unrest. It singled out the Bombay Presidency and the Punjab as "centres of dangerous conspiracy". It had powers to imprison without trial any person suspected of terrorism in India. It caused great upheaval and Gandhi among other leaders was extremely critical of the Act. It was to lead to the massacre at Amritsar when two leaders of the Congress were arrested and a demonstration took place.

As well as much on political life in India, there is also lots of information to be found on advances in communications and living standards in the country which had begun in the late nineteenth century, with the construction of major roads linking the main cities and regions and the development of the railway system. An enormous amount of detail about the impact of the railways can be found in the newspaper reports together with information on the expansion of education, the increase in industrialisation, the growth of agriculture and the development of the first suburbs.

Indian Newspaper Reports

The Indian Newspaper Reports from the Asia, Pacific and Africa Department at the British Library, constitute an important series to be found in the Record Department Papers of the Oriental and India Office Collections. The reports consist of abstracts taken from Anglo-Indian and Vernacular newspapers for the various different regions of India.

The reports were completed weekly and consist of typewritten abstracts of the contents of Indian newspapers with some extracts, translated by an official translator whose name is given at the end of the week's report. An extremely wide variety of newspapers was looked at weekly, ensuring that a wide spectrum of ideas, views and politics was addressed. The reports list the languages of the newspapers, where the papers were published, with a note on the number of issues published, how often and the name, age and religion of the editor.

Part 7: Bombay, 1901-1921

The newspaper reports for Bombay included in Part 7 cover the years 1901-1921 and complete those for Bombay started in Part 6. The abstracts and extracts contained in the reports will provide scholars with an invaluable insight into Indian social and political events, urban and rural conditions, criticisms of the British government, popular protest and the development of nationalist feelings.

The lists of Native Papers (from 1913 called Indian Papers) contain around 165 newspapers each week (over twice as many as those of the average list in Part 6), divided into the following languages: English; Anglo-Gujarati; Anglo-Kanarese; Anglo-Marathi; Anglo-Portuguese; Anglo-Sindi; Anglo-Urdu; English,

Marathi and Gujarati; English, Marathi and Kanarese; Gujarati; Hindi; Kanarese; Marathi; Sindi; Urdu; Marathi and Kanarese; Marathi and Urdu; Portuguese and Konkani. The largest amount of papers consulted are in Marathi and Gujarati. In the early years of this part the report for each week has a list of the papers consulted but by the latter part the list is only given at the beginning of each year.

Extracts from the lists for the weeks ending 2 April 1910 and 29 March 1913 will give an idea of the names of papers listed, the editors and the circulation figures:

English

Indu of Bombay	Bombay	Daily	John Wallace, C of E, English, Age 50	1,000
East and West	Bombay	Monthly	Behramji Merwanji Malobari Parsi, Age 55	1,000

Anglo-Gujarati

Gujarati	Bombay	Weekly	Manilal Ichchharam Desai Hindu, Age 32	8,000

Anglo-Sindi

Sindhi	Sukkur	Weekly	Mulchand Bhagchand Hindu, Age 34	1,000

Sindi

Zemindar Gazette	Mirpur Khas	Weekly	Gurudinomal Tahilsing Sadarangani Hindu, Age 31	600

Marathi

Pudhari	Baroda	Weekly	Vasudev Purshottam Sathe Hindu, Age 32	1,000

Urdu				
Mufide Rozgar	Bombay	Weekly	Haji Mahomed Hussain Muhamedan, Age 43	600
Gujarati				
Satsang	Surat	Weekly	Chunilal Bapuji Modi Hindu, Age 61	1,500
Hindi				
Bharat	Bombay	Weekly	Gaurishankar Jugal Kishore Brahmin, Age 30	400
Hindi Jain	Bombay	Weekly	Kasturchand Jbavarchand Jain Hindu, Age 25	600

By 1921 circulation figures of Bengal newspaper reports had grown tremendously as the Indian population became more literate as the figures given below illustrate. It should also be noted that some papers were discontinued over the years and new papers were added.

English				
Servant of India	Poona	Weekly	V S Shriniwas Shastn Hindu, Age 48	2,000
Anglo-Gujaratii				
Gujarati	Bombay	Weekly	V S Shrinowas Shastn Hindu, Age 48	19,003
Gujarati				
Navijan	Ahmedabad	Weekly	Mohandas Karamchand Ghandi Hindu, Age 53	23,000

Marathi

Sandesh	Bombay	Daily	Achyut Balvant Kolhatkar Hindu, Age 41	7,000

The contents of the abstracts for each week are divided into the following sections:

Politics and the Public Administration
Legislation
Education
Railways
Municipalities
Native States
Intelligence extracted from the Press

The early reports such as those for 1901 and 1905 contain mostly detail concerning social and economic conditions and give only an intimation of the problems to come. Topics include:

- Agrarian problems and news from the Forestry Department
- Bombay Legislative Council
- Indian National Congress
- Famine and orphanages
- Indian budget
- Indian census
- Spirit of Independence in European countries
- News on colleges and schools and related conferences
- Extravagance of native chiefs
- Land Revenue Bill
- Lord Curzon speeches
- Visit of Lord Northcote to Kathiawar
- Dacoities in Dharwar
- Visit of Prince of Wales
- Protest meetings against Lord Curzon's Convocation Address
- Railway grievances
- Housing problems
- Proposed demolition of Hindu temples by the Bombay City Improvement Trust
- Oppression of Muhammedans by the Hindu authorities of Mundi
- Riots by mill-hands in Bombay
- Complaints about British rule in India, the possibility of India's political regeneration and "Swadeshi" meetings
- Hospitals
- Sind politics – usually a large section dealing with all kind of matters relating to the area

- Partition of Bengal

By 1910 the topics to be found in the papers start to reflect wider feelings of unrest and the growth of discontentment against British rule in India with articles on topics such as:

- How can India be regenerated?
- Warnings to white colonials to beware of the future
- Workings of the new Press Act of1914
- Training of Anglo-Indian officials
- Treatment of political prisoners
- Oppression in the state of Idar
- Hostile attitude of Parsi newspapers to Moslems
- Disturbances at sittings of the All India Moslem League

By 1921, with the influence of Gandhi and the introduction of the Rowlatt Act, the amount of space devoted to political agitation, nationalism, Home Rule and Gandhi had expanded enormously and large sections under Politics on Non-Cooperation, British Rule, the Governor, Indian Reforms and the Press Act were featured. Subjects included are:

- Appeal to the public to agitate for the repeal of the Rowlatt Act
- Comments on letters from Gandhi to the press regarding agitation
- Comments by Tilak on non-Brahmin representation on the council
- Calls for the Press Act to be repealed
- Bombay's government's attitude to non-cooperation and their warnings of revolution in India
- Extracts from Gandhi's letters on a wide range of topics including non-cooperation, civil disobedience, the Afghan war, the moderates
- Reports on interviews between the Viceroy and Gandhi

The following extracts provide an idea of the richness of the material:

The report for the week ending 20 April 1913 includes the following comments from the *Dnyan Prakash* concerning the formation of a United India League:

"At the last session of the Moslem League held at Lucknow the Honourable Mr Shafi made a suggestion for the formation of an United India League wherein all creeds and castes would join hands. Now that the Honourable gentleman has addressed a letter to the press urging the same idea, we should like to point out that there is no necessity for organising a new body, for we have already amongst us the India National Congress which has been carrying on its propaganda on strictly constitutional and unsectarian lines. The Muhammedans would do well to join it in the interests of all concerned…."

The same paper in the newspaper report ending 27 May 1916 comments on home rule agitation which had grown during the First World War:

"…. Because small demands of the Congress and of other institutions were systematically ignored, the Home Rule agitation has received such an impetus now. So long it was said that political agitation was carried on by a handful of educated men but those who read the proceedings of the Congress and of the Legislative Councils will see the wide public character of our movement. Merchants want Home Rule for commercial purposes. Other professionals want Home Rule as it would encourage their professions…. The demand for Home Rule is becoming universal in this manner in India and the present war has made it quite an insistent question…."

The report for the week ending 14 March 1920 includes the following from the *Gujarati* concerning amendments to the Press Act of 1914:

"Commenting upon the assurance given in the Imperial Legislative Council by Sir William Vincent that the Press Act will be amended, the Gujarati remarks:The most objectionable portion of the Press Act is that section of it which enumerates the offences under the Act. As long as that section stands intact the Press will have to dance to the tune of the bureaucrats or the judges, in spite of any amendments that might be carried out as suggested by Sir Shivaswami Iyar…."

The report for the week ending 13 August 1921 includes the following from *Young India* giving Gandhi's views on the non-Cooperation movement and the use of violence:

"I have never believed and I do not now believe that the end justifies the means. On the contrary it is my firm conviction that there is an intimate connection between the end and the means so much so that you cannot achieve a good end by bad means…. I am fully aware that I am trying a most dangerous experiment – that of inducing thousands of Mussalmans and for that matter, Hindus too, to become and remain strictly non-violent…"

Liz Sargut
April 2008

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 4th January 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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	ENGLISH.				
1	Bombay Chronicle ...	Bombay ...	Daily ...	B. G. Horniman ...	...
2	Bombay East Indian ...	Do. ...	Weekly ...	J. L. Britt ; East Indian ; 71 ...	350
3	Commercial Gazette ...	Sukkur ...	Do. ...	Abdul Aziz Sheikh Mahomed Suleman ; Muhammadan ; 42.	200
4	Deccan Ryot ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	A. B. Latthe, M.A., LL.B.; Jain ; 32 ...	...
5	Home Ruler ...	Karáchi ...	Do. ...	Durgadas B. Advani ; Hindu (Amil) ; 35 ...	100
6	Indian Social Reformer ...	Bombay ...	Do ...	Kámákshi Natarájan, B.A. ; Hindu (Madrási Bráhmin) ; 47.	575
7	Mahrátta ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	Dámodar Vishwanáth Gokhale, B.A., LL.B. ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 32.	700
8	New Times ...	Karáchi ...	Daily ...	Tikamdas Khemchand Jeswáni, M.A. ; Hindu (Lohána) ; 23.	500
9	Servant of India ...	Poona ...	Weekly ...	V. S. Shrinivás Shástri ; Hindu (Madrási Bráhman); 40.	1,500
10	Sind Advocate ...	Sukkur ...	Do. ...	Pribhdas Kodanmal Gogia ; Hindu ; 43 ...	500
11	Sind Moslem ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Abdul Aziz Sheikh Mahomed Suleman Muhammadan ; 42.	200
12	Sind Observer ...	Karáchi ...	Bi-weekly ...	J. Leonard ; Anglo-Indian ; 50 ...	375
13	Sunday Chronicle ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	.....	...
14	Sunday Tatler ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	C. S. Menon ; Hindu ; 60 ...	500
15	Young India ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	P. K. Telang ; Hindu (Sárasvat) ; 41. ...	1,000
	ANGLO-GUJARA'TI.				
16	A'ryă Prakásh ...	Baroda ...	Weekly ...	Motilál Tribhovandás, B.A., LL.B. ; Hindu (Bania) ; 47.	1,000
17	Dnyán Prakásh ...	Rájkot ...	Fortnightly ...	Tribhovandás Damodardás ...	500
18	Gujaráti ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	Manilál Ichchhárám Desái ; Hindu (Bania) ; 35.	16,500
19	Gujarát Mitră ...	Surat ...	Do. ...	Uttamrám Umedrám Reshamwála ; Hindu (Dashalad Bania) ; 42.	1,800
20	Gujaráti Punch ...	Ahmedabad ...	Do. ...	Somálál Mangaldás Sháh ; Hindu (Mesri Bania) ; 41.	3,600
21	Hindi Punch ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Burjorji Navroji Apakhtyár ; Pársi ; 60 ...	516
22	Hindusthán ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Hiralál Harjivan Ganatra, B.A., Hindu (Lohána); 25.	1,500
23	Hindusthán and Akhbár-e-Soudágar.	Do. ...	Daily ...	Do. do. ...	2,500
24	Indian Loyalist ...	Wadhwán ...	Weekly ...	Ganeshji Jethábhái ; Hindu (Khatri) ; 64 ...	600
25	Jám-e-Jamshed ...	Bombay ...	Daily ...	Phirozsháh Jahángir Marzbán, M.A., Pársi ; 42.	5,500
26	Kaiser-i-Hind ...	Do. ...	Weekly ...	Erachshaw Rustomji Hirji Behedin ; Pársi ; 35.	5,300
27	Káthiáwár Times ...	Rájkot ...	Bi-weekly ...	Trikamji Govindji Kotak ; Hindu (Lohána); 38.	800
28	Pársi-Sansár ...	Karáchi ...	Weekly ...	Jehángir Frámroze Pánthkey ; Pársi; 30 ...	500
29	Praja Bandhu ...	Ahmedabad ...	Do. ...	Jagjivandás S. Trivedi ; Hindu (Shrimáli Bráhman) ; 39.	2,700

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	ANGLO-GUJARA'TI—*concluded.*				
30	Praja Mitra and Pársi ...	Bombay ...	Daily ...	Meherjibhái Pálanji Mádon ; Pársi ; 58 ...	4,000
31	Rást Goftár and Praja Mitra.	Do. ...	Weekly ...	..... —	...
32	Sánj Vartamán ...	Do. ...	Daily ...	Rustamji N. Vátcha-Gándhi ; Pársi ; 52 ...	7,000
33	Surya Prakásh ...	Surat ...	Weekly ...	Nagindás Dáyábhái ; Hindu (Nágar Bania) ; 72.	600
34	Wafadar ...	Navsári ...	Do. ...	Saiyad Mahomed Saiyad Alli ; Muhammadan ; 21.	400
	ANGLO-KANARESE.				
35	Chandrodaya ...	Dhárwár ...	Weekly ...	G. H. Honnápurmath ; Hindu (Lingáyat); 48.	600
36	Vibhákar ...	Belgaum ...	Do. ...	Panditápa Ráyápa Chikodi, B.A.; Hindu (Lingáyat) ; 33.	300
	ENGLISH, KANARESE AND MARA'THI.				
37	Kánara News ...	Kumta (Kanara) ...	Fortnightly ...	Krishna Keshav Shenvi ; Hindu (Goud Sáraswat Brahmin); 48.	400
	ANGLO-MARA'THI.				
38	Dnyánodaya ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	Rev. R. A. Hume ; Christain (American).	625
39	Dnyán Prakásh ...	Poona (and Bombay).	Daily ...	Gopál Krishna Deodhar, M.A. ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 46.	3,000
40	Dnyán Prakásh ...	Do. ...	Weekly ...	Do. do. ...	4,000
41	Hindu Missionary ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Gajanan Bhaskar Vaidya, B.A. ; Páthára Prabhu ; 49.	500
42	Indu Prakásh ...	Do. ...	Daily ...	Dámodar Sávalárám Yande ; Hindu ; (Marátha); 56.	2,000
43	Jágaruk ...	Poona ...	Weekly ...	Válchand Rámchand Kothári, B.A. (Jain) ; 25.	1,000
44	Jágriti ...	Baroda ...	Do. ...	Bhagavantráo Balavantráo Pálekar Marátha ; 30.	700
45	Pragati and Jinvijay ..	Belgaum ...	Fortnightly ...	Anna Bábáji Latthe ; Jain ; 32 ...	300
46	Shetkari ...	Ahmednagar ...	Weekly ...	Ganesh Krishna Chitale, B.A., LL.B. ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 49.	200
47	Subodh Patrika ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Dwárkánáth G. Vaidya ; Hindu (Goldsmith) ; 42.	500
	ANGLO-PORTUGUESE.				
48	O Anglo-Lusitáno ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	.....	400
	ANGLO-SINDHI.				
49	Frontier Gazette ...	Jacobabad ...	Weekly ...	Vishindás Pránjainmal ; Hindu (Bhátia) ; 35.	500
50	Hind Vási ...	Hyderabad (Sind)...	Daily ...	Jethmal Parsrám ; Hindu(Amil) ; 41 ...	700
51	Lárkána Gazette ...	Lárkána ...	Weekly ...	Tahilrám Mulchand Tavarmaláni ; Hindu (Amil) ; 29.	700
52	Sindhi ...	Sukkur ...	Bi-weekly ...	Mulchand Bhágchand ; Hindu (Baláni); 40.	800
53	Sind Upkárak ...	Shikárpur ...	Monthly ...	Bhai Mohandev Ghanshámdas ; Hindu (Bhátia); 56.	300
54	Sind Vási ...	Hyderabad (Sind)...	Daily ...	Kamalsing Pahumal ; Hindu (Amil) ; 41 ...	1,000
55	Sookhree ...	Karáchi ...	Weekly ...	Jámatmal Lálchand ; Hindu (Chapráo) ; 44.	500
56	Trade Advertiser ...	Shikárpur (Sukkur).	Do. ...	Teckchand Verhamal ; Hindu (Gokláni) ; 47.	800
	ENGLISH, PORTUGUESE AND CONCANIM.				
57	A Lus ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	Henry Anthony DeSouza ; Portuguese ; 37 .	500
58	O Amigo Do Povo Goano .	Do. ...	Do. ...	Manuel Anastas Fernandes ; Goanese ; 46 .	1,000

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	GUJARA'TI.				
59	Akhbár-e-Islám ...	Bombay ...	Daily ...	Kázi Ismáil Kázi Muhammad Porbundari; Muhammadan; 48.	1,500
60	Anavil Sevak ...	Surat ...	Monthly ...	Dayálji Nanubhai Desai; Hindu (Anavil Bráhman); 42.	3,500
61	Baroda Vartamán ...	Baroda ...	Weekly ...	Javerbhái Dádábhái Patel; Hindu (Lewa Pátidár); 48.	1,500
62	Bombay Mazah ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Sorab Sheriar Irani; Pársi; 31 ...	500
63	Bombay Samáchár ...	Do. ...	Daily ...	Kaikhusru Mánekji Minocheher-Homji, B.A.; Pársi; 43.	4,200
64	Broach Mitră ...	Broach ...	Weekly ...	Trikamlál Harinath Thákor; Hindu (Brahmă Kshatri); 36.	500
65	Broach Samáchár ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Jehángirji Ardeshir; Pársi; 39 ...	500
66	Chitramayă Jagat ...	Poona ...	Monthly ...	Tuljáshankar Gawrishankar Yádnik; (Audich Sahasra Bráhman); 35.	1,500
67	Deshi Mitră ...	Surat ...	Weekly ...	Maganlál Kikábhai; Jain (Visa Shrimáli); 42.	1,700
68	Deshodaya ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Prabhushankar Narbharam Vyas; Hindu (Nagar Brahman); 28.	500
69	Gorakshana ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	.....	...
70	Hind Vijayă ...	Baroda ...	Do. ...	Dáyábhái Kasandás; Hindu (Shráwak Bania); 52.	1,000
71	Hitechhu ...	Karáchi ...	Do. ...	Harilál Válji Thákur, Hindu (Audich Bráhman); 32.	100
72	Kaira Vartamán ...	Kaira ...	Do. ...	Somachand Panachand; Hindu (Jain Bania); 42.	500
73	Káthiáwár Samáchár ...	Ahmedabad ...	Do. ...	Bhaishankar Chhaganlal; Hindu (Bráhman); 48.	500
74	Loka Mitră ...	Bombay ...	Bi-weekly ...	Kaikhosru Mánekji Minochar-Homji, Pársi; 43.	800
75	Navsári Patrika ...	Navsári ...	Weekly ...	Harivallabhdás Pránjivandás Párekh; Hindu (Bania); 44.	430
76	Political Bhomiyo ...	Ahmedabad ...	Do. ...	Nurkhan Amirkhan; Muhammadan; 60 ...	1,400
77	Praja Pokár ...	Surat ...	Do. ...	Uttamram Umedram Reshamwala; Dásálád Bania; 42.	1,000
78	Shri Sayáji Vijayă ...	Baroda ...	Do. ...	Máneklál Ambárám Doctor; Hindu (Dasha Shrimáli Bania); 40.	4,100
79	Surat Akhbár ...	Surat ...	Do. ...	Pirozsháh Edalji Patel; Pársi; 43 ...	600
80	Vivechak ...	Láchhras (Nándod, Rájpipla State).	Monthly ...	Chaganlál Naranbhái Mesri; Hindu (Bhavsar); 33.	50
	GUJARA'TI AND HINDI.				
81	Jain ...	Bhávnagar ...	Weekly ...	Devchand Damji; Hindu (Bania); 32 ...	1,800
	HINDI.				
82	Chitramayă Jagat ...	Poona ...	Monthly ...	Rámchandră Vásudeo Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 30; and Shankar Narahar Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Brahman); 41.	1,250
83	Gorakshana ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	.....	...
84	Jain Mitra ...	Surat ...	Do. ...	Mulchand Kasandás Kapadia: Jain; 33 ...	1,100
85	Shri Venkateshwar ...	Bombay ...	Daily ...	Amrutlal Chakrawarti; Bengali Bráhmin; 55.	1,000
86	Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár.	Do. ...	Weekly ...	Do. do ...	8,000
87	Sindhu Samáchár ...	Karáchi ...	Do. ...	Pandit Sidheshwar Tatáram; 36 ...	700

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	KANARESE.				
88	Karnátak Vaibhav ...	Bijápur ...	Weekly ...	G. R. Mannur; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 51.	500
89	Karnátak Vritt and Dhananjayá.	Dhárwár ...	Do. ...	Krishnáji Hanumant Mudvedkar; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 45.	600
90	Lokâ Bandhu ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Gururáo Rághavendrâ Mamdápur; Hindu (Deshastha Bráhman); 50.	350
91	Raj Hansa ...	Do. ...	Daily ...	M. N. Tembe; (Karháda Bráhman); 35 ...	600
92	Raj Hansa ...	Do. ..	Weekly ...	Do. do.	950
93	Rasik Ranjini ...	Gadag (Dhárwár)...	Do. ...	Gaurishankar Rámprasád; Hindu (Kanoja Bráhman); 56.	80
94	Shubhodaya ...	Dhárwár ...	Do. ...	Vasudevacharya Shrinivasacharya Kerur, Pleader; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhmin); 50.	800
	MARATHI.				
95	Acharya ...	Poona ...	Fortnightly ...	Vishnu Waman Bapatshastri; Hindu (Chitpavan Bráhman); 47.	750
96	Arya Vaibhav ...	Dhulia (West Khándesh).	Weekly ...	Tulsidas Govind Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhmin); 28.	250
97	A'ryávart ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Shankar Hari Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 30.	200
98	Bakul ...	Ratnágiri ...	Do. ...	Hari Dharmaráj Gándhi; Hindu (Bania); 41.	400
99	Belgaum Samáchár ...	Belgaum ...	Do ...	Hari Bhikáji Sámant; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman); 56.	230
100	Bhárat Mátá ...	Islámpur (Sátára)...	Fortnightly ...	Vishnu Sitárám Athalye; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman); 32.	450
101	Chikitsak ...	Belgaum ...	Weekly ...	Abáji Rámchandrâ Sávant; Hindu (Maratha); 55.	540
102	Chitramayâ Jagat ...	Poona ...	Monthly ...	Rámchandrâ Vásudev Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 30; and Shankar Narahar Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 41.	10,000
103	Daily Report ..	Chopda (East Khándesh).	Weekly ...	Motilál Fattulál; Hindu Goud Brahmin (Marwadi); 35.	93
104	Dharma Vichár va Modâ Vritta.	Wái (Sátára) ...	Do. ...	Dámodar Laxman Lele; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 40.	50
105	Din Mitrâ	Somthána (Ahmednagar).	Do. ...	Mukund Ganpat Pátil; Hindu (Máli); 31 .	600
106	Dnyán Ságar ...	Kolhápur ...	Do. ...	Vishnu Vithal Mantri; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman); 53.	550
107	Gorakshana ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	.....	...
108	Hasya Vinod ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Vishwanath Purshottam Pendharkar; Hindu (Karháda Bráhmin); 42.	700
109	Hitachintak ...	Sátára ...	Do. ...	Balkrishna Ganesh Abhyankar Hindu (Chitpáwan Brahman); 21.	130
110	Jagadádarsh ...	Ahmednagar ...	Do. ...	Káshináth Bahirav Limaye; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 67.	283
111	Jagad Vritt ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Ramrao Balkrishna Kirtikar; (Patháre Prabhu); 48.	8,000
112	Kalpataru and A'nandvrit.	Sholápur ...	Do. ...	Anant Hari Wagle; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 34.	450
113	Karmanuk ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	Hari Náráyan Apte; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 50.	1,100
114	Kesari ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Krishnaji Prabhákar Khádilkar, B.A.; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 46.	25,000
115	Khándesh Vaibhav ..	Dhulia (West Khándesh).	Do. ...	Yádav Bálkrishnâ Bahálkar; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 52.	500
116	Mahárâshtra Vritta ...	Sátára ...	Do. ...	Rámachandra Balvant Bhonsle; Hindu (Marátha); 33.	200

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	MARATHI—*concluded.*				
117	Mumukshu ...	Poona ...	Tri-monthly ...	Lakshman Rámchandrá Pángárkar, B.A.; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 44.	1,500
118	Násik Vritt ...	Násik ...	Weekly ..	Rangnáth Vishnu Kále; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 38.	200
119	Pancham George Vijay ...	Belgaum ...	Do. ...	Balvant Ramchandra Sohoni; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman); 34.	1,000
120	Pandhari Mitra ...	Pandharpur (Sholapur).	Do. ...	Govind Sakharam Bidkar; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhmin); 54.	100
121	Prabodh Chandrika ...	Jalgaon (East Khándesh).	Do. ...	Náráyan Narsinh Phadnis; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 55.	300
122	Prakásh ...	Sátára ...	Do. ...	Rámchandrá Ganesh Soman; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 42.	350
123	Rajakáran ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	Sitaram Keshav Damle, B.A., LL.B.; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman);	500
124	Samáj Sevak and Sahákári.	Do. ...	Do. ...	Vithal Maruti Navale; Hindu (Mali); 32 ...	500
125	Sanjaya ...	Bombay ...	Daily ...	Waman Ramchandra Joshi, B.A.; Hindu (Kokanastha Bráhmin); 45.	4,000
126	Satyá Shodhak ...	Ratnágiri ...	Weekly ...	Krishnáji Hari Limaye; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 33.	800
127	Shivaji Vijay ...	Sholápur ...	Do. ...	Madvalappa Sangappa Deomule; Hindu (Lingáyat); 33.	700
128	Sholápur Samáchár ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Vithal Narsáppa aikal; Hindu (Telgu Máli); 37.	400
129	Shri Sayáji Vijayá ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Dámodar Sávlárám Yande; Hindu (Marátha); 56.	5,000
130	Shri Sháhu ...	Sátára ...	Do. ...	Váman Hari Dhavle; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman); 37.	325
131	Shubh Suchak ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Dattátrayá Rámchandrá Chitale; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 39.	250
132	Sudhakar ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Damodar Krishna Ketkar; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 26.	1,000
133	Udyam Prakásh ...	Wái (Sátára) ...	Do. ...	Vishwanath Dhondi Teli; Hindu (Teli); 30.	50
134	Vaidyak Patrika ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	Krishnáji Náráyan Kavade; Hindu (Deshastha Bráhmin); 40.	350
135	Vichári ...	Kárwár (Kánara) ...	Tri-monthly ...	Shaikh Adam *walad* Shaikh Abdul Karim; Muhammadan (Sunni); 44.	450
136	Vinod ...	Belgaum ...	Fortnightly ...	Dattátrayá Rámchandrá Kulkarni; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman); 29.	200
137	Vita Vritta ...	Sátára ...	Weekly ...	Narayan Sakharam Jog; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 31.	60
138	Vrittasár ...	Wái (Sátára) ...	Do. ...	Govind Ganesh Vaidyá; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 22.	300
139	Vyápári ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	Nána Dádáji Gund; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 62.	500
140	Wárkari ...	Pandharpur (Sholápur).	Do. ...	Vithal Keshav Limaye; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 46.	300
	SINDHI.				
141	A'ftáb-i-Sind ...	Sukkur ...	Weekly ...	Sháms-ud-din *walad* Muhammad; Muhammadan (Abro); 51.	500
142	Al-Amin ...	Hyderabad ...	Do. ...	Rahmatullah *walad* Mahomed Fazal; Muhammadan; 40.	450
143	Al-Haq ...	Sukkur ...	Do. ...	Abdul Aziz Sheikh Mahomed Suleman; Muhammadan; 42.	800
144	Khairkháh-i-Sind ...	Lárkána ...	Do. ...	Gurudinomal Tahilsing; Hindu (Khatri); 44.	250
145	Mirpurkhás Gazette ...	Mirpurkhás ...	Do. ...	Gurudinmal Tahiling; Hindu (Amil); 37...	600

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	SINDHI—*concluded.*				
146	Musáfir ...	Hyderabad (Sind)...	Weekly ...	Abdúl Waháb Khán ; Pathan ; 53 ...	500
147	Sind Mail ...	Hyderabad ...	Do. ...	Atmarám Kundanmal; Hindu (Amil) ; 27 ...	600
148	Sind Sudhár ...	Karáchi ...	Do. ...	Khánchand Rahumal ; Hindu (Amil) ; 49...	800
	SINDHI, DEVNAGRI AND SANSKRIT.				
149	Hindu ...	Hyderabad (Sind)...	Weekly ...	Lokram Nainarám Sharma ; 31 ...	250
	URDU.				
150	Mufid-e-Rozgár ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	Hazi Munshi Mahamad Husein ; Muhammadan ; 47.	2,500
151	Muslim Herald ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Sheikh Mahamed Yusuf; Muhammadan (Sunni) ; 39.	1,200

Notes.—A. The notices from the different Newspapers have been collected in the Report under different heads which are printed in italics.

B. The names of Newspapers are printed in the margin of the Report in italics, and the number of the Newspaper in the above list is printed in brackets after the name.

C. The system of spelling vernacular words followed in the report is the same as that adopted in the Official Spelling List of the Bombay Presidency. One peculiar feature of this system is that when the long *a* (आ or *ā*) is the last letter of a word, the accent is left out, and the short *a* (अ = *u* in *gun*) is, to prevent confusion, never placed at the end of a word. This rule has been strictly followed, except that when the short *a* appears to be absolutely necessary to complete the pronunciation of a word as *Arunodaya* or the well-known *Mitra*, it is printed with a mark over it to indicate that it is short, thus—*ă*.

D. The figures giving the circulation or number of copies published of each newspaper and periodical as furnished by the proprietor are not guaranteed as accurate, and in some instances must be regarded with caution.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. "'To get on, to get honour and then to get honest' is a fairly graduated scheme of life, but very few reach the last and superlative stage of achievement. Those whom the bureaucracy delight to honour go by the bushel, but the most refreshing feature of this aspect of political life in India is that Indians have learned rightly to understand the ordinary methods of personal preferment and to appreciate the worth of those who are destined to live without adornment. Patriots who belong to subject peoples as a rule live and die without 'honours'; and in the intenser stages of national life it is well that there are people who do not suffer from the agony of unattained glories. Those who have the power to think have come to regard the acquisition of titles as a trade, which the debate in Parliament last year showed to be mostly a tainted affair. In India there is a bureaucracy reigning and the art of winning titles by those who covet them is becoming more and more simplified. It is the birthright of the artful dodgers of the Secretariat and the Government House, and when any recognition is vouchsafed through mischance to those whom their countrymen honour, it comes as an exception and a surprise. No one grudges the rewards of tuft-hunting; for, however demoralising the business is, it is bound to be the pre-occupation of those who have the leisure and the passion to do it. From 'the general Bombay point of view' the New Year Honours' List has been pronounced to be disappointing. All those who are bilious about honours will agree. To begin with, there is only one knighthood, and that does not go to any member of the Executive Council, though at least two of them are ripe for it; but we are sure that all will come in good time. Even if it is not to be his top-score, there is good reason that Sir Chimanlal Setalvad should be rejoicing at present, though we think the knighthood comes two years too late. The List speaks of 'Mr. C. H. Setalvad, Bombay University', but his office in the sphere of elevation mentioned, was itself a stepping stone to this higher thing. Since the 'Bombay University' has been mentioned with grave particularity, it is to be presumed that, in the inscrutable dispensation of the bureaucracy, the sum of his 'political' services will some day be recognised to his further credit. Sir Stanley Reed is embellished with a 'K.B.E.'; as he is a knight already it must do duty as a pure suffix. There is a big shovel of titles under the 'Order of the British Empire', which as a recent invention has the merit of novelty. Most of them are apparently given as a token for war-services, and they are a multitude belonging to all sorts and conditions of men. Considering the misdeeds and misfortunes of the Improvement Trust, we would observe the fact that Mr. J. P. Orr gets a C.B.E., which is cold comfort..... In the All-India awards, there are few titles attracting notice, for there is a general slump in the business and the bulk of them will prove boring reading to all excepting the recipients..... There is a name in the list of knighthoods which will be of All-India interest and it is the name of Dr. P. C. Ray, 'Educational Service, Bengal'. As a scientist, he has achieved an international reputation. But the inexorable laws of the bureaucracy by which mediocrities are imported have operated, and while those who are not fit to tie his shoe strings are placed over his head, it has been his fate to remain grinding in the Provincial Service. His only fault is that he is an Indian—but, then, it is a serious disqualification in India."

Comments on the New Year Honours' List.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd Jan.

2. The New Year's Honours List has disappointed our expectations with regard to the recognition of valuable services in connection with the war. With stray exceptions honours to ladies have also been monopolised by Europeans. The knighthood conferred upon Mr. Setalwad would have delighted the public, but unfortunately his public spirit has cooled down of late and he keeps himself aloof from public activities, and so the honour conferred upon him will not be received with enthusiasm. It is a pity that Government could not get any more deserving Indian for the honour of C. I. E. than Mr. P. C. Mitra of the

Sánj Vartamán (32), 2nd Jan.; *Hindusthán* (22), 2nd Jan.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 3rd Jan.

Rowlatt Committee. The title of Commander of the Order of the British Empire has been bestowed upon Mr. J. P. Orr. The honour must have been conferred upon him as a mark of recognition of the failure of the City Improvement Trust. [The *Hindusthán* believes that the G. C. I. E. conferred upon His Highness the Gáekwar is a fitting recognition of the services rendered by the Maharaja and hopes that Mr. Setalwad will use his influence for advancing the good of India and will prove a worthy knight. The *Akhabár-e-Islám* considers the Honours List as disappointing on the whole as in its opinion many of those who have rendered valuable services in connection with the war have not received any recognition.]

*3. "For a second time an Indian is admitted to His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council. India acclaims with joy this elevation of her trusted representative at the Peace Conference, the Right Honourable Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha..... Among the new knights Bombay can claim only one, Sir Chimanlal Setalwad, Vice-Chancellor of the University. That Mr. Setalwad would be knighted was a foregone conclusion as soon as he became Vice-Chancellor. The wonder was that the honour was so long delayed. We congratulate Sir Chimanlal Setalwad on one of his pet ambitions being realised. It frees him from so much worry and consequently renders him open to better public service..... We have not been able to understand why Mr. J. P. Orr of the Improvement Trust has been decorated. Now that the Trust is soon to die we will not quarrel over Mr. Orr's fortune. We shall not be surprised if bestowal of titles are in future considered as censures among the bureaucrats. ..... On the whole the list is flat and disappointing, and many a deserving name is missing. The *Gazette* was expected to be full and rich especially because it comes on the very morrow of the end of the war and the eve of Peace. Red-tapeism has taken the glow off the Honours List and though 'better late than never' is a good maxim to work upon, the bureaucracy ought to understand that the charm of titles lies in their timely conferment and when late they fall flat and lose the honour that is attached to them."

Kaiser-i-Hind (26), 5th Jan., Eng. cols.

4. Referring to the message of the Secretary of State for India to the Military Department of the Government of India offering to supply from English shipyards river craft or dredgers urgently wanted by the latter, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* states that as this message tends to discourage the movement for reviving the ship-building industry in this country, it is likely to cause some alarm to the public. The paper declares that Government should try to develop the industry of shipbuilding by calling in some experts from England, and it hopes that His Excellency the Viceroy will decline this offer from the Secretary of State and thus help the industrial development of India.

How the Government of India can help ship-building in India.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 30th Dec. 1918.

*5. In a preliminary article on 'Organisation of labour', the *Bombay Chronicle* declares that the labourers of Bombay are now awake to their position and have proved their capacity to co-operate and to receive new ideas by their behaviour during the postmen's and railway-men's strikes about a year ago. It urges 'politically minded' young men of the middle classes to direct labour in its efforts to get justice, and to take up 'secretarial posts to labour unions'. It proposes to suggest in future articles 'what the earliest steps ought to be to start towards the path of Trade Unionism'.

Labour in Bombay should organise and start Trade Unions.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th Jan.

6. In this country big persons and toad-eaters lay particular stress on two things when commending themselves to officials, *viz.*, that they are law-abiding and loyal. We fail to see what virtue there is in bowing to the law or showing loyalty. Even a man with ordinary common sense would say that to rise against those who are in power is to court death. In short, to be law-abiding and loyal is not a virtue but a matter of necessity.

Loyalty is not a virtue but a matter of necessity.

Anavil Sevak (60), 31st Dec. 1918.

*7. "Whatever may be the result of the election in England, Scotland or Wales, the Irish situation as described by Reuter is no doubt 'dark, dangerous, and doubtful'. It is reported that many of the elected Sinn Feiners are in jail or are interned. But such is the rousing in the nation and such is the disappointment created by the procrastination of the British Government in England in dealing with the Irish situation that practically the whole of the old nationalist party who stood strongly for the British connection along with Irish Home Rule, is wiped off and seventy-two Sinn Feiners are elected to the Parliament which they have declared to boycott. It is rumoured that the Irish members are going to start a Constituent Assembly in Dublin, not recognising British laws. It is reported also that the Irish Government is ready prepared for all emergencies, which means dark days of repression and oppression to that ill-fated land. Will not President Wilson intervene and root out the thorns of discontent in the sides of the British Empire by granting Home Rule? Ireland, Egypt and India are in the same category and let the British Government beware lest the Irish history will repeat itself elsewhere."

The Irish situation and its lesson for India.
Mahrátta (7), 5th Jan.

8. "The temper of Ireland as displayed in the present election provides an object lesson which cannot be lost on any thinking mind. Every constituency has been contested by the Sinn Feiners and the chances are that practically all Ireland will be represented by Sinn Feiners who openly stand for a separation from England. The fact is that the British policy during the last few years has resulted in constantly discrediting the Irish nationalists and playing into the hands of Sinn Feiners. Over and over again have the responsible leaders of the Irish Nationalists' Party warned England of the growing critical situation in Ireland but it has all fallen on deaf ears..... The nationalists in this country are doing equally plain speaking so far as the existing repressive legislation permits them, but they are faring no better. Will England commit the some blunder of discrediting nationalists and playing into the hands of the anarchists and the separatists? If only a dispassionate view were taken of the whole situation we feel that the unmistakable analogy will impress itself on every man who cares to keep his eyes open, and we also feel that England will never be guilty of repeating the old blunder. Ireland and India form the test of British statesmanship, but so far it can be hardly congratulated on its achievements."

England should not repeat in the case of India the blunder she has been guilty of in dealing with Ireland.
Home Ruler (5), 28th Dec. 1918.

9. "Sir John Wallis laid stress upon a very important point when he addressed the Law students of Madras on the need of developing the Hindu Law. The decisions of Anglo-Indian Courts have tried to apply to modern conditions texts and commentaries written centuries ago to suit wholly different conditions. The task of making the Hindu Law adjust itself to present ideas and conditions is impossible of performance by the High Courts and it has therefore to be undertaken by the Hindu reformers themselves. 'If any change were to come, it must be made by the people themselves, and it is a matter worthy of their earnest consideration whether there are not things in the Law which, so as to suit modern conditions, ought to be greatly altered.' 'That of course was a subject for social reformers' added Sir John Wallis. It is perfectly true that the British people in India ought to be neutral in matters of social reform, which is in India so closely interwoven with religious ideas. But is it not equally true that the British-Indian administrators of law have vastly affected the social law of Indians by at any rate giving a new rigidity to Brahmanical traditions? Is it not also true that this law-born rigidity of social custom has become a great hindrance in the way of social reform? How can Indian social reformers slacken the tight bonds of case-made law unless the Legis-

British Indian law is responsible for hindering the progress of social reform among Hindus.
Deccan Ryot (4), 26th Dec., 1918.

lature helps them out of the difficulty? Besides this, we have to remember how the task of social reform has become impossible in some directions owing to the peculiar constitutions of our present Legislatures. These constitute at present majorities of official members who are bound to lend stability to unjust social customs and, by their so-called indifference, to make reform impossible. The elected members of some of our Councils belong to an order of society whose interests coincide with those classes of society whose selfishness requires that the existing order of things should remain undisturbed. It is, therefore, no good to tell social reformers to develop the Hindu Law by introducing the most necessary alterations in it. The Legislatures must be made much more amenable to influences which will favour the establishment of a juster conception of social life than will be either permitted by the higher castes of the Hindus or can be safely countenanced by that part of the Councils which takes its opinions from the official centres of our Legislatures."

10. "Lord Sydenham expressed a doubt in his speech in the House of Lords whether ministers responsible only to the Indian legislatures could issue orders to the members of the I. C. S., and whether the latter were at all bound to yield obedience to them. Now the noble Lord goes a step further in his article in the *Contemporary Review* and asserts, without beating about the bush, that the service will refuse to carry out orders which are abhorrent to it. Could effrontery go further? And, to add insult to injury, Lord Sydenham of Coomb says that such disobedience, when it occurs, will be in the interests of the enslaved millions whose emancipation is the chief concern of the British services in India! 'A point will be reached (in this conflict) at which conscience and an earnest desire for the welfare of the dumb masses will irresistibly assert themselves.' When men like Lord Sydenham threaten disobedience on the part of the services, which give, as he himself says, 'ungrudging obedience,' the necessity will be realised of definitely placing under the popular part of Government these services which administer transferred departments. Verily, the reform proposals will then bring about, to use Lord Lansdowne's phrase, 'the destruction of the I. C. S.,' as we know it and, without mincing matters, let it be said that it is just what Indians desire. They want to bring the I. C. S. to its bearings, and to reduce it from its present position of masters to that of servants, which properly belongs to it."

Indians want to reduce the I. C. S. from the position of master to that of servant.

Servant of India (9), 2nd Jan.

11. "It is not an idle speculation to enquire if a real and stable industrial renaissance is possible under the depressing political conditions which exist at present. For that it is necessary that the Government and the people should work in complete harmony with each other for the common good and there must not be a shadow of suspicion between them or anything real to divide them. Every impartial observer must frankly admit that such a harmonious working is utterly impossible so long as the present bureaucratic machinery has the control over everything. The blighting influence of that cold and mechanical machine, while it touches everything, cannot but deprive it of all life and warmth and native energy. Even assuming that this machine works with a single eye to India's welfare it can achieve nothing. But when we bear in mind that such an assumption is an ideal far removed from facts and cannot for a moment be accepted by any responsible publicist in the country, the complete hollowness of this philanthropic anxiety for our industrial regeneration unavoidably forces itself upon our attention. It may sound rather paradoxical but the industrial renaissance can only follow after the Government has been made completely popular and readily responds to public opinion. Until that time all this elaborate talk of the regeneration of Indian industries is simply camouflage which can only end in smoke."

How the present bureaucratic regime in India affects its industrial renaissance.

Home Ruler (5), 28th Dec. 1918.

12. An anonymous correspondent writes to the *Bombay Chronicle*:—"Will you allow me some space for answering the calumny that the Indians who fight in this war do not care for the freedom of their land (which you call Home Rule), and that educated Indians when they speak of the sacrifices and sufferings of their countrymen, try to take a mean advantage of them for gaining their own private ends. The trick is mischief and foul-play. Sir, as one who has gone through the hell of this war, I can say that the Indian soldiers who have returned hate being told that their interest in the country is different from that of their compatriots who have now the courage to demand its freedom. We want that freedom which we have seen others have in their own lands. We respect those who ask it, and they may be sure that those who fought and died in this war honour them for so asking it. The wonder is that with the meanness of our position in the fighting army, so many Indians have come forward to fight, forgetting all meanness of treatment. When I was invalided in a London hospital, I had a friend, an Australian officer, now no longer alive. In talking about India's help, he spoke scornfully that out of 300 millions, so few came to fight. He was an Engineering student of Melbourne and a well-educated man. I told him something about the meanness of our status, something about the fact that the best among us could not hold a commission. I put it to him whether Australians would come forward under those conditions. He had strong views about the conceit and snobbery of the average Britisher, and he told me plainly that if the latter discriminated against him as a fighting man, no Australian would care to leave his home. I asked him how in that case he would be proud of his Empire. 'Empire be d—d,' he said indignantly, 'I have nothing in an Empire where I am not the equal of any other.' I coolly asked him about loyalty, but the only answer he gave me was 'Honour first and then d—d loyalty.' The Australian is the most splendid fighting man, but how ignorant my friend was when he rated me for India's supposed slackness! I am sure that if the same meanness of treatment were given to any other part of the British Empire, they would never have got a man or a shilling for this war. They dared not do it. India has done well if you think of the impossible conditions given to the recruits in respect of privliege and honour. Those who say that Indians who fought are anxious for the present style of Government and do not care for freedom and shed their blood for the love of their treatment or for British officers are talking humbug. No honest man who knows our feelings will say so. Our hearts are with those who ask for the freedom of our country, for we have seen what freedom is in other countries. I should have been inwardly ashamed if I could ask a brilliant Indian to come to a low status, while his inferiors were, for the colour of skin, placed over him. It was his duty to demand a change of conditions; he has done so with many others; he must do it still. The struggle for our freedom must be our care. Sir, I fear that as days go on, surely people will forget our work and take all credit to themselves, saying that they were so loveable that others shed their blood under their command. It is all nonsense. You who ask for freedom have our support, you are speaking for us and you have our sympathy when you speak in the name of our sufferings. In the Y. M. C. A. huts they used to sing: 'We are not divided, all one body we!' That is the truth between Indian and Indian; we are all brothers. No man will dare tell me in my face, without risk of life and limb, that I fought for another to be my master and that I did not desire the freedom of my land. But you will observe a growing plot to minimise our efforts to distort our objects and to say that what the leaders of the country ask for is not desired by us. As I say, we did not go through the hell of this war to be told so. Be sure, Sir, that when you speak of our sacrifices and call for the freedom of India, you have our real support, our real good wishes. Those who try to divide us and say our best men cannot speak for us *in* this country, are evil-minded and dishonest—I say dishonest." [Commenting on the above, the *Mahrátta* writes:—"Will not our Anglo-Indian friends read this with open eyes and correct their bloated vision?

Sentiments of an Indian combatant regarding Indian political aspirations.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd Jan.; *Mahrátta* (7), 5th Jan.

The whole of India including the Indian soldier will be driven by the reactionaries to adopt the attitude of the Australian officer who is reported in the above letter to have said 'Empire be d—d. I have nothing in an empire where I am not the equal of any other'."]

Protest against the export of Indian coal to certain Mediterranean ports.

Hindusthán (22), 31st Dec. 1918.

13. The *Hindusthán* declares that Government are contemplating the export of some of the best Indian coal to certain ports on the Mediterranean Sea and says:—When India has often to depend on other countries for her coal supply, why should Government think of such a step? Do they intend to starve the ever-growing number of factories in this country with a view to lessening them? When the railway traffic has been reduced under the excuse of insufficiency of coal-supply why should Government favour the export of coal for the benefit of these ports on the Mediterranean Sea? It is absolulely essential in the interests of India that the export of her mineral products should be restricted by Government.]

Alleged forcible conversion of Doms by missionaries at Fyzabad (U. P.).

Arya Prakásh (16), 29th Dec. 1918.

14. One Kedarnath, an Arya Samaj preacher, writes from Fyzabad to the *Arya Prakásh* to the effect that the missionaries of the Salvation Army use coercive methods, including corporeal chastisement, to force into Christianity the Doms, a criminal tribe entrusted to their care by Government. He alleges that the missionaries remove the children of the Doms from them without their permission for bringing them up in the Christian faith, and he appeals to the Hindus and Arya Samajists to agitate for the redress of the grievances of the Doms and to bring the matter to the notice of the Collector of Gorakhpur.

The Delhi Sessions of the Indian National Congress.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd Jan.

15. "The deliberations of the Indian National Congress came to a close on Tuesday last and the session must be pronounced to have been one of the most successful ones in the annals of Modern India. Under a practised pilot like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the success was a certainty. Dame Rumour was busy and a few waited for sensational developments. All evil prognostications, as our special correspondent stated, have proved utterly baseless and the Congress claims now as before allegiance from one and all in India..... The Congress would have been faithless to itself and to the people of India if at this supreme juncture it had wavered and faltered and if it had not boldly demanded that the principle of self-determination should be applied to India along with all other progressive nations of the world. The principle, we are told, is to be applied even to the subject nationalities of the enemy. Are the Allies going to exclude their own subject races from the operation of it? India wants to look after her own future and she does not want to be tied to the appronstrings of the bureaucracy any longer..... The high priests of the new order cannot exclude territories under their control from the application of self-determination. One of the most important questions taken up by the Congress was the consideration of the Rowlatt Report and the consequent repressive legislation we are threatened with. It was not repression but reforms conceived in a large and liberal spirit that are wanted to deal with the evil. We should like to urge upon Government even at this hour to postpone all idea of repressive legislation and wait till the reforms that are to be ushered have had a fair chance..... The Congress objected to the principle of nomination in selecting India's representative at the Peace Conference and suggested the names of Messrs. Tilak, Gandhi and Hasan Imam in this connection. It is true that the representatives of the Dominions were chosen by their respective governments, but it is equally true that the Dominions are self-governing units. When we attain that stage we may not press for election. Till that time it would not do to put up with such disabilities; we must find out whether we cannot overcome them by asking for elected representatives."

16. "The 33rd session of the Indian National Congress at Delhi will be voted as a complete success—success from all points of view, and will go down in the history of the political emancipation of this hapless land as a vivid land-mark in the evolution of political thought..... So far as the deliberations are concerned, no one can take any exception to the method that was adopted in this year's session. As a rule the Subjects Committee of elected representatives of different provinces settles the subject-matter and wording of the resolutions that are brought forward in the open Congress..... But this year marked out a new era when people differing from each other could have a chance to make out their case in the open house and before the representatives of the nation and try to convince and convert them to their side. On the other hand the assembly exhibited to a very marked degree its capacity to deal with and deliberate upon the high issues of national interest. In spite of the deliberations in the Subjects Committee for three days, three amendments were moved in the open house, at least two of which were of vital character. But the Congress gave a calm and patient hearing to one and all the arguments advanced in favour or against the amendments and recorded their votes according to their lights. This was an outstanding feature of this year's session and would assuredly be welcomed by one and all, and would rank the assembly with other great national assemblies. The resolutions passed in the last Congress are a sure index to the thoughts and aspirations that are surging into the minds of the people of India. When the whole political thought-world was moving on with a rapid pace, when the old rotten theories of 'balance of power,' 'spheres of influence', 'white man's burden,' 'the sanctity of crowns,' 'unfitness for representative Government of coloured races,' 'the trusteeship,' and a host of others of old days, were being coffined or burnt in the furnace of the war, it would have been idle to expect India to remain unaffected..... The nation has shown its capacity to judge, to decide, to assert and to work for itself. The spirit of self-assertion, self-help, self-reliance, and Home Rule exhibited by the red and green of the *pandal* with its remarkable mottoes hung in different parts, was the dominant feature and would be welcomed by all." [The *Dnyánodaya* remarks :—"On the whole we think the Delhi Congress was an encouraging close to the greatest year in the history of Indian politics."]

Mahrátta (7), 5th Jan.; *Dnyánodaya* (38), 2nd Jan., Eng. cols.

*17. Delhi being a backward city fears were naturally entertained about the success of the Congress especially as it was well known that the authorities at Delhi were pronounced reactionaries. But the national awakening due to the efforts of the last thirty-three years is so widespread and deep-rooted that no national movement can possibly meet with failure in any part of the country now. About a score of years ago the Moderates of Bombay were the unquestioned protagonists of the Congress and their authority was never challenged by anyone. After the Lucknow Congress, however, Bombay lost its lead permanently and since Mrs. Besant's advent into the Congress it became evident that her ambition was to secure the entire control of that body in her own hands. It was a long-established practice that the authority of the President of the Congress lasted only till the session over which he presided came to an end. Mrs. Besant, however, announced after last year's session was over that she would continue to exercise the powers of President till the next Congress was held and until then her authority should be supreme in all matters pertaining to the Congress. As both the Congress Secretaries belonged to Madras she was partly able to realise her wishes. She probably aimed at taking part in the deliberations of the Peace Conference as the elected representative of the people of India and hence she tried a good deal to get herself nominated as one of the three Secretaries for the current year. Her efforts, however, were not crowned with success. Mrs. Besant's ambition outstrips her judgment and Pandit Malaviya is far more shrewd than she. But he too adopted a strange course of action from the very commencement of the present session and it is a mystery to many why he insisted upon the re-consideration of the Honourable Mr. Shastri's amendment when it was once negatived by the Subjects

Rájakáran (123), 5th Jan.

Committee. He also urged, contrary to the usual practice, the admission into the Congress of one thousand agriculturists, imported by him from the U. P., without the payment of the prescribed fee. Mr. Malaviya's object in acquainting the agriculturists with Congress politics is really commendable. But his anxiety in endeavouring to secure for them free admission into the Congress was more befitting a Brahmin mendicant than a man of his position. The U. P. is not a poor province and the necessary sum of ten thousand rupees to turn the agriculturists into delegates could very well have been raised by Mr. Malaviya and the other wealthy gentry of the province. The President's subsequent behaviour, too, to the end of the session was in keeping with the queer attitude he adopted at the beginning. At Delhi there were only a very few Moderates promiment among whom were Messrs. Shastri and Sharma. But to keep them pleased he stopped the work of the Congress on the first two days after it had sat only for an hour and thus caused needless inconvenience to thousands of people. Mr. Malaviya was against including Lokmanya Tilak among the suggested representatives of the people at the Peace Conference. He contended that his inclusion would give offence to Government and finding that he was not supported in this by anyone he called in the aid of his own son Pandit Radhakant Malaviya. His conduct in our opinion was most disgraceful and blameworthy. In the first place there are doubts about Government conceding our demand in this respect. No one can positively say that the substitution of Mrs. Besant's name or even that of Mr. Malaviya himself would ensure the success of our demand. Why should we hesitate then to express our confidence in our real leaders simply on the ground that our choice would not be palatable to Government?

18. The attitude adopted by Mrs. Besant towards the Moderates during the debate on the Provincial autonomy resolution was that of a fond mother who while walking stops on the road waits for her child to come up to her. She, however, made the mistake of supposing that the Moderate party whom she thus sought to mother was prepared to accept her lead. The reason why she adopted such an unprogressive policy is no other than her mania for unity. When a first-rate politician like Mrs. Besant fell a victim to this mania, it is uot surprising that second-rate men like Messrs. Jamnadas Dwarkadas and Ramswami Aiyer and third rate people like the Honourable Mr. Sharma and Mr. Govind Raghav Aiyer shared the same fate. It is gratifying, however, that eminent politicians like Messrs. Fazlul Haq, B. C. Pal and Das made short work of this craze. [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—The resolution proposing Messrs. Tilak, Gandhi and Hasan Imam as India's delegates to the Peace Conference was opposed by Mr. Radhakant Malaviya who seems to have come under the evil influence of the Moderates. His arguments were beautiful indeed. He appeared to be under the apprehension that there would occur a hitch if there arose opposition between the views of the Government nominees and the popular delegates at the Peace Conference. In such a case it would be the duty of the Government nominees to change their opinions or to suppress them. The popular delegates need not change their points of view. It is most painful that Mrs. Besant and some other people like Mr. Ramaswami Aiyer and the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri should have given ear to utterly foolish arguments and refused to co-operate with the other leaders in the matter of taking part in the delegation to England. One thing, however, is clear, *viz.*, that howsoever high a position a leader may be holding, the nation, the Nationalist party and the Congress no longer care for him if he runs counter to their wishes. In a still later issue the paper writes:—The decision of the Congress to bring to its senses the British Congress Committee, which it supports with its own money, is another feather in the cap of the Delhi session. This Committee as soon as the scheme of reforms was published gave it its unqualified support without waiting for the Congress to pronounce an opinion thereon and also put itself forward to tender advice to the Congress. The Committee and its organ, the *India*, have been pursuing this irresponsible policy for a number of years past. The Congress, however, is no longer prepared to submit to such arbitrary conduct in the future.]

Sanjaya (125), 1st, 2nd and 4th Jan.

*13. Commenting on the Congress and Muslim League Sessions the *Mufid-e-Rozgdr* says that this year's meeting of the Congress is invested with a peculiar importance because of the telling influence of the Muhammadans who attended it. It remarks that the Congress can now quite appropriately call itself an All-India organisation. After paying a tribute to the manifold services of Hakim Muhammad Ajmal Khan, Chairman of the Congress Reception Committee, the paper remarks that his address fully voices the aspirations of the Muhammadans of India, and it praises the frankness with which the problem of the Caliphate has been tackled by him.

Mufid-e-Rozgdr (150), 5th Jan.

20. "No Indian can read the presidential address of Pandit Malaviya without being struck with the fearless expression given by him as a truly representative man of the moment to the hopes and fears, and the joys and sorrows surging through the heart of the people of this country..... Pandit Malaviya had been the victim of a foul personal attack by Sir George Lowndes in charge of the Legal Department of the Government of India. He asked the Pandit with a sneer to show his following. The last Congress assembled in their thousands, the rapt attention with which they listened to every word of what the Honourable Pandit stated, the enthusiastic endorsement which the representative audience coming from all over the country gave to his speech ought to be an eye-opener to some of these Anglo-Indian bullies, and we have no doubt that there would be many an unhappy afterthought in official coteries over this whole incident..... The most striking portion of the address of Pandit Malaviya is that in which he deals with the question of the application of the principle of self-determination to India. The war, he points out, made some changes, but the efforts of India towards self-government and her demand began 30 years ago and are not in any sense affected by the termination of the war. For India to prove her capacity to govern herself is equally humiliating and galling to all spirited men in the country..... An oft-repeated thing is bound to produce effects even if it is egregiously false, and so assiduously have the English administrators of this country spread the idea about the incapacity of Indians that the very Indians have come to believe in this myth and they have to find consolation either by reverting to their glorious past or by accepting as a feeble staff some of the remarkable men whose names were mentioned by Pandit Malaviya and who were produced even in this generation of limited opportunities and circumscribed individuality. In order to secure even a partial application of self-determination the President urged the powers-that-be to accept the united voice of the foremost political body of the country as representative and to launch the scheme of reforms, embodying such modifications as were suggested by them..... On the question of the Reforms Report, Pandit Malaviya in truly statesmanlike manner sketched the course of public opinion from the start and pointed out the essentially unanimous opinion of the country notwithstanding serious attempts under official encouragement for the creation of a split in the Indian political camp..... The presence in this Congress of patriotic men like the Honourable Mr. Shastri and of various other leaders of the so-called ill-fated Moderate Conference is a clear indication that they realise the error on their part of the step taken under a misapprehension in September last. Even then it speaks for their earnest desire of service and their patriotism that they have sunk their false pride and come back into the folds of the Congress, and, *vice versa*, the public will characterise those who still persist in their secession as wanting in these qualities..... A further truly national principle was enunciated by the President when he said that instead of the employment of Englishmen, Indians should be employed in various offices as a matter of course unless a very strong case was made out for the importation of Englishmen. The failure of the present system of administration in matters of education, poverty, public health and industries was then pointed out. Commissions had sat and reported, but somehow or other the initiative and the drive which could only arise from a keen personal feeling had not been shown by the

Comments on the address of the President of the Delhi Congress.
Young India (15), 1st Jan.

bureaucracy in this country, which had failed. In the face of this failure which is written large, with what good grace can the Indian Civil Service come out to oppose the grant of political reforms in this country, as was being proposed in the circular sent out by the Civil Service Association in Bihár? Some of these things are most patent and obvious, and yet it is a distinct service to the country that the fearless clarion voice of the Pandit rang out to the National assembly pointing out the injustice of this procedure to the people of this country. The address teems with remarkable thought and remarkable sentiments in many places and it is, besides being the most accurate survey of the political sentiments of the moment, a real expression of the political mind of India."

Kesari (114), 31st Dec. 1918.

21. The *Kesari* congratulates the Delhi leaders on their making the Congress session so successful a one in spite of many difficulties and goes on:—Mr. Tilak was first elected but he had gone as far as Aden when his election took place. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was next elected. The bureaucracy revealed its little mind by refusing the presidential procession by the selected route. The one extraordinary thing that distinguished the Delhi Congress was the presence of United Provinces tenant delegates. If the rayats in other provinces had not been troubled greatly by famine, the number of tenant delegates would have increased by many hundreds. There was also a large number of women delegates. The number of delegates reached the figure of 7,000. Some of those who were sulking outside the Congress also joined and Mr. Shastri was present. The union of all parties in Delhi has disappointed the Anglo-Indians trying to create a split and they have begun to complain that the unity is a make-believe and that it will not last. The concluding portion of Mr. Ajmal Khan's address concerns the Great War and the Moslem States and from it we come to know how much the policy of partition of Turkey is disliked by Indian Muhammadans and how the very idea has created a great agitation. The President's speech was found to be insipid following as it did Mr. Ajmal Khan's address. It was not one that would move the hearts of the people at the time when the principle of self-determination is to be applied to all the nations. But all the same it was clear that Pandit Madan Mohan was not the man to go back upon the Special Congress resolutions and that he was prepared to go a step or two further, judging from his remarks on the question of provincial autonomy. The anti-Indian *Pioneer* points out that the President was against the grant of 100 millions for war expenditure. Pandit Madan Mohan or any Indian citizen is not of the opinion that India should bear no war expenses. He wants that the gift should be made by the people. What he means is that the officials should not first impose the burden and then go through the farce of obtaining the consent of the honourable members. He made no mention in his speech of the important demand for the release of political prisoners. The Chairman of the Reception Committee has clearly noted it in his speech, and we note with surprise and regret that the President has dropped it in his speech. However, the President has confidence in the capacity of the nation and he has strongly criticised those who bring forward the excuse of India's unfitness for not granting them self-government.

Gujarátí (18), 29th Dec. 1918; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 28th Dec. 1918; *Rást Goftár and Praja Mitra* (31), 29th Dec. 1918; *Navsári Patrika* (75), 29th Dec. 1918.

22. The whole of India will lend its support to the challenge given by Pandit Madan Mohan to England to prove its honesty by translating its pledges into action. Mr. Malaviya has done well in asking Government to modify the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms in accordance with the suggestions of the non-official public and the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League. The Anglo-Indian papers make much of the acceptance of the reform scheme by the Moderates, but the Moderates deserve to be blamed for the mistake they committed in accepting the reforms. Be it as it may, some weight must now be given to the unanimous opinion expressed by the Congress. Government should accept the principle of self-determination by adopting the recommendations of the Congress in the matter of internal reforms. Such action on the part of Government will strengthen the bonds between India and England

and add to the confidence of India in England and help to establish peace and prosperity in the country. Elsewhere the paper refers to the waning influence of the Moderates in the Congress and predicts that that party will die a natural death owing to lack of supporters. [The *Sánj Vartamán* endorses the suggestions made by Mr. Malaviya for accepting the principle of self-determination and for giving India an opportunity to elect her own representatives on the Peace Conference. It expresses itself quite at one with the President of the Congress in asserting that the Report of the Rowlatt Committee has proved the firm loyalty of Indians and expresses the hope that the British public will recognise the moderation of India's demands and grant her the rights that are due to her. The *Rást Goftár and Praja Mitra* regards Mr. Malaviya's address as highly gratifying and endorses the hope that the preamble to the statute, which is under preparation, will incorporate the principle of self-determination and provide that the representatives of the people of India and not the official classes will have an effective voice in determining the future steps of progress towards complete responsible government. The *Navsári Patrika* hopes that Government will see their way to satisfy the aspirations of Indians by granting them such substantial rights as will take them a long way towards self-government.]

23. While commenting on the Presidential address, the *Deccan Ryot* takes exception to the President's contention that India was always fit for self-government and writes :—" Does Mr. Malaviya know that scientists and poets, jurists and orators do not prove the capacity of the Indian peoples to govern the country through representative institutions? Does he know that if India were to be allowed to self-determine, the Naorojis and Ranades would be nowhere in the public esteem? Does he remember that even so late as this very year the heroes of the Congress party are thrown overboard the very moment that they try to support a measure of the barest justice to the masses of India? The eminence of individuals proves nothing which would help one to argue that India is fitted for self-government to-day. History only proves that even if its pages are adorned with names of which any country would be proud, India is not capable of developing any form of stable government unless an individual here and there rises above the common run and compels submission to his own iron sway. The whole tone of the Congress school, the saner section of which is represented by Mr. Malaviya, is thus vitiated by an assumption which has no basis in facts. 'It is not the War', says the Pandit, 'its events and its result that have led us to ask for self-government for the first time. Even if the war did not come, our claim to it should have been granted *long ago* as a mere matter of right and simple justice'. We wonder if old age makes men forget simple facts of recent date. When was the demand for self-government made by the body over which Mr. Malaviya now presides? It was not till about a dozen years ago that the Congress set before it the ideal of self-government. Does Mr. Malavia mean that even before this—*long ago*, he says—England should have granted self-government? And we should remember that even when the Congress postulated its ideal, it recognised the need of a steady but gradual progress towards that ideal. It was only after the war began and assumed a threatening attitude towards the continuance of British supremacy that the followers of Mr. Malaviya began to talk of India's fitness for immediate self-rule. Mr. Malaviya now outdoes his own followers. India according to him is fit for self-government since *long ago*. Why did not the Congress demand its immediate grant *long ago*, say, 30 years back? If the announcement of August 20th had come a day before Germany embarassed England, Mr. Malaviya's friends would have accepted it as all that they were asking for. *Then* the caution of the British Government would not have been unnecessary as it appears to Mr. Malaviya now. But now all that is changed. With a forgetfulness which is simply amazing, his party is now saying that India has been fit for self-government long since, that she was so fit for all these forty or fifty centuries, that the Indian States to-day prove the same proposition, and that England has been committing a great wrong to India in not having established complete Home Rule *long ago*, even before the Congress set it up

Deccan Ryot (4), 2nd Jan.

as its goal! It may be pleasing to the sentiment of us all that we should be told of our capacity to exercise the powers of a self-governing people with fairness and justice. Nor are we in any manner opposed to a process of steady realisation of the goal which every Indian aims at. But the exaggerations such as the Congress is recently indulging in do no good to anybody, least of all to Indians themselves. Mr. Malaviya is a staunch Brahman, and though we recognise in him an endeavour to actualise an imaginary picture of a Brahman in his best form, we refuse to take him as the type of any class of Brahmans that exist or are likely to exist in this country. And unless the system for which Mr. Malaviya stands is modified to a great extent, we can give no value to his attempt to prove that the Hindus are one people or that Mr. Malaviya and his friends have the trust and confidence of all their countrymen in the measure in which they ought to have it if they want to prove their title to the leadership of an Indian nation fit for representative government on the Western model. In criticising the modifications which these people are proposing in the constitution of the polity of India, this fact of facts has to be borne in mind although the Congress is trying to be wholly oblivious of it."

Dnyán Prakásh (39), 29th Dec. 1918; *Indu Prakásh* (42), 28th Dec. 1918.

24. The *Dnyán Prakásh* approves of that portion of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's presidential address in which he recounts at considerable length the services rendered by India to the cause of the Empire during the war and then says:—Although the Moderates and the Extremists hold radically different views upon the Reform Scheme, some people endeavour to show that they agree in essentials. But we never expected that these people would have the support of an estimable gentleman like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The resolutions passed by the Special Congress and the Moderate Conference will clearly show how the two parties radically differ from each other. True, both the parties have suggested modifications in the scheme and some of their resolutions are identical. Mr. Malaviya concludes from this that there exists unity of ideas between the two parties, but we are unable to share his opinion. It is improper to ignore the existence of differences that actually exist. It would certainly have been a very good thing if we had been able to say that there was unanimity of opinion among the nation regarding the Reform Scheme. But no useful purpose will be served by pretending that there is such unanimity when the facts are otherwise. [The *Indu Prakásh* writes:—Mr. Malaviya's speech was just what it should have been. By its fearlessness he has fully discharged the trust people placed in him. He has well performed the difficult duty of expressing in exact words the thoughts and feelings surging in the minds of the people regarding the principle of self-determination. The speech reflects the Pandit's high patriotism, disinterested loyalty and fearless love of duty.].

The self-government resolution adopted at the Delhi session of the Congress.

Servant of India (9), 2nd Jan.

25. "The most important resolution adopted at the last session of the Congress was the one that affirmed the resolution of the special session in Bombay on the subject of self-government. The unfavourable judgment on the official scheme of reforms and the drastic modifications that came so near to violation of the terms of the famous declaration of August, 1917, were all, of course, reproduced. The one departure that was made was in the direction of stiffening the resolution..... The Congress really placed itself on the 29th December in the hands of those who think that the most uncompromising opinion is the opinion of the country, that the newest idea is also the wisest idea, and that the greatest political organisation of the country, which after thirty years came to be recognised as representing the statesmanship and the political wisdom of the land, should now change its character and figure as the exponent of the unbalanced judgments, the incoherent utopias and the thoughtless extravagances of youth. A speaker of this school roundly declared that the Congress had no business to negotiate with the authorities or take their difficulties into account, but must merely enunciate the people's demands. He did not say,

however, who was to negotiate on behalf of the people. Would the members of the deputation, which is being organised, be left any discretion when they are dealing with English politicians or would they have to regard the Congress resolutions as a mandate? We have reason to believe that the latter view will prevail. Democracy begins in India with mistrusting its leaders and is unwilling to give them any latitude even when a regular bill is on the anvil and several important details have to be settled. By and by, we hope it will learn better. Meanwhile, the lot of the deputation is not enviable."

Sánj Vartamán (32), 30th Dec. 1918.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 4th Jan.

26. Commenting on the defeat of Mr. Sastri's amendments moved in connection with the resolution on the Reform scheme at the last sessions of the Indian National Congress, the *Sánj Vartamán* remarks:—The rejection of Mr. Sastri's amendments goes to show that the large majority of educated people in India have no sympathy with the Moderates and that the Moderates are far behind the times and do not represent public opinion in the country. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* on the other hand regrets the loss of influence on the part of the Moderates and deplores the recklessness of the Extremists in demanding immediate *swarájya* and asks Government to help to restore the influence of the Moderates by granting their demands.]

Dnyán Prakásh (39), 1st and 3rd Jan.

27. The Congress at its special session in August last asked for full Provincial autonomy within six years and complete control of the Government of India within fifteen years. We had expressed our opinion at the time that the demand was both ludicrous and impracticable. Apart from the consideration that the demand was inconsistent with the declaration of August 1917, those who put it forth should at least have paused to consider whether the Parliament would agree to the laying down of any such period in the statute. But it is not surprising that sane counsels should be flouted by those who mistake reasoned arguments for cowardice and thoughtfulness for lack of patriotism. The Delhi Congress not only confirmed this resolution but did away with the period of six years and asked for full Provincial autonomy at once. We had expected from the presidential address of the Honourable Mr. Malaviya that the Congress would make some such demand. Those who know anything of the present constitution of the Congress never thought that the attempt to effect a compromise between the two parties would be successful and their expectations have been fully realised. It would have been strange indeed if the result had been otherwise, as those who control the Congress hold that for them to deviate ever so little from the course they once adopt, however impolitic and unwise it may be, is to do distinct disservice to the country. [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—The desire of the people of India to have their own representatives at the Peace Conference is perfectly natural. It is equally true that the nominees of Government will not necessarily be animated with the same motives as the elected representatives of the people. That, however, does not mean that we are at present in a position to ask to be thus represented. The Delhi Congress adopted a resolution that India should be represented at the Peace Conference and, as if to save time, suggested in advance the names of those who should be chosen to represent her. In our opinion the whole thing is ridiculous. Although the Congress reflects the opinion of the educated people of this country it is childish to compare it with a body like the British Parliament which actually controls the destiny of the people. We are constrained to say that those who passed this resolution did not consider all the aspects of this question.]

Kesari (114), 31st Dec. 1918.

28. The Delhi Congress affirmed the resolution of the Special Congress on the declaration of rights. We are specially satisfied to learn that the resolution was adopted unanimously by the Subjects Committee. Dr. Mann loves freedom and he does not like the pranks of the

bureaucracy and always advocates the just aspirations of Indians. But the is a Government servant and the head of a department and we naturally doubted his message to the Congress. Now we learn that he had not sent the message at all. Whatever that be the one sent in his name may be adopted for some time at least as the motto of the Congress: 'Like freemen demand people's rights'. For 'some time', because no one would like the Congress to adopt a mendicant policy always. So long as the Congress does nothing else but beg in the form of resolutions the above motto may be adopted. When the voice fails even while making demands it is necessary to urge that at least while begging we should act like freemen and not like slaves. For did not some representatives hesitate to demand full provincial autonomy even in the Delhi Congress? [Elsewhere the paper writes:—The Honourable Mr. Shastri moved an amendment to the resolution on *swarâjya* in the Congress and a portion of it was passed because of the pressure of Mrs. Annie Besant, but we gladly note that the other portion of the amendment failed. Mr. Shastri wanted to omit the words 'unsatisfactoy and disappointing.' We cannot make out what the Moderates mean in this connection. They do not consider the scheme a perfect one and in their Pardah Conference they suggested many lengthy changes similar to those passed in the Special Congress. Why are they angry if one calls the scheme disappointing and unsatisfactory? After expressing your desire to accept the reforms, as they stand, with what face do you suggest changes in them? Either say honestly that you do not want anything else and give up throwing dust into the eyes of the people by proposing amendments; or do not stand on ceremonies and say honestly that as you find the scheme unsatisfactory, you propose the amendments you deem necessary. We cannot but pity the Moderates when they pursue neither of these methods and choose a course of their own. Mr. Shastri tried to commit the Congress to it but he failed. Whoever tried to pull back the Delhi Congress even behind the Special Congress was sure to fail utterly.]

29. "Among the resolutions that were passed at the Special Sessions of the Congress in Bombay, there was none that was of greater importance than the Declaration of Rights. The Congress at Delhi has done well in reaffirming the demand embodied in that resolution. ..... The opinion that the Indian subjects of His Majesty enjoy rights of citizenship that are equal to and identical with those the of British people, is a theory which is demonstrably false. A cursory perusal of the Declaration of Rights urged by the Congress is sufficient to disillusionise those who fondly believe, or who are asked to believe, that the status of Indians is the same as that of Englishmen in respect of the liberties of life, property, opinion or association. The resolution stipulates the minimum of rights that should be considered indefeasible. No circumstance of civil administration should be allowed to qualify those rights or restrict the freedom of citizenship granted under the proposed guarantee. In a word, there are certain fundamentals of citizenship absent in the status of Indians and they should be embodied in the statute to be passed by Parliament..... The Declaration of Rights is something that is absolutely essential as a safeguard of popular rights and it comprises many of the detailed resolutions hitherto passed by the Congress. Further, in an administration which is unsympathetic and alien in character, the limitations placed on its power have, from experience, been proved to be a necessity no less for good government than for the liberty of the people. But that is not the only consideration. Even when Responsible Government becomes an accomplished fact, the liberties, embodied in the Declaration, have to be protected unless, for reasons of national peril, the suspension of the entire Constitution becomes desirable. In short, the Declaration of Rights, as Mr. Khaparde said, is the foundation of everything in political life. The rights demanded in it, he added, are absolutely necessary in order that men may exist and live as they desire to live. That is, in fact, what democracy means. And the war has been waged to make India as well as the rest of the world safe for democracy."

Comments on the resolution adopted by the Delhi Congress regarding "Declaration of Rights".
Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th Dec. 1918.

30. "India is still a subject nation, and the subjection entails upon her certain disabilities, one of which is her exclusion from the Peace Conference, composed of representatives of independent countries. This result follows naturally from her present condition, and the Congress in asking for the right to send an elected representative to the Conference has laid itself open to the objection that it seeks to prevent the result, while the root cause remains. It is only recently that India has obtained entry into the Imperial Conference, and following up that precedent, she is now to be represented at the Inter-Allied Peace Conference by a nominee of the Government of India. It is difficult to understand how we could ask for a popularly elected member to represent India at this Conference, which is to consist of the representatives of the Governments of the respective countries. It is true that in the case of the self-governing colonies the representatives of the people are already elected by the latter, but that is the consequence of their self-governing position. How can India demand on that analogy to be represented by one who is elected by the people? Is it imaginable that the popular representative should speak in one sense and the Government's nominee in another at the Conference-table? That, under the present arrangements, India's true interests might not on occasions be properly protected in virtue of her representative being a nominee of the non-popular government, is very unfortunate. But it is the result of her existing political condition and cannot be cured until the latter is changed. But the Congress, not content with the demand for an elected representative at the Peace Conference at Versailles, also demands entry into the League of Nations. If the command of an international army and navy to bring a recalcitrant member to reason is an essential feature of this project, the countries which do not control the independent armaments have no place in the proposed League."

Comments on the resolution adopted at the Delhi Congress regarding India's representation at the Peace Conference.

Servant of India (9), 2nd Jan.

*31. "Deafness to all popoular representations, procrastination in execution after the dawn of sense in the brains, bad logic and shilly-shallying policy have always been abiding failings of our Indian bureaucracy. The latest exhibition of the same can be found in a letter which is written by Sir James DuBoulay to the President of the last Congress. The letter does not announce the unjust removal of the embargo on the issue of passports but gives hopes of their removal. It further warns the future delegation that though they may get passports they may not get passages. And, lastly, it concludes by arrogating to itself all wisdom and reminds the Congress President that in the opinion of the Government 'the moment when the deputations would be regarded as a matter of national importance has not still arrived and consequently no special facilities could be accorded. However, such consideration as is possible would be given to strictly limited number of applications.' What does all this mean? When abuse and calumny are being poured on the devoted heads of Indian leaders, when the elections to the new Parliament which is to shape India's future are going on in England, the moment has not come in the opinion of the bureaucracy when Indian deputations should be in England to defend and assert India's rights. Nothing can surpass the absurd logic of our bureaucrats."

The Government of India's reply to the Congress regarding passports for its deputation to England.

Mahrátta (7), 5th Jan.

32. "We have no hesitation in saying that Mr. Fazlul Huq's address is a comprehensive, vigorous, and, what is more, an outspoken statement of the cause of Indian Nationalism thoroughly characteristic of a sincere patriot who hates cant above everything else..... Mr. Huq has produced incontrovertible proofs about the real condition of the people of India, contradicting with facts and figures the claim that British rule has been the cause of material prosperity in India. The advent of the British was a great opportunity for the uplift of the people; in fact, if the hopes of the confiding people had been realised and the pledges of the new

The proceedings of the All-India Moslem League and Mussalman aspirations.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Jan.

rule had been maintained without shirking, the tale of India's prosperity would have been a matter of pride as much to Britain as to India. It is Mr. Fazlul Huq's case—and it is the conviction of India—that the exercise of irresponsible authority by the bureaucracy, the absence of Parliamentary supervision and the selfish preoccupations of alien officers, made the administration oppressive and the people economically helpless and depleted..... But greater anxieties are engaging the attention of the Moslems all the world over—anxieties which their fellow-countrymen view with the greatest sympathy and goodwill. The concluding portion of the President's address, the bulk of Dr. Ansari's speech and the resolutions of the League eloquently testify to the grave anxiety of the Muhammadans..... Eminent Moslem divines and acknowledged political leaders have been deprived of their freedom and liberty on the flimsiest pretexts, Moslem organs of opinion have been ruthlessly strangled one by one, so much so, that in the whole of India not a single free Moslem newspaper exists to-day; and last but not least, a repressive policy has been adopted to restrict their right of association, the most deplorable manifestation of which was the blunder which led to the Calcutta riots. The Honourable Mr. Fazlul Huq merely voiced the sentiments not only of his co-religionists but also of all his countrymen when the asked 'Our Rulers' to understand that 'they are driving the Mussulmans slowly to the very verge of despair'..... These sentiments are fully voiced in the resolutions passed by the All-India Moslem League last week..... That the demands are reasonable no one can deny. And the war would have been in vain if they were not satisfied..... As for the Holy Places and the Caliphate, they involve a purely religious question in regard to which the Moslem alone can and should have the final voice..... Apart from the sentiments of Moslems, loyalty to the principles for which the war has been waged demands that the integrity of the Turkish Empire should be maintained unimpaired. Its 'subject' nationalities may well be autonomous, but there is no reason why the application of the principle of self-determination to them should be carried to the point of jeopardising the suzerainty of the Sultan, any more than that India should separate herself from Britain. Further, Turkey, in common with the rest of the world, will not be the same after the war as it was before it. The League of Nations will be a sufficient guarantee for the free, full and ordered development of all nationalities in the Turkish Empire."

*33. While the Moslem League is a purely Mnhammadan institution the Congress represents all the communities of India. The views of the latter body, therefore, on questions affecting the whole country are entitled to greater consideration than those of the Moslem League. Owing to its constitution the League would be exceeding its legitimate province if it interfered in questions which affect the whole of India. For the Moslem League to presume to give advice to the Congress is nothing but childish. The Muhammadans are perfectly entitled to pronounce their views on national questions and due weight must be attached to their opinions. The Hindus have no moral right to oppose the interests of the Muhammadans simply because they happen to outnumber them. It is also natural for the Muhammadans to endeavour to guard their own interests against the Hindus. But they must not seek to impose their own views on the whole country in the name of the Moslem League since it is open to them to ventilate their views in the Congress on any question they like. Even after the unity achieved at Bombay between the Congress and the League there was some disagreement between the two communities at Lucknow as the League declined to keep pace with the Congress. The League's conduct on that occasion was like that of a bullock yoked to a moving cart who refuses to move thus stopping all further progress. In later years this attitute was somewhat modified and was completely abandoned at Delhi. There the League confined itself to purely Muhammadan questions and thus proved the really national character of the Congress. The *New India*, Mrs. Besant's organ, accuses the followers of Tilak of creating a split in the ranks of the Nationalist party at the last

Sanjaya (125), 5th Jan.

session of the Congress and thus facilitating the task of Government in attacking it. As a matter of fact Mrs. Besant herself was responsible for this cleavage and the allegation that the Tilak party was responsible for it is both ridiculous and contemptible.

34. The *Muslim Herald* deals with the various activities of the National Week and hopes that the Muslim League will shake off its slumbers and rise to the occasion by making an endeavour to secure the integrity of the Islamic States. The paper remarks that at its forthcoming sessions, the League should do something for the poor Turks. It feels very uneasy about the partition of the Turkish Empire regarding which strong rumours are afloat. It does not favour the idea of dismembering the Turkish Empire in order to punish Enver Pasha and Talaat Pasha whose thoughtless and hasty action is responsible for Turkey's plunge into the war. In conclusion the paper calls upon the League to make respectful representations to Government in the matter.

Muslim Herald (151), 27th Dec. 1918.

35. The *Bombay Samáchár* recognises the complete unanimity that subsists between the Congress and the Moslem League as evidenced by the identical resolutions passed at the recent sessions of both the bodies on the questions of the Reforms and self-determination. It sympathises with the demand made by the League for elective representation of the Moslems at the Peace Conference and for maintaining the integrity of Turkey and for keeping inviolate their holy places, but it reminds the Muhammadans of India that the present plight of Turkey is due to its having been led astray by the Young Turks and impresses upon them the necessity of taking steps to awaken Turkey to the need of co-operating with Britain and her Allies in their task of reconstruction so that the wishes of the Muhammadans all the world over may be respected.

Bombay Samáchár (63), 4th Jan.

36. "The address of Dr. Ansari, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Moslem League, is a simple, earnest statement of the Moslem attitude to a world-situation and the Indian problem. And there are several passages charged with a half-repressed emotion..... The address voices the feelings of the country when it asks that the 'ministers of the Crown should do their duty by the Musalmans of India', that 'Islamic kingdoms' must not be disrupted under excuse 'of the white man's burden', and that the Holy places of Islám should be 'under Moslem protection'..... There will be little difference of opinion in regard to what the address says concerning the situation of Muhammadans in India. ..... Dr. Ansari closes on a beautiful note of Hindu-Muslim unity; and he does well to repudiate the view that 'the extra-territorial patriotism of the Indian Musalman is opposed to Indian nationalism'." [Commenting on Dr. Ansari's speech, the *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"While we ourselves regard the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine as a chimerical scheme we cannot even impliedly accede to Dr. Ansari's comparison of the Jews, one of the most spiritually gifted of the human races, to some forgotten Red Indian tribe or to the aborigines of Australia or South Africa. We may add that the ultimate destiny of the Moslem States like that of all other States should be determined not by academic doctrines but by their actual effect on their subjects."]

Comments on the address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the recent session of the All-India Moslem League.

New Times (8), 1st Jan.; **Indian Social Reformer* (6), 5th Jan.

37. "The presidential address of Mr. J. B. Petit at the Fourteenth Session of the Industrial Conference is an excellent statement of the position of Indian industries and the remedies required for rescuing the country from the low level to which it has been forced by the circumstances of the last two centuries. Even the most zealous theorist, who talks of the increasing prosperity of India, can scarcely maintain that British rule has been a source of blessing to the indigenous industries of the

Comments on the address of the President of the Industrial Conference at Delhi.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Jan.

country. The reverses which the crafts and industries of India suffered during the regime of the East India Company and after, constitute a record of scientific suppression, and no Indian can possibly forget the lessons of their economic ruin..... Mr. Jehangir Petit touched the right solution when he declared that a country to be industrially great must first be politically free..... India has only too well realised that there is little of British or other philanthropy working for her economic advantage, and that no considerable progress is possible so long as her interests are not regarded as the first and final consideration of administrative policy. Indian interests have been sacrificed in the past; they are neglected at present; and there is no hope or prospect of a new era, however belated it may be, of industrial reconstruction, till India attains the right of managing her own affairs, controlling her own business and appropriating her own resources..... Mr. Petit indignantly repudiated the theory that 'India is and must remain mainly an agricultural country'. It is a doctrine invented and circulated in foreign interests, since it is absurd to establish pretexts on which the industrial domination of the country can be assumed by alien agencies..... The idea so sedulously propagated is intended to bring up Indians in the belief that they 'are by nature and tradition deficient in industrial capacity and commercial enterprise and that these qualities are inherent in the nations of the West'. It is, we regret to observe, part of a huge conspiracy for keeping India as a provider of raw materials, and the purchase of foreign-manufactured articles..... Witness, for instance, the exhibition of benevolent solicitude on the part of the East India Section of the London Chamber of Commerce for the recognition of 'the social, religious and ethical obstacles to the growth of a purely Indian enterprise, the achievements of British merchants in building up India's prosperity, the excellent relations between British merchants and hereditary trading classes in India'. The votes of the members of manufacturing districts representing trade interests have notoriously proved to be the vital consideration in ministerial policy..... We are glad that in making the unequivocal demand that India should have fiscal autonomy, he coupled it with a circumstance which is a growing menace to dependent countries. 'It is pure camouflage', as he said, 'to urge that the possession by India of fiscal freedom and her unrestrained use of it to protect her infant industries, will clash with England's Free-Trade policy'. Well, how far that Free-Trade policy, for which India has been professedly crippled, is going to prevail under a Premier, who is hardly a Free-Trader in the Liberal acceptance of the term, remains to be seen; but the Coalition in power is anxious for some spirited departure in policy. 'Imperial and Allied Preference' is a great and gallant scheme, but how it will affect a country, industrially weak and helpless in its fiscal policy, is a matter for anxious consideration. India has to be warned against the horrors of peace, particularly against the imposition of ruinous economic obligations. She yields to none in her pride of Empire; but to be left helpless and possibly despoiled by a policy which may, in effect, be of a discriminative nature, is an appalling outlook. Nothing short of fiscal autonomy will be a guarantee for her future. Political reform and industrial reform are as twin pillars, but the connecting arch is fiscal autonomy."

38. Commenting on the presidential address at the fourteenth session of the Indian Industrial Conference held at Delhi, the *Bombay Samáchár* states that Government should direct their early attention to the important suggestions made therein and regrets that the Industrial Commission should not have been allowed to inquire into and discuss the question of tariffs, which, under the present condition of Indian industries, sorely needed a thorough inquiry and full discussion in order to enable the Commission to make the necessary recommendations for the industrial development of this country. The paper agrees with the President that the adoption of the free-trade policy is in no way beneficial to this country under the present circumstances and remarks that the President has wisely demanded that India should be given fiscal autonomy and full control over her tariffs. It is of opinion that a protective policy is

Bombay Samáchár (63), 1st Jan.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 2nd Jan.

the only course, which can, with advantage, be adopted for the benefit of Indian industries. It considers it proper on the part of the President to have strongly condemned the suggestion "that India is and must remain mainly an agricultural country." [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* views with disfavour the import of foreign goods into India and expresses its gratification at the recent efforts of Government to improve and develope the industries of this country. It endorses the view of the President that on the whole Government have not done their duty by this country in the past so far as its industrial needs are concerned, but at the same time it adds that the people are no less to blame in this respect. It concludes by exhorting Government to help private industrial enterprise by employing State experts and by financing industries, if necessary, from the State treasury.]

39. "We extend our warmest welcome to Sir George and Lady Lloyd on their arrival in our midst and trust that His Excellency the Governor's knowledge of Musalman countries will serve him in good stead in dealing with the many and complicated problems affecting the Musalmans of the Presidency and Sind..... Unfortunately for us the entire indigenous population of Sind has been, on account of various causes now too well-known to need repetition, thrown back into the back-ground by a very insignificant but most powerful minority that is never tired of narrating the history of its advantageous journey to and settlement in Sind. If the indigenous population were left unopposed, and unhindered at every stage of its progress, we are sure Sind would today have presented a different face than it wears now. As ill-luck would have it, communal jealousies still exist, and they exist in Sind in an astonishing degree, and the fault of fanning them, at every conceivable point, lies at the door of those very friends who are loudest in condemning it and it will be the first duty, we hope, of Sir George Lloyd to study the methods of the obstructionists of Sind progress..... Once Sir George Lloyd admits the necessity of encouraging, by legitimate assistance and patronage of the State, the indigenous population of this province, we are sure means would not be wanting of achieving that end. Fortunately His Excellency the new Governor has in Mr. Lawrence a Commissioner of ripe experience and of uncommon courage..... We are confident that he would be a source of no inconsiderable strength to Sir George Lloyd, as he had been to Lord Willingdon. The elevation of our people by placing education within some reach of them and the recognition of the merits of the fruit of that education were the two vital points to which Lord Willingdon devoted his time and attention, in his scheme of the regeneration of the Sind population that had, before his taking the reigns of the Presidency, been thrust aside as a useless species of humanity deserving no protection of the State. That long-sought protection, though in a small degree, was for the first time given by Lord Willingdon, and we are confident that Sir George Lloyd would do Sind the justice of extending it to its full limits."

Appeal to His Excellency Sir George Lloyd to protect the interests of Sind Muhammadans.

Sind Moslem (11), 21st Dec. 1918.

40. "We have always held the belief that the Sind bureaucrats with Mr. Lawrence at their head bore the palm as the reactionary of reactionaries, but it seems that they have very close rivals in the civilians of Behár and Orissa. The reform circular which has been published in the *Searchlight* and has been issued by Mr. G. Milne, I.C.S., acting honorary secretary, Behár and Orissa Civil Service Association, to the members of the Indian Civil Service in the province, is simply astounding. ..... This very explicit circular does not need much comment, but it raises one very important issue. It has been enunciated by the authors of the Reform Scheme and has been universally endorsed that the success of reforms will depend in no small measure on the manner of their execution by the civilians. Now we ask, can anybody in his senses really believe that the reforms will be executed in their true spirit by the Behár and Orissa civilians for instance? The very illuminating questions in

The Behár and Orissa Civil Service Association and the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme.

Home Ruler (5), 28th Dec. 1918.

the circular plainly show that the civilians of Behár and Orissa strongly disapprove of the reform proposals which in their opinion adversely affect the position and prospects of the service and are prepared to device measures in opposition to it either in concert with other provinces or independently, even to the extent of threatening wholesale resignation. It is of course suicidal to entrust the execution of the reforms to the very men who are bent on their destruction. The fact is that the reforms strike a most illogical compromise by which they displease the thoroughgoing reactionaries without in any way satisfying the popular demand, and the result may be nothing but chaotic..... It would be interesting to know how Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford propose to get over opposition like that of the Behár and Orissa civilians. They can of course suppress it, and make it go under ground but it is difficult to imagine how they could possibly cure the sullen and inherent opposition which an average civilian instinctively puts forward to the popularisation of administration in this country. The only remedy is that the reforms should be honest and thorough and they should be executed by people who are in complete sympathy with them, and they are only Indians."

41. "The report of the Honourable Mr. Purshotamdas Thakurdas on the work of the Bombay Presidency Famine Relief Fund during December discloses the fact that both the authorities and those controlling the Bombay Famine Relief Fund—a Fund, let us remember, that has been in existence for some years—have woke up rather late, in spite of the cry of distress that was raised all round in Gujarát and Káthiáwád, by both man and beast. The situation had become acute and symptomatic so long ago as September, but misled by the 'men on the spot', our bureaucrats of the Willingdon regime turned a deaf ear to the cry of distress, contenting themselves with the callous reflection that the situation merely reflected war conditions, as elsewhere in India. Lord Willingdon had to pay dearly for his supineness, and the legacy that he has left for his successor is not a pleasant thing to contemplate. However, it is something that the authorities have at last begun to move, though we cannot help remarking *en passant* that the stupidity of disdainfully rejecting the proferred co-operation of so influential and so useful a body as the Gujarat Sabha, which is still being persisted in, cannot be excused—especially in view of the gravity of the occasion. We hope Mr. Purshotamdas' Committee at least is superior to such incredible lengths of petty-mindedness as have been exhibited in some official quarters in the Northern Division."

Famine in Gujarát and Káthiáwár.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd Jan.

42. Distress due to famine is rapidly increasing, but the subscriptions to the Famine Fund are not coming forth with equal rapidity. That the public response is not equal to the needs of the situation is partly due to the defective constitution of the Executive Committee of the Fund. It must be made clear to the public that though the Famine Fund has been organised under the auspices of Lord Willingdon it has nothing to do with any of the political questions connected with him. It is certainly regrettable that those who participated in the Kaira passive resistance movement have been altogether excluded from the Committee. His Excellency the Governor should increase the number of the Committee by adding some influential members who are thus excluded. Increase in the railway freight on goods is another unfortunate circumstance which tends to make the distress more acute. Liberal concessions, or even entire remission, in the charges for transmitting grain and fodder to the affected areas must be granted under the present circumstances. People can demand this even as a right and it is the duty of Government to see that people are given this relief in this time of distress. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* lays particular stress on the grievance of high prices and requests His Excellency the Governor to afford more facilities in the matter of shipping and railways for transporting grain to the affected areas. The paper thinks that the Executive Committee of the Famine Fund has not organised measures of relief as promptly and effectively as it ought to have done. It hopes that Government will help the Committee in its work so far as it lies in their power to do so.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 3rd Jan.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 3rd Jan.

43. A lecturer of the Kolaba District Association writes :—The anna valuation of crops in about fifty villages in the Panvel Taluka has begun and three or four of the villages have submitted their returns to us, which disclose facts as follows :—In the village of Koparli out of 62 acres, 3·4 acres are without any crops, and the rest of the area has yielded about $9\frac{1}{2}$ khandis unhusked rice. As compared with the annual outturn of 67 or 68 khandis the anna valuation comes to only two annas and a quarter. The village of Vangani has 153 acres in all. The annual rice crop amounts to 185 khandis, but this year it is only 33 or 34 khandis, which means an outturn of three annas or even a little less. Government do not declare famine in the Kolába District, but at the same time strictly prohibit the export of even a grain of rice from the district. If there is no famine where is the need of this restriction? And if there is famine why should general orders be not issued for remission and suspension of assessment?

Failure of crops in the Kolába District.
Kesari (114), 31st Dec. 1918.

44. Before the war there were 84 superior posts in the military accounts office. Indians were not admitted to posts carrying a salary above Rs. 800. There were four or five Indian officers in the grade of Rs. 550 to 800. Since the war the posts number 200 or more and there are to be some 30 to 40 temporary posts. Should not those working in the lower grades get the benefit of these new posts? Government drafted from the civil and military departments officers instead of making office arrangements and they had to pay greater allowances and salaries. The new temporary posts are to go toEuropean soldiers working temporarily in the department. There was an idea of giving commissions to those soldiers but as there were no vacancies, they were appointed temporarily in the military accounts office. Experienced Indians are to be ignored and men working under them and with insufficient knowledge are to be appointed officers on Rs. 400. Those who complain are told that the appointments are temporary. But who will be satisfied with the answer? Whether temporary or permanent, is it not proper that those who have worked and proved their capacity in the lower grade should get the benefit? Will the higher military officers explain what special qualification except that of colour they saw in raw European military men when appointing them on Rs. 400? Moreover the work of these men also will have to be done by Indians working under them. Will some Legislative Council Member ask questions in the Council relating to these appointments? Will the higher officers redress the injustice of their own accord before questions are asked and remove the discontent in the department?

Complaints about appointing European soldiers to higher posts in the military accounts office.
Kesari (114), 31st Dec. 1918.

45. A correspondent writes to the *Kesari* as follows :—The Government of Bombay with the sanction of the Government of India, sanctioned 25 to $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. war allowance to their servants. But in the same Presidency for the postal servants living under the same famine conditions, the Government of India at first sanctioned only 5 per cent. as war allowance and now it has been increased only to 10 per cent. Moreover while a substantial portion of the war allowance is to be permanently amalgamated with the substantive pay of the employés under the Provincial Government nothing of the kind has been promised in the case of the Postal servants. Why this partiality?

Postal servants and the war allowance.
Kesari (114), 31st Dec. 1918.

46. In an article headed "Are the Police Department protectors or devils?", the *Anavil Sevak* writes :—It is a popular belief that ants destroy bugs. But if for that reason any one should resort to ants to be safe from bugs, he must know that the sting of the ant is not less painful than that of the bug. Formerly there were bugs in this land in the shape of Bhils, robbers, thieves, etc. Their place has been taken by the ants in the shape of the present Police Department. Those

Strictures on the Police Department.
Anavil Sevak (60), 31st Dec. 1918.

officials who think the police are doing very good work will not relish what we have said above. But if they care to know what the people think, they will find that the people look upon the police more as black-coated *Yamas* (deities of death) than as protectors. It becomes a serious question as to whom the public should resort to if a department maintained for the protection of the public should inspire terror like that of devils. If any complaint is taken to higher officials, the question of prestige arises. Is there any means of escaping from this terror? For death should be preferable to a life of constant terror. On one side there are laws and arms; on the other, not only have the people no arms, but even if they should use sticks or hands they would be held legally criminal. That one side can use arms against unarmed people while the latter cannot use even their hands or sticks in self-defence, can happen only in this country. For even those who execute the law are also on the side of those who are armed. As the love of liberty grows among the people, some people will oppose this department even at the risk of life. As the lower ranks of the police consist of the vilest people, they are not likely to have any consideration for law or self-respect or people's rights. They will depend solely on their bludgeons or guns. As the people also are becoming more and more self-respecting, they will oppose the police in greater numbers, arguing thus:—"If the police can give five blows we can at least give one; but they will at least understand what it means to harass the people." [The paper in conclusion suggests remedies for this state of affairs, the chief among them being better pay for the lower ranks of the police, and the disarming of the force.]

47. "Our local contemporaries have been giving publicity to an amazing high-handedness on the part of Mr. Rothfeld in connection with the Shikárpur Municipality which would be incredible but for the fact that it has been authoritatively substantiated and has not been officially denied. It seems that Mr. Rothfeld in his capacity as the Collector of the district wrote to the Municipality that it was necessary to undertake repairs of the local Municipal Market for which he suggested that rupees five thousand should be sanctioned and handed over to the Executive Engineer. The Municipality sanctioned the amount but resolved that the repairs should be carried out by the Municipal engineer. This evidently was not to the taste of Mr. Rothfeld and with the ready sanction of the Commissioner in Sind he took upon himself to order the Chief Officer to draw a cheque of five thousand rupees in favour of the Government Engineer. This naturally highly offended the independent members of the Shikarpur Municipality who took strong objection to Mr. Rothfeld's extremely strange conduct and were prepared to test the legality of his action but they were thwarted by the official nominees and non-official toadies who invariably infest our municipalities. This is indeed a negation of all local self-government and renders the position of Municipal counsellors such that no self-respecting men will care to accept it. Of course so long as Mr. Lawrence is the Commissioner in Sind this kind of official high-handedness will be consistently upheld but we appeal to the Government of Bombay and specially to Sir George Lloyd, our new Governor, to intervene in the business and check this kind of unjust treatment to the municipalities which simply renders them ridiculous. After such incidents we are sure no one will be surprised that local self-government has not been such a great success." [The *New Times* writes:—"The latest instance of bureaucratic interference with the Sind Municipalities comes from Shikárpur. Mr. Rothfeld, the Collector *sdhib* of Sukkur, some time ago unblushingly told the municipal members of that town in a letter which no responsible officer would commit himself to, that if they did not submit to the house-tax proposal, he would have his own methods to do it by increasing the Moslem element, which unfortunately plays into the hands of the officials, and some interested agitators of the Sind Muhammadan Association. The municipality as a whole, inspite of official threats, refused to be bullied and threw out the proposal. A local newspaper which helped the anti-house-tax agitation was virtually suppressed as it was unable to pay

Alleged high-handedness of Mr. Rothfeld, I.C.S., in connection with the Shikárpur (Sind) Municipality.

Home Ruler (5), 28th Dec. 1918.; *New Times* (8), 22nd Dec. 1918.; **Sunday Chronicle* (13), 5th Jan.

the security demanded under the Press Act. The official statement of 'grounds' on which the security was demanded is yet another sad story. Mr. Rothfeld has since done things which amount to a flagrant violation of the rights of local self-government in Sukkur and Shikárpur. A fresh instance of his autocratic methods reported by a very reliable and esteemed correspondent is published elsewhere. Our correspondent alleges that the present attitude of Mr. Rothfeld is only a prelude to his recommendation for the 'suppression' of the Shikarpur Municipality. We have no wonder if Mr. Rothfeld entertains these suggestions after what he is actually reported to be doing. The signing of a cheque of Rs. 5,000 by the notorious reactionary president of the Municipality—R. B. Assardas—and other members anxious to please the *sahib* careless of the rights, previliges and the welfare of the people, only shews how insidious efforts are being made to impose official will on the municipality. The official Chief Engineer continues to hold the place inspite of the decision of the municipality to do away with his services." Commenting on the above complaint the *Bambay Chronicle* (Sunday edition) writes in contributed columns :—"It seems that Mr. Lawrence, the Commissioner in Sind, has immense faith in his subordinates and what a man-in-the-street thinks official high-handedness is perpetrated under his very nose and consistently upheld by him. Mr. Cadell will do well to advise His Excellency for an early transfer of Mr. Lawrence to one of the prize-posts in the Secretariat, where his experience may be better utilised."]

48. "The *Times* has something to say on the land-grabbing ambition of some Powers which is interesting to note at this juncture. It is one thing if the whole world is to be thrown into the melting pot and to be reparcelled out. But, under cover of specious principles, there is a likelihood of the territories of hapless and helpless States being grabbed. It is this tendency which the *Times* condemns immeasurably..... The same journal, while dealing with the Turkish question, is good enough not to make mention of Turkey at all and it thinks that Armenia, Palestine and Arabia would be good buffer States. President Wilson has, as one of his famous fourteen points, which the Allies have accepted, 'securing sovereignty to Turkey over the Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire, but assuring security of life and autonomous development to other nationalities under Turkish rule'. President Wilson may not know what is fervently desired by Moslems, but the British Government cannot plead any such excuse. The integrity of Moslem States is the fervent desire and the deepest concern of every Moslem. Does the *Times* propose to parcel out Turkey, because it thinks it is convenient to Britain? Why does it want buffer States? Of what Power is it afraid? Is it still afraid of the Russian menace? Russia now lies low. Even for this object, it is decidedly better to have strong intervening Moslem States and not weak new creations. President Wilson nowhere talks of carving out new nations from the Turkish Empire. All he wants is autonomy; but the *Times*, like the true Imperalist it is, seems to have quite other things in view. All such territorial ambitions under whatever mask should be sternly discouraged, applying the general principles laid down by the *Times* itself..... Both Dr. Ansari and Hakim Ajmal Khan, Chairmen of the Reception Committees of the Moslem League and the Indian National Congress, respectively, have dealt with this and other dependent questions and it is needless to state that the entire Indian nation endorses the Moslem sentiment in the matter. Mr. Gandhi has already made the issue plain to Government; and regarding other matters, like the Khalifate, virtual pledges have been given by the British statesmen. We hope the Government of India and the Indian delegates nominated by them to the Peace Conference will represent to the proper quarters what the Moslem, or rather, the Indian, feeling is on the question.

The land-grabbing ambitions of some British Imperialists and the sentiments of Indian Musalmans.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Jan.

49. Discussing the future of Turkey the *Sindh Moslem* remarks :—"Mr. Mahomed Ali was certain that, 'whatever his (Musalman of India) feelings may be, his path is simple and clear and not a shadow of doubt can darken his sense of the duty that he owes to his

The future of Turkey.
Sindh Moslem (11), 21st Dec. 1918.

country and his sovereign '; and as results have shown they have, following the advice of the great Moslem leader, done 'their part in a manly and ungrudging spirit and have borne sacrifices that the exacting and growing demands of the situation from time to time entailed'. To such children, therefore, a durable friendship between Great Britain and Turkey is a matter of happiness and rejoicing, to the British Empire, it means strength, and for Turkey it is security. Turkey is beaten but England can still show itself to be a magnanimous foe who repeats(?) the great ideals which drove it into the conflict. With all his faults, the Turk has not been so bad a neighbour, nor so bad a ruler, as not to deserve the support of his former friends..... The Turk has not denied to his subject-races the highest posts available in his land. ..... In these days when the lofty ideals of the Allies are carrying everything before them to a common melting pot, we venture to hope that the representatives of Great Britain and Turkey would, when sitting round the Peace Conference table, forgive and forget the past, and would shake hands as old-new comrades that the world knew them to be. [The paper here refers to suggestions about annexing portions of the Turkish Empire and continues:—] The world knows Mr. Lloyd George to be a pronounced enemy of the policy of annexations and his famous phrase 'No Aslace-Lorraining' is an emphatic declaration of the war aims of England..... 'No Alsace-Lorraining' of the Prime Minister is effective check against the ambitinos of Imperialists in the occupied areas of the East. Were England to decide that the Arab nation possesses the root of future greatness in view of the splendour of the early Arabian Empire, India, the eldest dependency of Great Britain, would have the foremost and immediate right to 'the establishment of national government and administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the indigenous populations', since no one can ignore the splendour of India at a time when the whole of Europe was sunk into an abyss of darkness. England cannot decently deny to India what its Imperialists ask her to give to Mesopotamia, Syria, the Arabs and Armenians. These populations would probably like to be connected with the Turks, though no doubt they would claim internal reforms, as India is at present doing; and that would undoubtedly be a proper interpretation of the principle of self-determination as conceived by Mr. Lloyd George and embodied by President Wilson in the twelfth point of his address of January 8th. The principle of self-determination rightly applied and extended to other portions of the world, the populations of Bokhara, Khiva, Tashkand, Don, Volga and other centres will also have much to say regarding their continuance with Russia. We hope and trust that England, which has shed its blood to check the world-domination designs of Germany, would steer itself out from the Peace Conference, as nobly as it went into the conflict and would brush aside the advice of its Imperialists, as otherwise England would lay itself open to criticism from within and without."

Remarks on the boycott of elections in Goa.
Kesari (114), 31st Dec. 1918.

50. Referring to certain reactionary changes made in the Reforms recently granted to Portuguese India and the consequent boycott of the new elections by many of the electors, the *Kesari* says:—The Civil Servants in India are thinking of opposing the Montagu reforms and of resigning if they are introduced in spite of their efforts. Indians and Government should give them a timely warning. We hope the Moderates will now at least understand why a time-limit is insisted upon.

EDUCATION.

How to provide additional facilities for higher education in the Bombay Presidency.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd Jan.

51. "The Government of Bombay have appointed a special committee to inquire into the question of providing additional facilities for education in the Government Arts Colleges by increasing accommodation in the existing colleges and by planting new colleges in convenient centres. Such a committee should have been appointed years ago, but we welcome it on the old ground that it is better late than never. We welcome it also because it typifies a healthy change in the attitude of the Government..... To come to the point, there are, at present, three First

Grade and one Second Grade Government Arts Colleges in the Bombay Presidency. The three old colleges are not put under any restraint as regards the admission of numbers, but it has been the invariable hobby of Government colleges to limit the number of their students. It is one of the reasons that have made Government colleges very costly to Government. The average cost of educating a student in the Elphinstone College comes to Rs. 383, whereas a Deccan College student costs Rs. 318. The number of students in these colleges is 323 and 296 respectively. The Gujerat College, which has lately come under Government, has 644 students on its rolls and the average cost of a Gujerat student is only Rs. 156. These figures have their own lesson for us. It is the prejudice against large numbers which is responsible for the heavy cost of the Elphinstone and Deccan Colleges. If we look at the question a little more closely we shall see that a college of 300 students cost as much as a college of 600 students. It looks a little paradoxical, but it is, nevertheless, quite true. Government had to spend Rs. 70,000, Rs. 69,000 and Rs. 61,000 on the Elphinstone, Deccan and Gujerat colleges, respectively. Even if the number of students is small, Government have to maintain a full staff. There were only 124 and 122 students reading for the degree in Elphinstone and Deccan Colleges which, split up into various voluntary classes, gives us very modest classes. It is not quite an unheard-of thing to have a dozen to two dozen students in some of the voluntary classes of these colleges. But all the same, the full staff has to be retained and heavy expenditure incurred. The attendance can be doubled with absolutely no extra strain; if at all, a few extra lecturers may have to be appointed. The extra cost will not be more than Rs. 10,000, but the fee receipts will be doubled and the net cost will be considerably reduced. The first thing to which the committee may, therefore, well address itself is the maintenance of proper numbers in the Government Art Colleges. At least two classes of 120 in F. Y. and 150 students in intermediate and 150 in B.A. should be maintained. It gives, on the whole, a total of 540 students—a fairly reasonable number. It will materially reduce the net expenditure on the existing Government Art Colleges. The numbers proposed are not at all heavy, as compared with 1,056, 898 and 1,241 students, maintained by the Wilson, St. Xavier's and Fergusson Colleges respectively. Vice-Principals may be appointed in all the Government Colleges, who may relieve the Principal of routine duties. Before, however, taking up the question of increasing the accommodation of the existing colleges, it is hoped that Government will seriously consider the question of finding a permanent home for the Karnatak College and of raising it to the status of a first grade college. Interim accommodation has been found in the Training College buildings, but the sooner the college is transferred to its own buildings, the better will it be. At the least computation, it will take two years to complete the buildings and the expenditure can be spread over two years, if not more. Moreover, we may remind Government that the Bombay University has allowed only three years, of which we are nearing the end of the second, within which Government are to raise the college to the first grade. The college has been successful and there is no dearth of students, as is evidenced from the fact that it had to refuse admission the very second year. Pending the completion of buildings, interim accommodation should be found for some more classes and the college should be raised to the first grade from June next. While planning the college, it may be suggested that it should be built so as to accommodate 600 students. All this will mean only provision for about 800 additional students in all the existing Government Arts Colleges. This alone will obviously not satisfy the demand. Sind, as we mentioned, is without a Government college, and instead of taking over the existing college, as they did in Gujarát, Government should start a new college in Hyderabad. Another convenient and much in need centre will be Násik, which will serve the two Khándesh districts and Násik. Lower down one of the best centres for starting a college is Sátára, which already possesses two fine schools as feeders. But it may await for some time."

52. Commenting upon the Muhammadan Educational Conference, the *Kesari* says:—Take any Muhammadan institution. Some sort of religious education is given there without fail. Therefore Government do not dare interfere with their religious practices. Since the Legislative Councils were established in the British

The Muhammadan Educational Conference.
Kesari (114), 31st Dec. 1918.

regime, not a single Bill interfering with Muhammadan religious practices was introduced and Bills interfering greatly with the religious practices of Hindus have been often introduced. What does it show? The new Governor of Bombay had sent a sympathetic message to the Conference and it shows that he takes interest in educational matters.

MUNICIPALITIES.

53. One "Hasani" writes to the *Political Bhomiyo* as follows:—Will some one ask the following question in the Bombay Legislative Council? Why does not the Ahmedabad Municipalitiy give heed to the public request that urinals, latrines and *kachra* carts situate near temples, mosques, mausoleums and burial grounds should be removed from their vicinity?

Complaint about urinals, etc., placed near mosques and temples in Ahmedabad City.
Political Bhomiyo (76), 3rd Jan.

54. "Since the question of communal representation began to agitate the Deccan, the Belgaum District and, in particular, the Chikodi Taluka, have been the centres of a strong movement among the non-Brahman communities to assert their own rights in the elections to all public bodies. One may expect that this has its counterpart in the Brahman community also trying to retain and improve its position in all directions, so that the agitation for non-Brahman representation may produce a result entirely opposed to the one so strenuously being sought by the non-Brahmans. That such an attempt is being made in all the districts of the Deccan is pretty certain. But the absence of educated non-Brahmans in most of the Talukas makes an exposure of the method whereby this injustice is being done very difficult, if not impossible. The awakening caused in the Chikodi Taluka by the agitation of the last year has, however, enabled the public to know something of what is being done behind the curtain of popular ignorance. The facts alluded to below are only a fraction of the sum total of injustice which is being done. An enquiry through a proper official would throw light on many more facts corroborating the inferences which may rightly be drawn from these facts. But the following facts, forming as they do only a small part of the whole truth, are enough to justify the demand that is being made to order a thorough enquiry. [The paper here gives some figures in support of its contention. It proceeds:—] What does all this mean? What is the Government going to do to check all such mischief? Are we to be told to face these facts calmly and take them as they are, leaving the ignorant ryot to take care of himself or to go to the wall? Does Government expect that the non-Brahmans are capable of getting grievances of this kind redressed in the ordinary course of things? Is it common sense to expect the ryot to go and complain against the whole army of his tyrants who can harass him in a thousand ways without the Collector being able to lift his finger? The only possible answer which can be given to this is to secure communal representation to the non-Brahmans in the legistature and the boards as well as the services. The Kulkarni Vatan also must be put down with the iron hand of the Law. With reference to the steps to be taken immediately, is it not necessary that an impartial officer should enquire in the principal villages of the Chikodi Taluka and find out how the electoral lists have been prepared and who is responsible for all this dirty mischief? We need hardly add that the non-Brahmans are intensely concerned with this trend of affairs which must be set right."

Alleged tampering by Brahmins with the voters' lists in the Chikodi Taluka (district Belgaum).
Deccan Ryot (4), 2nd Jan.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 10th January 1919.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 11th January 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. "Everyone, who has the interests of the workers, as well as of the greatest industry of India outside agriculture, at heart, must sincerely deplore the present crisis in in the mill industry—especially as it has arisen at a time when famine and epidemics are exacting their toll of suffering and misery..... If the observer has kept his eyes open, if he knows anything about the real conditions of Bombay's Labour, of the abnormal health and economic situation in Bombay and, above all, if he does not forget the times we are living in and the spirit that is abroad, he will not find it difficult to conclude that the present Labour crisis was, in the circumstances of the case, inevitable, being merely a manifestation of a growing, deep and widespread though silent discontent..... While resort to a general strike must always be deplored, from the points of view alike of the workers, the employers and the general community, it can hardly be denied that the strike is one of the recognised and legitimate weapons of organised Labour everywhere against organised Capital. That the workers of the Bombay mills have deemed it necessary to resort to it, has not come as a surprise to those who have known the state of mind to which they have latterly been driven as a result of the cumulative hardships of abnormally high prices of necessaries of life, and of the ravages of famine and epidemics. Knowing this state of mind, no humane and right-thinking person will grudge—apart from the merits of the dispute that was ostensibly the immediate origin of the present crisis—a measure of sympathy to people who have been brought to a distracted frame of mind. And, no one who knows anything of the history of Labour troubles in all civilised countries forgets that these have on several occasions been immediately due to the flimsiest of pretexts in regard to the merits of which Labour has as often been in the wrong as in the right. But no one with any knowledge of human nature and the realities of the relations of Labour and Capital will fail to recognise that these troubles were inevitable, that the struggle of Labour against Capital must remain interminable and the intervals of peace must be like the proverbial calm before each storm. And why? Because these relations are essentially based on injustice and inhumanity and constitute a modern but more sinister form of human slavery. Until, therefore, this fundamental wrong is righted, there is no choice for Labour in every part of the world—and for every honest citizen who feels the wrongs of the poor—but to see that no opportunity of securing an adjustment of the relations of Capital with Labour on an equitable basis is lost..... The war has set free forces throughout the world which cannot be enchained and India has not escaped the currents of these forces. You can no more stop Labour unrest in this country than you can check the political unrest. Both are part of one great world-wide movement prompted by that 'indomitable spirit everywhere tending towards right and, above all, struggling to be free.'..... The condition of the working classes in Bombay, as we have so often pointed out on previous occasions, is most unsatisfactory—more unsatisfactory than that of their confréres in the West—whether regard is had to the remuneration of their labour, the hours of work, their housing, the education of their children or the provision of the ordinary amenities of life. And there is no reason why the demands formulated by organised Labour in England should not be made on behalf of unorganised Indian Labour, for early realisation, with the necessary modifications that are called for. Hitherto the mill industry in India has been regarded practically in terms of agents' profits, dividends for shareholders and speculation in cotton and share markets. It is time the human factor involved, which is of infinitely greater moment to national welfare, came into its own. And in this regard the prime duty falls on millowners, who must—in the ultimate interests of the industry itself—bring to bear on its performance foresight and a sense of justice. That they may be able to perform the duty well, it is necessary that efforts be made to bring about a satisfactory end of the present dispute. The

The Bombay Mill Strike.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th Jan.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 10th Jan.

argument that no understanding must be arrived at with Labour, which does not assume the form of unconditional surrender, because such understanding will inevitably create fresh and increasing demands, is an old-world notion betraying a guilty conscience..... It is not the desire or interest of any sane and right-thinking man to deprive Capital of its legitimate influence and dues. But there must be an end, as soon as possible, of its privileged domination." [The *Sánj Vartamán* declares that it is in the hands of the mill-owners to end the strike by conceding the just demands of the under-paid operatives. The paper appeals to His Excellency the Governor to intervene and see that justice is given to the labourers.]

*2. *Gujárati* (18), 12th Jan., Eng. cols.

"The strike that commenced on Thursday last in the Century Mill has spread far and wide and as usual the friends and supporters of capitalists have already begun to blame the mill-hands alone. The present strike is a labour demonstration on such a huge scale that it is without a parallel in the history of any industry in India. It is a blunder not to try to understand its true significance and find out the real causes of such an upheaval..... There is no doubt that high prices have hit all classes of people, but the lot of the poor has become very pitiable. The most necessary articles of food have become abnormally dear and though ameliorative measures have been taken by Government, they have not gone far enough to ease the situation. It is difficult to believe that a lakh of poor mill-hands would go on strike and deprive themselves of their indispensable daily wages, if there were no real grievance common to them all..... Where so many men have gone on strike, there should be no delay in bringing about an amicable understanding. The men cannot be left to starve themselves. The consequences of such a policy would be deplorable. We, therefore, appeal to the mill managers and the leaders of the strikers to exercise patience and toleration and settle the dispute in a spirit of conciliation and sympathy with the utmost promptitude."

3 India and the New Parliament. *Bombay Chronicle* (1), 7th and 9th Jan.

."Whether India is to be given or denied her birthright, whether for the peace of the world, if not for the benefit of India and Britain, she is to be lifted from her abject position to a dignified one, will be answered by British statesmanship. A straight and definite and practical answer is needed and it is only possible if the highest type of statesmanship on the part of British statesmen is forthcoming..... On the eve of the Election, the Premier, in formulating his programme, stated that his fundamental object will be 'to promote the unity and development of the British Empire and of the nations of which it is composed, to preserve for them the position of influence and authority in the conduct of the world's affairs which they have gained by their sacrifices and efforts in the cause of human liberty and progress.' The Indian people then have a right to ask the Premier whether or not India is acknowledged to be among the 'nations' of which the British Empire is composed; whether or not she is to be awarded 'the position of influence and authority in the conduct of the world's affairs'; whether or not they are to have any effective voice in the administration of their own land; and whether or not they are to be masters in their own land. And the reply to this will be satisfactory or otherwise, according as the demands of the Congress are accepted or rejected by the Premier and his new Coalition Cabinet." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—"So far as India is concerned the situation in Parliament does not seem to be very hopeful, many pro-Indian members having disappeared from it. At a time when there was need for a large number of friends of India in Parliament the disappearance and defeat of such candidates as Mr. Lansbury, Professor Gilbert Murray, Dr. Clark, Major D. Grahmam-Pole, Mr. Sydney Webb, Mr. Snowden, Mr. Charles Roberts, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Cotton forebode an evil day for India. The Reforms Bill will come before the new Parliament and during its discussion a great struggle with reactionary forces, inspired and led by Lords Sydenham and Macdonell, Sir John Hewett and the 'Dug-outs' of the Indo-British Association, will have to be undertaken in both

Houses of Parliament by those who sympathise with India's aspirations and are anxious to see that justice is done to her people. But with the already thinned ranks of India's friends in Parliament thus completely breached, it is not unreasonable to appehend that India's voice may not be fully and properly heard..... Now the victory of the Coalition means, at best, merely the fulfilment of the pledge contained in the announcement of August 20, 1917. At worst, it may mean even the whittling down of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, which does not attempt to fulfil that pledge so far as the constitution of the Government of India is concerned. It is impossible to avoid this conclusion, having regard to the fact that the overwhelming Coalition majority consists of a preponderating group of Unionists—whose conversion from the rank Imperialism of pre-war days is a matter of considerable doubt..... There is, however, no reason to yield to pessimism. Though the present Parliament does not fully represent the British democracy, the latter can still bring its influence to bear on the former. India's case has never been fully presented to the British democracy. Now, though late, the opportunity has come. That opportunity must be utilised—fully and immediately..... An immediate, vigorous and continuous propaganda in England must be launched. The heart of the British democracy is sound. As the manifesto of the Labour Party declared on the eve of the Election, 'the principles which Labour acclaims as Allied war aims it will apply to our own subject-peoples; freedom for Ireland and India it claims as democratic rights, and it will extend to all subject people the right of self-determination within the British Commonwealth of free nations." That—nothing more nor less—is what India wants: 'the right of self-determination within the British Commonwealth of free nations.' And it is the duty of India's leaders to see that, with the help of a symathetic and well-intentioned demoracy, pressure is applied at the decisive point—'at the centre where half a dozen men in effect decide what Parliament is to do'."]

4. "It is a mistake to suppose that the results of the General Election in England are in any sense diasppointing. One should have been able to foresee that the Coalitionists would carry the day, what with their programme of bounties and subsidies, eight-hour days, Imperial Preference and so on. The Asquithian Liberals could not hope to succeed with their diluted radicalism. Though the defeat of the Labour, Independent and Women candidates is to be regretted we trust it will act as an eye-opener to those amongst us who want the country to believe that the people of great Britain are apostles of unselfishness and altruism and that we have only to appeal to their sense of Right and Justice and that we would get everything that we wanted. The election results throw a flood of much needed light on the temperament and mentality of the British people at the present time. It has been rightly said that it makes the position for us one of great anxiety. On the one hand, there is the talk of self-determination and the emancipation of the subject nationalities. On the other, we have the unquestionable reality of a Unionist party in power in England, wedded to a policy of Imperialism of the Curzon-Milner School. The prospect is by no means pleasant so far as we in this country are concerned and it foretells the possibility of the ascendancy once more of a bureaucratic and repressionist policy in this country." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—"The result of the elections, disappointing as they are so far as India is concerned, ought at least to convince people in this country that the British electors are naturally more concerned in their own welfare than any one else's. It is due to ourselves to acknowledge that if we do not care for ourselves no one else will—whether they be the British or the American electors. We hope the leaders of the peeple in this country will lay the great lesson of the election to heart."]

Young India (15), 8th Jan.

5. "The London correspondent of the *Hindu*, writing in November on the prospects of the election, said: 'Many of the candidates who would favour a policy of justice to India will go down under the peculiar conditions which must govern the struggle. The tendency of

Servant of India (9), 9th Jan.

the coming Parliament will be more Conservative than Liberal in such matters as those which affect the government of India. The most that can be hoped for is that the Cabinet will stand by the pledges solemnly given to the Indian people during the war. This they will claim to be doing if they carry out the main recommendations of the Montagu-Chelmsford report. I see no prospect of getting more than this out of the new Parliament, and if its complexion should be even more reactionary than I fear will be the case they may try to fob India off with a good deal less.' The worst fears of this correspondent have been realised. Although Mr. Montagu has been returned and will probably go back to the India Office, he has lost almost all his parliamentary supporters, who could have been expected to throw in their whole weight in the direction of expanding the scheme. Mr. Charles Roberts, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Snowden have all been displaced, other friends of India whom we had expected to get in have failed, and Labour is represented in Parliament by a much smaller proportion than had been anticipated. This is a sufficiently gloomy outlook for India, and things will not be much improved by the Congress adopting a resolution on the official scheme which is a clear infringement of the whole spirit informing the reform proposals."

6. The great war has endowed the Unionists with a new angle of vision but if an occasion arises they will not hesitate to disown Mr. Lloyd George. Mr. Montagu, it is announced, will be retained as Secretary of State in order that India may not be dissatisfied. We do not know what good Mr. Montagu may do to India; for the present it is India that is doing good to Mr. Montagu. The Conservatives also have realised the force of the *swardjya* movement in India and it is satisfactory to note that the Unionists have to take care that the idea does not spread that even the Montagu reforms will not be introduced. Mr. Lloyd George does not wish to act according to the orders of the Conservatives and he is ready to break his golden chains to pieces whenever necessary. We are glad to see that Messrs. Lloyd George and Montagu have not lost their independence, though the Unionists have gained the upper hand.

Kesari (114), 7th Jan.

7. The *Sánj Vartamán* considers the result of the General Election to be startlingly surprizing and, from India's point of view, quite disappointing, as almost all the friends of India are conspicuous by their absence from the new Parliament. It regards the discomfiture of Mr. Asquith and his party at the poll as ominous to India's political aspirations and remarks that as educated Indians always look up to the Liberal party for their political progress, this disappearance of liberals as a party from the arena of British politics is sure to cause some anxiety in India as to the future of Indian Reforms. The only redeeming feature of the new Parliament is, the paper continues, that Mr. Montagu is retnrned, but it still remains to be seen whether he will be able to secure a place in the Cabinet, and whether his Reforms will be revised in the light of the criticism passed on it by the Congress and the Moslem League. It is really unfortunate, the paper adds, that the strength of the enemies of Indian progress has increased in the new Parliament.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 7th Jan.

8. "The list, it will be seen, consists largely of persons who have rendered war services to Government; a longer list including the names of several others would have given satisfaction in circles which usually look forward to the Honours List as an impressive event of the New Year. The glamour of these lists is gradually passing away, one reason being the growing feeling that the 'honours' conferred by the Government are, in several cases, no mark of real 'merit'..... We personally believe that untitled Indians have opportunities to serve the country better than several of the titled, 'big' men of the hour; they will not stand in danger of being dominated by official influences."

The New Year's Honours List.
New Times (8), 3rd Jan.

9. "The customary list of honours issued on the New Year's Day during this week does not differ much from most of its predecessors, and as such it has been read with mixed feelings by the public at large. As already stated on several occasions in the past by us in these columns, we are firmly of opinion that these various honours within the gift of Government should be distributed more liberally than is the case at present among the non-official gentry by way of recognizing meritorious services rendered by them in different spheres, while in the case of officials they should be distributed with a very sparing hand and that too for exceptional services only. With the adoption of this principle as guide, the different titles will be appreciated by the intelligent public at their proper value, which unfortunately cannot be said to be the case at present." [The *Gujarâti Punch* writes :—" This year's Honours List is no exception to the general practice heretofore followed confining the awards mainly to the Government officials. The making up of the List is a mystery to the public and will, we believe, always remain so."]

Praja Bandhu (29), 5th Jan., Eng. cols.; *Gujarâti Punch* (20), 5th Jan., Eng. cols.

10. "The prosecution of the Honourable Mr. Clayton by Mr. Hasan Imam has come to a close, the defendant submitting an unqualified apology to the plaintiff. Counsel for the defendant placed him entirely in the plaintiff's hands and appealed to Mr. Imam's generosity and magnanimity. It was alleged on behalf of Mr. Clayton that he displayed a commendable spirit of reasonableness and acted as a gentleman. The commendable spirit, together with the appeal for generosity, took time for manifesting itself, inasmuch as it was at an advanced stage of the case that Mr. Clayton thought of throwing away his written defence and surrendering himself to the mercy of Mr. Imam. ..... We believe we are right in saying that there is no Indian, who has not been, some time or other, insulted on the Railways. Railway servants and European passengers—not to mention Eurasians—often take upon themselves to hustle and harry Indians who journey, imagining that they have a right to offer them any indignity. Conduct so insolent and ill-bred comes as something natural and legitimate to them, since in the preferences and comforts which they, in their experience, find in their journeys, they enjoy an atmosphere favouring and stimulating arrogance. Lord Morley warned that the excited corporal and the angry planter must not be allowed to supersede the policy of right and equality professed by British law, and become the judges of their conduct. In the case of a man of Mr. Clayton's standing, education and experience, behaviour of the kind which brought him into trouble was inexcusable. Nevertheless it is an index of the gross attitude which has become natural to some Europeans in the country. The Railway administration does little to discourage practices of the kind; but we hope that the Imam-Clayton case will serve as a deterrent to Europeans whose own sense of decency and responsibility is not sufficient as a rule of gentlemanly behaviour."

Comments on the Imam-Clayton case at Bankipore (Behár).
Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th Jan.

*11. "Indians brook no insult from any white-skinned man, and the latter has nowadays to pay heavily for it. We are glad that Mr. Hasan Imam taught a good lesson to the Secretary of the Behar Government and humbled his arrogant spirit in the open court. But the case is instructive from other points of view also, and shows to what depth of unfairness a bureaucrat sometimes descends. When the case was filed, Mr. Clayton made a statement before the court to the effect that *he* was really an injured man, and quite innocent in the matter. In his final statement he withdrew his previous statements and accepted 'the plaint as substantially a correct statement of the unfortunate incident'. This clearly proves that his previous statement, alleging his injured and outraged innocence, was a deliberate falsehood! Similarly his contesting the case for some time shows that he wanted to defend his insulting behaviour towards a respectable Indian regardless of truth and sense of fairness. And yet Mr. Clayton is an honourable man, a high personage, being a Secretary to the Behar Government, and a

Mahrátta (7), 12th Jan.

member of the rulers' caste that has been lauded to the skies by many for their sense of fairness and regard for truth, justice, equality, liberty and what not! And such men are sent to rule over us, and the Public Services Commission tells us that they must remain in the country to the extent of 75 per cent! Mr. Clayton's case, however, shows that the sooner such men cease to be in service altogether the better for India."

Sánj Vartamán (32), 9th Jan., Eng. cols.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 8th Jan.

12. "Englishmen who are gentlemen are always gentlemen, everywhere and on all and every occasion. But there are Englishmen on whom the mere fact of being an Englishman sits too heavily for a thorough equilibrium of their brain. If such men happen to be clothed with an official designation (and very often without it even) then the above-mentioned shaky equilibrium is completely upset. In other words they forget themselves and behave like boors. These men have a deep-seated aversion against Indians and can never imagine that an Indian can be a gentleman, and deserves to be treated as a gentleman..... Such men with such deep colour prejudice or such men on whom the least dignity sits so ill have no business to leave their country and come here and make such a sad exhibition of their bad manners..... We consider that Government are partly to be blamed for the long persistence of this nuisance. It is their obvious duty not only to make an example of men of the defendant-type in the case we have here discussed, but they ought to declare in a most emphatic manner that any intentional ill-manner towards an Indian by an Englishman in responsible position would result either in degradation from his post or in dismissal from office. Drastic measures of some such kind would at once put an end to a nuisance which is a perpetual source of heart-burning amongst the Indians and which is by far the most potent barrier for Indo-British rapprochement." [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* applauds Mr. Hasan Imam for the courage he has shown in dragging the Honourable Mr. Clayton to court and in exacting an unqualified apology from him. It remarks that Indians have very often to suffer indignities at the hands of Europeans in railway trains and asks Government to make an example of the Honourable Mr. Clayton by dismissing him from service.]

Comments on the speeches of His Majesty the King and President Wilson at the recent Buckingham Palace banquet.

Rájakáran (123), 5th Jan.

13. Although we cannot have any adequate conception of the grandeur of the banquet given to President Wilson in the Buckingham palace we have perused the honeyed words used on that occasion. The speeches of both His Majesty the King-Emperor and President Wilson simply overflowed with happy sentiments. And why should not that be so? England joined in the war with the avowed object of safeguarding the liberties of the world while America proclaimed that she too was inspired with the same lofty principles. Is it strange then that there should be no lack of sweet words when the mouth-pieces of these two nations meet together at a banquet? The utterances of our King-Emperor were truly noble. The knowledge that the two nations England and America are liberty incarnate will gladden the hearts of any people, but it is particularly gratifying to those like us who are under foreign rule. Is not the thought, that our destinies are in the keeping of a liberty-loving country like England, very pleasing? Now we pray His Majesty the King-Emperor and President Wilson that when they handle the question of the future peace of the world they will not ignore the unrest that exists in India, and that while they recognise the rights of other peoples they will not disregard those of Indians.

The object lesson of the Irish situation.

Home Ruler (5), 4th Jan.

14. "What is the object lesson which the Irish situation provides? It is that a continuous failure of constitutional agitation completely discredits it and the result is that the nationalist party is perforce driven into unhealthy channels. That is a lesson which would be of inestimable value to the British politicians in

dealing with India. For three and thirty years the nationalist party here has been systematically agitating on constitutional lines. To-day this agitation is of a volume and momentum which it would be simply madness to ignore. And while those in power are making up their mind they cannot expect the Indian people to stand still and await their divine decrees. This means that British statesmanship has to be very alert and must promptly and thoroughly satisfy the demands of the nationalist party. To-day not a breath is raised against the British connection. But if the situation is allowed to drift by itself it would be idiotic to expect perfect loyalty on one side and systematic indifference on the other. We believe that the salvation of India would be helped by the British connection. But that makes it necessary that the British people should look the sitution squarely in the face and not look at it through the interested Anglo-Indian eyes. The Ulsterites are responsible in no small measure for the (?) in Ireland; and if there is a *debacle* in India the responsibility of the Anglo-Indians for it would be infinitely greater. We earnestly trust that England will not commit in India the same blunders which she committed in Ireland which have provided such a tragic object lesson."

15. Writing about Mr. Tilak's work in England the *Kesari* says:—Mr. Tilak is engaged for the most part of his time in the Chirol case. He is carrying on a vigorous *swardjya* campaign during his spare hours. Much of the credit of the prominent place given by labour leaders to Indian *swardjya* is due to the help given by Messrs. Baptista and Tilak. The *Herald* is publishing editorials and articles by Mr. Baptista. There are clear signs that labour will win shortly, though it was not so successful in the present elections as expected. It is rendering more help than the British Congress Committee which has become a body of retired Anglo-Indians. Agitation in England is mainly a question of money. The ignorance of Britishers is so colossal that five dailies and 25 speakers are required to remove it. Still it is a matter of pride that as much is done as possible in the present circumstances.

Prospects of Indian political agitation in England. *Kesari* (114), 7th Jan.

*16. "Serious complaints have reached us from many reliable men in official circles and elsewhere in Poona to the effect that the authorities of the Bombay Bank and the Government treasury here are absolutely refusing to give even a single rupee coin to any man who has to encash his pay or pension bills there. Paper currency is forced into circulation by this unfair means to a very great extent, and the result is that there is a serious shortage of rupee coin in the city. The *Sarafs* are actually reaping heavy profits in their business. This is certainly most embarrassing to those whose incomes are very small, and the large deductions in the form of brokerage are certainly a punishment to them. Will the authorities pay attention to this matter and remove the hardfelt grievance of the poor pensioners and other Government servants who are greatly handicapped by this unjust action of some mysterious authority?"

Grievances of shortage of rupees in Poona City. *Mahratta* (7), 12th Jan.

17. "There is widespread opposition to the proposed Excess Profit Tax. Nearly all the influential Merchants' associations and responsible public bodies have opposed the proposal. The Tax, if levied, would considerably depress several prominent Indian industries, *i. e.*, just those that are prospering, and reduce capital for profitable industrial and commercial investment. Already the money market is tight and the severe financial strain through which we are passing is likely to make itself felt in floating new enterprises in the period of reconstruction..... The tax could only be justified on the ground of specific improvements in Education, Sanitation, or Agriculture or Famine Relief. But even in that case the determining factor in the whole question must be Indian opinion, and Indian opinion is decidedly opposed to the tax for the simple reason that improvement

The Excess Profits Tax. *New Times* (8), 8th Jan.

in social, economic and educational spheres also can be better insured by securing a sound national economic policy. As a matter of fact, however, the tax is not required for any such improvement or even for the problems of reconstruction. The country is in the grip of an acute famine and any pressure on the most successful concerns is sure to be felt downwards. The Government of India ought, therefore, to abandon the proposal and issue an announcement to that effect as early as possible."

India not fit for *swarâjya*.
Jâgaruk (43), 4th Jan.

18. We often hear that the goal of all classes in India is *swarâjya* and that they all desire to see India getting an honourable place in the Council of Nations. How is it then that they neither love nor trust each other? In spite of the so-called Hindu-Moslem *entente* the Muhammadans are not prepared to co-operate with the Hindus unless they are adequately represented in the Councils. This shows they have absolutely no faith in the Hindu leaders. The backward classes also maintain that unless their representatives in the Councils are sufficiently numerous the transfer of power into Indian hands will not only not benefit them but will actually do them harm. The untouchable classes are still more suspicious about the good faith of the advanced classes. The Brahmins too are not over-anxious about the welfare of non-Brahmins as shown by the fact that they are not willing to concede to them their legitimate share of political power. Although they talk of unity and patriotism their vision does not extend beyond their own community and most of them desire to perpetuate the abject condition of the masses.

Alleged failure of the Food Controller to check abnormal rise in prices.
Gujarâti (18), 5th Jan.

19. The people are being ground down by high prices and it is feared that they will be still more crushed by the continuous advance in prices. The people are asking: What is the Food Controller doing? What is he doing to check the rise in prices? Is he sleeping? Is he co-operating with the merchants in profiteering? Are the higher officials aware that wheat is being sold at Rs. 24 per *phara*? The merchants are of opinion that there is no efficacy in the check exercised by the Controller. Is it a fact that the merchants have nullified the check? The merchants say that there is much surplus wheat in outstations, but as it cannot be brought to Bombay without a permit from the Controller the grain dealers take advantage of the situation. It is also being freely said that those only who are lavish in the use of their money can secure the permits and railway waggons. The present system affords opportunities to the merchants to give bribes and for the officials to accept them.

Alleged hardships of merchants in the matter of obtaining Priority Certificates.
Sanjaya (125), 5th Jan.

20. "A merchant" writes in the *Sanjaya*:—In view of the serious famine conditions prevailing all over the country, Govenment appointed a Controller in order that poor people may obtain rice at reduced rates, and in the beginning it was, no doubt, a relief to the latter as the Controller's rice was sold cheaper than the market rice. But it is surprising that it should now be sold at almost the market rates when it is supposed that no profit is made by the Controller on the rice supplied to the dealers. We request Government to take early steps in the matter so that the people may obtain rice at lower rates as far as possible. Secondly, Bombay merchants are being put to a great deal of inconvenience, hardship and loss, in the matter of obtaining Priority Certificates from the Controller inasmuch as the applications sent to that officer for favour of issuing the Certificates are not promptly dealt with by him on the same day but the passes take nearly five or six days to issue. The merchants are thereby put to an additional expense as they have to pay increased freight charges as a result of the delay. We, therefore, request Government to take steps to arrange for the prompt issue of passes to merchants at some business centre and thus put an end to the inconvenience caused to them.

21. Commenting on the proceedings at the recent sessions of the Indian National Congress, the *Home Ruler* remarks:—

Comments on the proceedings at the recent sessions of the Indian National Congress.

Home Ruler (5), 4th Jan.

"Some eight hundred and more tenant delegates were present from all parts of India including Sind, and two of their representatives spoke up clearly and definitely in favour of full responsible government in the provinces. They pointed out that they were tired of the police administration in the country, the law operated against them since justice was rarely done to them; they have had enough of the present order of things, and they wanted Home Rule conditions to prevail without the least delay. The introduction of the masses into our National Assembly is a feature which is full of great promise in the immediate future. The educated community whose unnational education has not been over-helpful in making them patriotic citizens, and whose wants and ambitions have made many of them subservient to the will of an astute bureaucracy, will not be the saviours of the nation, but our hope is in the masses through whom Providence always declares its will. It is with the support of the masses that Mahatma Gandhi won his passive resistance battles in South Africa, in Champaran and in Kaira. His faith in them is strong and unflinching, and he is silently working to build up his foundation. Their entry into the Congress therefore ushers in a new era which is full of the greatest promise for the future of our country. The Delhi Congress is indeed a memorable one in many respects as ushering an era in which the Congress will voice the opinions and wishes of the masses of the population and will no longer be manipulated by a handful of men whether Moderate or Extremist. For the moment also, it has created a third party in the Congress, that of Mrs. Besant. But we must note that Mrs. Besant stands for the Bombay resolution, and for negotiation on the part of the deputation. The Congress, with its overwhelming majority, is for immediate provincial autonomy, and for a firm attitude on the part of the deputation as really representing the will of the Nation. Now, unless these issues are further explained and are to be made the outcome of a general policy of, say, caution as against extremism, it seems to us that they are not essential enough to create permanent parties, except on personal grounds. We are of opinion that we do not need any more parties, and that the issues are not vital enough for that; and that the present moment is one when unity of purpose is more essential than anything else, and we therefore hope that sound counsels will prevail and that no opposition will be created to the expression of the Nation's will..... We are constrained to make these remarks because we know that Mrs. Besant and Messrs. C. P. Ramswamy Iyer and Bhurgri did not take up their offices, and do not desire to join the Congress deputation and are going to send a separate Home Rule Deputation to England with the power to negotiate. We are not distinctly of opinion that such a move will run counter to the Congress deputation..... They may form themselves into an opposition so far as the deliberations go; but once that stage is passed and vote has been taken, the will of the majority becomes binding on all. In this spirit we trust all the Congress parties will work and co-operate." [Elsewhere the paper publishes an article contributed by Mr. L. A. Adwani in the course of which the writer remarks:—"The Congress has proved beyond doubt that it is the mouthpiece of the nation, not Mrs. Besant's nor Mr. Tilak's, that it exists for reflecting the opinion of the nation, for the benefit of the nation and not the nation for the Congress. Let those who have so far been decrying it as Besantine or Tilakite, if they do not wish to remain blind to facts, see things for themselves and view the proceedings of the Delhi sessions. But if their verdict now be that the whole or the majority of the nation is drunken with madness and lost its head, let the British statesmen take a warning from it and hasten to satisfy the aspirations of the people. The fate of Ireland of to-day should remind and warn them against negligence or repression."]

22. The Delhi Congress deeply stirred the Punjáb, Delhi and the United Provinces. Delhi people were dissatisfied and exasperated because of the prohibition of the

Kesari (114), 7th Jan.

presidential procession, and the feeling was in evidence in the Congress in every matter. Everyone felt that Police, Justice and Law must be in the hands of the people. Delhi felt poignantly that it could not do anything even in the matter of the procession when the principle of self-determination was being applied everywhere else. Three resolutions of the Congress were important ones and all the three may be called resolutions of self-determination. Who is to determine what form of administration India should have? If President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George are ready to apply the principle to Czecho-Slavs and Jugo-Slavs, what crime has India committed that she should not consider political questions in reference to the above principle? The principle that is applied to the whole world must be applied to India. There is not much difference between the Moderate Conference and the National Congress. The Delhi Congress affirmed the resolutions of the Special Congress and took a step forward. Everybody thought it better to speak out the truth in a straightforward and honest manner. It demanded full provincial autonomy, a demand already made by Honourable Members of various provincial Councils. There was some difference of opinion on the point but difference is not split. It was but a minor difference. The Congress elected delegates to the Peace Conference—a resolution characterised as absurd by Anglo-Indian papers. Nobody thinks that President Wilson would send an invitation to Mr. Tilak on account of the Congress resolution. The Congress wants that the Peace Conference should apply the principle of self-determination to India. The bureaucracy is interested in keeping India out of the world movement but it is not to the good of India. Just as the Congress announced that it is not satisfied with the crumbs given to us in connection with the Industrial Commission's report, it proclaimed by passing the resolution regarding the Peace Conference that it is not content to move within the limits set by the bureaucracy. No body but the parasites of the bureaucracy will say that the Congress is unpractical if it resolves to ally itself with the world movement.

Prakásh (122), 8th Jan.

23. The resolutions passed by the Congress marked a definite advance in the path of progress. The Congress no longer confined itself to such unbecoming and hackneyed demands as the repeal of the Arms and the Press Acts, the widening of the Jury system, etc., but claimed all the rights enjoyed by the other free peoples. It would have been most unmanly indeed to have expressed satisfaction with what little the bureaucracy condescended to give us when the right of self-determination is being recognised in the case even of small nations. The League of nations will have indulged in self-delusion if it fails to recognise the right of self-determination of a country which has produced men like Dadabhai, Tilak, Bose, Tata, Mehta, etc. When are we to put forth our demand for self-determination if not now?

Gujarátí (18), 5th Jan.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 7th Jan.; *Bombay Samáchár* (63), 10th Jan.; *Baroda Vartamán* (61), 6th Jan.; *Deshodaya* (68), 7th Jan.

24. The *Gujarátí* wishes that the Indian National Congress had adhered to the resolution passed at the special sessions held at Bombay and had not made further recommendations in connection with the Reform Scheme. It also disapproves of the recommendation for the nomination of Messrs. Tilak, Gandhi and Hasan Imam to the Peace Conference on the ground that the Congress had no authority to make such a fantastic suggestion. The paper ironically hopes that Government will see their way to give Indians some responsible share in Government so that they may not continue to indulge in such fanciful schemes. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* deplores the preponderating influence the Extremists have acquired in the Congress and expresses a hope that Government will enable the Moderates to re-establish their influence by adopting the reforms suggested by them. The *Bombay Samachár* on the other hand is disposed to regard the resolutions of the Congress as voicing the aspirations of the people in general and sees no reason why there should be any hairsplitting differences between the Moderates and the Extremists as both of them have suggested alterations in the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, which in its opinion are identical in spirit. The *Baroda Vartamán* fully endorses the views expressed in the

presidential address and urges the need of the application of the principle of self-determination to India. The *Deshodaya* congratulates the Congress on the foresight and orderliness with which its proceedings were conducted and disapproves of the amendments suggested by Mr. Sastri.]

25. "The Delhi Congress, under the guidance of the wiseacres of the Extremist Camp, outdid itself for its recently notorious lack of political wisdom by postponing *sine die* the consideration of the Resolution to welcome the Prince of Wales to India. What does this mean? Does it mean that this august Congress refuses to welcome the Prince of Wales until certain conditions, to be laid down by the Congress, are fulfilled by the Government? If we bear in mind the maxim laid down by Mr. Tilak at the War Conference at Bombay, *viz.*, no recruiting unless there is self-government, there will hardly be any difficulty in interpreting this refusal of the Congress to pass the resolution of welcome. The other important resolution of the Congress which shows in an equal measure its present attitude towards Government is the election of Messrs. Tilak, Gandhi and Hasan Imam as the representatives of India at the Peace Conference. Proceeding at this pace, we have every hope the next Congress will establish a Government of its own on perfectly national lines and, like the Sinn Feiners of Ireland, decide not to obey the laws made by the present alien Government! That will be self-determination in the true sense of the word! The Moslem League has become equally wise. One of its demands is that the integrity of the Turkish Empire should be maintained in spite of the fact that the Turks waged one of the most unprovoked wars against England. Jerusalem must not be occupied by the British or their allies, say these leaguers. The pity of it is that these great Muhammadan leaders of India have not been asking Lord Chelmsford to vacate Delhi which is so pre-eminently a Moslem heritage! Could folly go further?"

Deccan Ryot (4), 9th Jan.

26. "If the Delhi session of the Congress has achieved anything it is this—that it has bid good-bye to sanity, statesmanship and practical politics. Any counsel of wisdom or commonsense has come to be ridiculed as political expediency. The Congress is no longer to guide the political life in India but is to be guided by the wild notions of inexperienced youths..... It is really painful to think to what low level the Congress has reduced itself. Even a proposal to welcome the visit of the Prince of Wales was given the go-bye! And this is the Congress which arrogates to itself the stupid pretension of speaking in the name of the people. With its usual disregard for facts, the *Mahrátta* has, in giving an account of the Delhi Congress, stated that the leaders of the non-Brahmin Community were present at the Congress. We challange the *Mahrátta* to name who those leaders are. The leaders of the Non-Brahmins have never recognised the Congress as a body representative of all the people in India and have on many occasions refuted pointblank any such pretensions on the part of the Congress."

Vibhákar (36), 6th Jan., Eng. cols.

27. There was nothing wrong in the Delhi Congress doing away with the period of six years for the grant of Provincial autonomy to which it had agreed at its Bombay sessions. The only question is why is it considered necessary that the country should make political progress only? Why do the Extremists hesitate to make use of the world's experience in social matters also? For instance Mr. Malaviya himself while speaking on Mr. Patel's Bill legalizing mixed marriages declared that the people of India were ignorant and orthodox and that they would not be able to digest this reform. We fail to understand why the country is considered incapable of digesting an ordinary social reform of the kind referred to above although according to the Extremists it can digest in a trice all the political reforms which in ordinary circumstances it would not have got for a century more. [Elsewhere the paper referring to the remarks of the *Mahrátta*, "force must remain the final arbiter in the world. Let us dovote ourselves dutifully to the work

Jágaruk (43), 4th Jan.

of creating force among ourselves" (*vide* paragraph 7 of W. R. No. 52 of 1918), says:—Is it then to be understood that India's misfortunes are not yet at an end and that there are still plenty of men among the Extremists who would give encouragement to the doers of misdeeds?]

28. "The Delhi Congress under Nationalist leaders has cut all the old moorings and taken a bound forward with a suddenness which makes its future a problem and to some extent involves the future fortunes of India in doubt. ..... The results of the general election in England were not known while the Congress sat, but if it had been realized how much the new Cabinet would be under conservative domination, the effect would only have been to make the speeches more uncompromising and truculent. The spirit that rises as difficulties thicken is heroic, but the policy is crude which continually shifts its objective, and the generalship is disastrous which essays the impossible against overwhelming odds. A disposition to fly in the face of facts, to refuse to be comforted and to mistake every desire of the heart for a practicable aim are phenomena in the psychology of childhood and not of statesmanship. It is sad, this change that has come over the Congress..... We are having the bitter fruit of democracy even before it is well planted in the soil of India. But our faith in democracy is strong. Along with its necessary evil, it will bring us in due time abundance of good as well. Only the brave men that will speak out unpopular truths and can warn when flattery seems the only easy and safe course must increase in number..... If the violent natures in a commnuity run it into danger and confusion, the responsibility is not exclusively theirs, but it partially rests on the good men who saw the danger but did not do their best to avert it. Let the Moderates in the country beware. The call on them is imperative. Within or without the Congress, they must organize themselves and make their presence felt in the affairs of the nation..... The authorities too, whether in England or in India, have a profound lesson to learn from recent events. It is remarkable that the greatest strength of the Nationalist party proceeds from the provinces of the Punjáb, Delhi and Madras, where in recent years an unsympathetic administration has estranged the people. It is no less remarkable that the two main strongholds of moderation are Bengal and Bombay, where there have been two highly popular Governors. It is not without reason that anti-British writers and speakers wish a succession of harsh and tyrannical rulers and dread nothing so much as the advent of a just and broad-minded statesman. For a like reason there are those that would like the reform scheme rejected in Parliament or so whittled down as to destroy the faith of the people in British fairness or generosity. We trust with all our hearts that the lesson of Ireland will not be lost on British statesmen. Perhaps the desire to do justly by the Irish nation is more active and widespread now than at any previous period in their unfortunate history, and from the testimony of competent persons it appears that the ameliorative measures of the last two decades had produced in Ireland before the war a condition of almost unprecedented material prosperity. Nevertheless the sense of political wrong which has been allowed by fatal failures to grow in strength has resulted in the extinction of the Nationalist party and the triumph of Sinn Feinism. Shall Government pursue a smilar policy in India? We know the Tory party in England attribute the chronic unrest of Ireland to the cussedness of her politicians. The bulk of Englishmen in India, official and non-official, are Tory in their political complexion and believe that the stern arm of coercive legislation can suppress the political movement in the country and convert it once more into a paradise for the despot and the exploiter. How blind is self-interest! To these people experience brings no wisdom and history is as though it was not. Truly when one thinks of the vast amount of selfishness and hate which make for the degradation of humanity, it seems a sin for all the sane and sober men in a country, to whatever race or party they belong, not to combine for the common welfare. Englishman and Indian, official and non-official, all true friends of India should have one purpose and own one duty to save her from the rise of Carsonism on the one hand and Sinn Feinism on the other."

Servant of India (9), 9th Jan.

29. "The demand of having India's representative selected by the Congress at the Peace Conference sounds to us rather astounding. As Pandit Radhakant Malaviya said, no doubt the present system is not one which one would desire but it is the result of the existing form of Government. We think what the Congress should have demanded was that the Government should nominate after consulting the leaders of public opinion. One incident which need be mentioned is the sharp division of opinion which existed on the Reform Resolution. A large minority headed by Mrs. Besant and others was in favour of not going beyond the Bombay Resolution. Another point of difference was the resolution asking that Mr. Tilak should be allowed a seat at the Peace Conference as an Indian representative. The difference on the Reform Resolution led to the refusal by the present general secretaries to continue as such during the next year. Also a committee was appointed to select the names of the members of the deputation to be sent to England. This means that the selection made by the All-India Congress Committee is not approved of by the Congress."

Gujardti Punch (20), 5th Jan., Eng. cols.

30. "The soul of the country found voice in the President's great message which closed the Congress on the 31st. He urged Hindus and Moslems to unite; and he made an earnest appeal to both to arrive at some settlement 'in this ancient and holy city' about the question of cow-sacrifice. We cannot think the Muslims who understand the Hindu standpoint will fail to respond to the Hindu sentiment concerning the cow; and, looked at from a larger view, that of the nation's material interests, cow-sacrifice will not appeal to the country."

Comments on the Congress President's closing remarks.

New Times (8), 3rd Jan.

***31.** "The re-entry of the Honourable Mr. Srinivasa Sastry, President of the Servants of India Society, into the Indian National Congress at Delhi, after his abstention in conjunction with other Moderate leaders from the Special Session held a few months ago in Bombay, has not had any effect. The President's special appeal to give the returned prodigal a courteous hearing was complied with by the audience, but it was in no mood to kill the fatted calf to celebrate his homecoming. On the contrary, the facile charity of Mr. Sastry would seem to have encouraged the extremer spirits to go a step further than at the Special Session in Bombay where the concerted abstention of the Moderates operated as a restraining influence..... Those who hailed the decision of Mr. Sastry to attend the Delhi Congress as proof of the highest statesmanship will find it difficult to digest that verdict. The other Moderate leaders, with knowledge born of long experience, did not tempt the ardent spirits of the Congress. If they had done so, there is no saying how much farther they would have gone..... There are now three political parties in India. There are the Moderates who, we see, propose to hold a second conference in Calcutta in Easter week; there is the party which adheres to what has been called the 'compromise' effected at the Special Session, though who the parties to it were is not clear; there is the party of intransigeants who carried everything before them at the Delhi Conference. ..... Before concluding, we should like to say a word to the Moderate party. It is absolutely no use passing resolutions solely about the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme at its next Conference. What, in our opinion, is most important is that a programme should be laid down of the measures which the party propose to take in hand if the scheme is passed. The country is tired of vapid arguments for and against the proposals contained in it. What do we want to do, and how are we going to use the new opportunity? The Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya promised this writer several years ago in the presence of a valued friend that in the course of three years he would bring in a Bill to prevent infant marriages. Perhaps he has forgotten all about it. We mention this only to show how the best of us are apt to forget the ends in our ardour about the means, and not as an omission to be rectified by the Moderate party. What are the ends for which the Moderate

The Moderate party and its politics.

Indian Social Reformer (6), 12th Jan.

party stands? As we understand them, they are those of progress all round. We should then have our platform of progress. Moderation in itself is not an end, and even as a means, its value entirely depends on the ends. If a house is burning, no sane man would advise moderation in extinguishing it. The essence, as we take it, of moderation in politics is the maintenance of a measure of continuity between things as they are and things as they have to become, as a guarantee against sudden shocks to the body politic. It is thus a method and not an end."

Approval of the decision to hold a Second Moderate Conference.

Dnyán Prakásh (39), 8th Jan.

32. Commenting upon the proposed meeting of the Moderate Conference at Calcutta in April next the *Dnyán Prakásh* writes:—Since the last session of the Congress the need for holding a separate Conference of the Moderates with the object of expressing the views of the more thoughtful and sensible section of the public has become self-evident. The ship of the Congress is now moving with so much rapidity that its speed is becoming unbearable even to Mrs. Besant and Mr. Jinnah. The Congress ought to have passed a resolution welcoming the Prince of Wales to India. Thirteen years ago a resolution welcoming the present King-Emperor, who then visited this country as the Prince of Wales, was brought forward before the Congress which met at Benares and was similarly opposed. That attempt, however, did not succeed as the Congress was at that time in the hands of sensible people. But times have changed. Prudence, thoughtfulness and statesmanship are at a discount and what was impossible of accomplishment at Benares has been easily accomplished at Delhi. Even Mrs. Besant has realised that she cannot possibly keep company with the Tilak party in future. All this shows that sensible people can no longer take part in the Congress and that if they wish to ventilate their views they must devise some other agency. People are becoming more and more convinced that those who have the direction of the Congress are pursuing a highly objectionable course and if the Moderates attempt to organize their party at this time they are sure to meet with considerable success.

Comments on the presidential address at the recent sessions of the Moslem League.

New Times (8), 4th and 5th Jan.

33. "'The future of Turkey,' says Mr. Fazlul Haque, 'so far as I can see, seems to be doomed.' And he complains of 'the feelings of the European powers towards Turkey'..... It is, unfortunately, true that the attitude of Europeans to Turkey has seldom been one of appreciation or sympathy; the Church of England still retains in one of its Prayers a clause concerning the Turk which the Moslem will not appreciate; and so great a patriot as Mazzini was keen upon wiping Turkey out of the map of Europe..... We would have no nation and no 'empire' 'to trouble the world'; and we would be the last to defend Turkey's massacres of Armenian Christians, or unholy alliance with the Central Powers. But to treat her as a 'plague spot', to wipe her out of the new map of Europe would be a blunder and would, naturally, be resented by Moslems all over the world. Will President Wilson's view meet the needs of the situation? The matter is a delicate and difficult one; and should not be handled without due regard to Muslim susceptibilities and sentiments..... With the President's criticism of the Indian administration and of the recent attitude of the authorities to Muslim India, the nationalist is in full accord. It is unfortunately too true that England has not shown 'any conspicuous capacity for ruling subject races'; the Englishman was meant to be a lover of liberty, and when he plays the 'overlord', he fails; he blundered into an Empire, and his rule in the East has been a series of blunders, sometimes approaching catastrophes which have been averted only by 'accidents' such as indicate that there is a World-Will other than the will of man..... India's poverty and appalling mortality are facts which impeach the administration before the bar of civilization. How long will the answer to India's appeal be delayed?" [In the next issue the paper remarks:—"The spirit underlying the address indicates the present mood of the Moslem community, and it will not change until the Muslim grievances are removed." Elsewhere in the same

issue the paper adds :—" To eliminate Turkey would be to irritate Islam, and the Moslem situation in India ; and let us have no illusions ; Islam is not a spent force."]

34. Those who have read Mr. Fazlul Haq's speech made at the Congress on the *swarájya* resolution need not be told what sort of views he expressed as President of the Moslem League. On that occasion he advocated the immediate grant of *swarájya* and he was willing to wait for only such time as it would take the European officers in this country to pack up their things to leave the country permanently. His speech at the meeting of the Moslem League was also dominated by the same sort of notion. It is just possible that his mind was too much occupied with anxiety as to the future of the Khaliphate. Those who read his speech with a view to discovering even a single hopeful word as regards the political situation in the country will be quite disappointed. He unnecessarily dwelt at considerable length upon such subjects as the ruin of Indian industries during the last 150 years, the demoralization of the people under alien rule and the widespread poverty owing to the decrease in the means of earning livelihood. It is wholly useless in these days to try to establish the truth of these statements by quoting extracts from the writings of Messrs. R. C. Dutt, Dadabhai Naoroji and others. The Montagu-Chelmsford report has partly acknowledged the errors of the past and has also conceded the principle of planting self-governing institutions in this country. No fresh arguments are now necessary to make out a case for *swarájya* and it is needless waste of time to refer again and again to facts the truth of which is no longor challenged.

Dnyán Prakásh (39), 7th Jan.

35. " The more we read the more we feel that the address of the Honourable Fazlul Huq stands out as the most remarkable pronouncement of the season. The Musalmans were for many years backward in politics, but no one who heard this address and who saw the enthusiasm which it created in the Musalman camp will feel despondent in regard to the share which the Musalmans will have in the forward political march of the Indian nation. However much the Anglo-Indians and their mercenary followers attempt to sow discord and to create dissensions amongst the various sections of the Indian community, the Mussalmans have now come to believe as a body that they are in the same boat with the rest of the country and there is no reality in the promise of favouritism of an alien bureaucracy nor is there any honour in accepting a servile preference at the expense of their countrymen. At the same time it is difficult to put their faith in the attitude of British statesmen towards Islám. 'Every instance of a collapse of the Musalman powers of the world is bound to have an adverse influence on the political importance of our community in India.' In particular, in regard to Turkey, the Moslem feeling in India is practically unanimous, and yet the attitude of British statesmen is not to be mistaken. This is an opportunity which Christendom has got for finally dismissing Turkey from European soil and for giving the final blow to the only independent military Musalman power in the world. Mr. Huq astutely pointed out : 'And herein lies food for the amplest reflection.' It is now that Musalmans should carefully consider their position and put their house in order in all directions and, above all, should revise their attitude of intolerance and suspicion towards the sister communities. The domestic problems between the Hindus and Musalmans never assumed the acute form which they are now assuming under the guidance of unscrupulous officials and of those miserable men who sell their principles and their faith to serve their own ends. It is gratifying to find that in this regard matters are becoming more and more satisfactory and that the Musalmans are coming into line with the other communities to reiterate the common political demands of the country. British statesmen would, we hope, ponder over all these things, and by timely concessions to Indian sentiments prevent the terrible and unforeseen developments which might otherwise arise out of the bitterness into which Musalman India is being thrown, jeopardising the very connection between India and England and making the political progress of this country a jerky and an uncertain thing. We hope that good sense will still prevail, and it will not be possible for a Musalman critic who will

Young India (15), 8th Jan.

survey Moslem problems as a whole to speak of England and her representatives in India as capable of 'tall talk and low performances'."

The recent sessions of the Moslem League.
Home Ruler (5), 4th Jan.

36. "In the comprehensive catalogue of the appalling short comings of the Indian people there is one which used to be a great favourite with the Anglo-Indians some time back. It was alleged that the Indian lacked character, that he had not the courage of his convictions and that he could not speak out boldly and fearlessly. We shall not pause here to examine the character of those who have set up a legalized repression which is at present unrivalled anywhere else in the world and who accuse us of want of courage behind the shelter of that repressive legislation. It may be doubted whether the cowardly Indians have ever been so cowardly as to lord a sword over the head of a people and then grossly abuse them because they did not speak out like men. But apart from that the extremely plain and outspoken speeches at the Delhi sessions of the Moslem League give the lie direct to this cowardly libel. The President and the Chairman of the Reception Committee made speeches which cannot be possibly mistaken and which give a very clear and plain exposition of the Muslim feeling and sentiment..... The plea for home rule which the President made is striking from the point of view of his plain way of handling the question. He rightly refused to advance any arguments to prove our fitness for self-government. That is a patent fact which can be missed only by blind and interested partizans..... Mr. Haq proves to the hilt that India has not only retrograded but has undergone an economic transformation for the worse which no man in his senses would venture to deny. If those responsible for governing our country cannot even admit the existence of our most acute problems their solution is clearly a long way off."

Muslim Herald (151), 10th Jan.

37. Truly speaking, the Muslim League has for once done that which befits its name and work. The chairman of the reception committee and the President of the Muslim League gave utterance to those thoughts relating to the life of the Turks and the question of the Caliphate which lie in the heart of every Musalman in these days, and are uttered by him. Whatsoever Musalman you may accost you will surely find that his heart's desire is that God may strengthen (the ties of) connection and union between the Ottoman Empire and the Government of Great Britain, and that the Muhammadan Caliphate and the prestige of the Ottoman Sultans may be preserved. We hope that our prudent Government will, with a view to win the hearts of their Muhammadan subjects, solve this question in such a way as may commend itself to the hearts of their Muhammadan subjects.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (150), 12th Jan.

***38.** The meeting was very successful. Dr. Ansari's speech was undoubtedly vigorous. The light which he threw on the question of the Caliphate is quite in accord with the principles of Islam. Every word uttered by him in this connection is praiseworthy. No doubt exists about the fact, as observed by him, that His Majesty Sultan Wahiduddin Khan is the present Caliph, and the leader of the faithful. Islam enjoins veneration of the Caliph on the part of every Musalman. Every Muhammadan must obey God, His Prophet and the Caliph. So many conflicting reports were disseminated during the war about the question of the Caliphate that our hearts became all wounds. These wounds can only be cured by guaranteeing the independence of our holy places, and leaving the question of the Caliphate to the Musalmans to decide. The action of the Sherif of Mecca is quite against the laws of Islam. There is no doubt that he is, as observed by Dr. Ansari, a mere rebel; and the Musalmans cannot acknowledge him to be their Caliph. This is the first time that the members of the League have discussed this Moslem question in a true spirit of independence, and have apprised Government of the real feelings of the Musalmans in this connection.

39. The Moslem League showed more life than usual. The Muhammadans are in a position they had experienced never before on account of the danger threatening Turkey at the end of the great war. The entire Muhammadan religion and all the Muhammadan countries are in a sorry plight and the situation is having an extraordinary effect on Indian Muhammadans as could be seen at Delhi. Muhammadans cast away their indifference to politics at Delhi. Indian Muhammadans well know that they should achieve their political progress themselves and that the days are gone when they could rest content with the glory of having Muhammadan states outside India. A few years ago it was doubtful whether Muhammadans would follow Indians in political matters. At Delhi, Muhammadans were found ready to advance even beyond the Congress. Muhammadans will no doubt realise what importance Hindu leaders attach to the Hindu-Muhammadan concordat from the remark of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya that he would even witness cow-slaughter if it was essential to the Muhammadan religion—a remark that would be unbearable to Hindus and would be looked upon by them with disapproval. [Elsewhere the paper writes :—It is not surprising that Muhammadans should find the political situation arising out of the war more harassing than the Hindus. The political independence of Hindus was destroyed a hundred years ago. Muhammadans used to satisfy themselves till now by taking into consideration the thrones of the Shah of Persia, the Amir of Afghanistan and the Sultan of Turkey. The Sultan of Turkey is the Caliph of Muhammadans and Muhammadans naturally felt that along with Turkey the glory of Indian Muhammadans also would be achieved one day or the other. The attempt of the Young Turks to introduce Parliamentary Government in Turkey was approved alike by Hindus and Muhammadans. It may be said that Young Turks began the conflagration as yet burning in Europe. It was on account of Young Turks that the Turco-Italian and Balkan wars were fought and that the Great War also was due to Turkey joining Germany. Germany with the help of the Turks was successful against Russia and Muhammadans felt that the glory of Muhammadans was again advancing step by step. When the Muhammadan world was rejoicing, the situation was wholly changed within a few months and Turkey is now in the grip of the Allies. The plans of the Allies for partitioning Turkey will be out at the Peace Conference. In whatever way the partition may take place it is a fact that Turkey will be partitioned. There is no doubt that as a fighting power the importance of Turkey will be lessened. It is true there will be a big kingdom of Turks in Asia Minor but the Sultan will have to act so much according to the advice of English and French Ambassadors that the Muhammadan world will never assign to the Sultan of Turkey any better position than that of the Nizam. Though a new Arabian King of Syria, a new King of Mecca and Medina and a new Caliph of Bagdad may be installed by the Peace Conference there is no doubt that their state will be that of the Native Princes in India. In short the Turkish Empire will be partitioned and every piece directly or indirectly will be deemed as equal to a Native State of India. It is not surprising that the shattering to pieces of Turkey should make Muhammadans feel very queer and anxious. The Christian nations have to-day eaten up all Muhammadan nations. There will not be a single Muhammadan State outside the control of the Christian nations. Muhammadans were never faced with such a situation before. If any lesson was to be learnt from the present situation it was that of Hindu-Muhammadan unity. The matter was clearly explained by Muhammadan leaders to Muhammadans at Delhi. (The paper here refers to the resolutions of the Moslem League regarding the integrity of Turkey and Khalifate, etc., and writes :—Some Anglo-Indian newspapers will no doubt say that the League was as childish as the Congress and that it was absurd for the Indian Muhammadans to make suggestions to the Peace Conference. But Hindus and Muhammadans need not pay any attention to such ridicule or condemnation. The *Indu Prakásh* hopes that the British Government will respect the sentiments of their Moslem subjects and try to keep them contented.]

Kesari (114), 7th Jan.; *Indu Prakásh* (42), 8th Jan.

Mahrátta (7), 12th Jan.

40. The *Mahrátta* quotes some of the more truculent passages from the speeches delivered at the Muslim League sessions and remarks:—"These are very grave and serious warnings, and the British Government, even when in the flush of victory, cannot but pay very close attention to them. President Wilson has recently said that friendship, and not force, is to decide the future adjustment of inter-state relations and reconstruction, and if these are not the mere vapourings of a dizzy doctrinaire, then we do not know how the Allies dare dismember the Muslim States in Europe and Asia. The voice of seventy millions of Musalmans in India cannot be defied without courting their discontent, and it is, therefore, absolutely necessary for the British Government to unction the wounded souls of their loyal Muslim subjects by assuring them that nothing like dismemberment of Turkey is intended."

Hindusthán (22), 4th Jan.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 6th and 7th Jan.; *Wafáddr* (34), 10th Jan.

41. The *Hindusthán* draws the attention of the Imperial Government to the fears that exist in the minds of the Muhammadans with respect to the future of Turkey and earnestly asks them not to do aught that will create a feeling of discontent in the Muhammadan world. It trusts that the Peace Conference will ensure the peace of the world and will take care to see that no wrong is done to the Muhammadans. Should any injustice be done to the Muhammadans, the paper is afraid it will rankle in their hearts and break out in a conflagration. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* endorses the views expressed at the last sessions of the Moslem League with respect to the kingdom of Turkey and the holy places of Islam and expresses the hope that the Peace Conference will respect Muhammadan opinion in the matter. The *Wafáddr* also gives vent to the feelings of uneasiness that exist in the minds of the Muhammadans with respect to Turkey and hopes that Muhammadan opinion will be respected at the Peace Conference.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 7th Jan., Eng. cols.

42. "The future of the Turkish Kingdom has naturally exercised the interests and imaginations of the Indian Musalmans. Their sympathy for their co-religionists outside India is easily understood and does them credit. But it is a sentiment which can be easily exaggerated, and which, in any event, should not be indulged in to the detriment of the practical interests of the community and of India. Some of the resolutions adopted at the last session of the League are more of a pious than of a practical character. The tone of some of the speeches, too, is much to be regretted. No practical purpose is to be served by the idle threats and vain vapourings of the kind which the president is reported to have indulged in. Turkey to-day stands as a thoroughly defeated and discredited enemy power; and the position of those who would dictate terms in its behalf is sufficiently absurd and impossible to need elaboration. It is quite proper to ask His Majesty's Government to have due regard for Moslem interests and sentiment; but to couple the request with threats is both odious and ludicrous. Indian Musalmans may take 'a deep interest in the fate of their co-religionists outside India'. But 'the collapse of the Muslim powers of the world,' and 'the annihilation of the military powers of Islam,' if it has come about, cannot be helped; especially if it has been brought about by themselves. The demands adumbrated in the speeches and resolutions of the last session of the League, are generally vague and pompous; so far as they can be ascertained, they seem to fall quite outside the pale of practical politics. We have grave doubts that if the position had been reversed and Germany had won the war, Turkey would have evinced any such officious and sentimental solicitude for Indian Moslems. So far as respect for the Muhammadan religion and the holy places of Islam goes, we do not think His Majesty's Government have been, or are likely to be, less solicitous than any power, Islamic or non-Islamic. Nor is there any danger of the Muhammadan religion being in any way adversely affected by the peace settlements. To go beyond this is to seek to stay the hand of nemesis, and say that there shall be no retribution for the misgovernment of ages, and for a wanton and reckless aggression. We regret the League has permitted an exaggerated sentiment to get the better of its good sense. We regret the

tone of rather impotent hectoring which seems to run through some of the effusions. The leading members of the All-India Moslem League are men of culture, enlightenment and patriotism. It would be unfortunate, if the League should in any way seem to encourage mere fanaticism and a fantastic imperialism, absolutely inconsistent with the position of the Indian Muhammadans. The political activities of all Indians, whether Hindus or Muhammadans, should be confined to the soil which has nurtured them. The sort of dual loyalty, which some Indian Muhammadans profess to set up, is practically imposible. The Islamic powers and peoples outside the borders of India are well able to take care of themselves. There is immense work for the League to do for the uplift of the Indian Musalmans themselves. In seeking to participate in international politics, the League is gratuitously plunging into deep and dangerous waters."

The Muhammadan Educational Conference at Surat.
Muslim Herald (151), 10th Jan.

43. The Muhammadan Educational Conference was held at Surat, and we had the pleasure to attend it. From many points of view it can be pronounced a successful meeting. The speech of the President, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, was apposite and suited to the occasion. He discussed several aspects of education. On the authority of English historians he proved the literary research which the ancient Musalmans accomplished, and rebutted the arguments advanced against English education. Well, Sir Syed Ahmed (may God have mercy on him!), Maulana Shibli, Hali, Nazir Ahmed, etc., have discussed these subjects at great length. But a practical measure which Sir Ibrahim suggested is worth a trial. If Muhammadans were to adopt it, they would surely improve themselves. It is this:—A few educated Musalmans should sacrifice (their prospects) like the Hindus, give up greed and ambition, and gird up their loins for educating (their children). Just as the Hindus have established High Schools and Colleges by inducing a few Hindus to make this kind of sacrifice, the Muhammadans too will soon score a similar and even a better success. The speech of the President of the Reception Committee, namely, the Honourable Mr. Salehbhoy Barodawala, was also good and comprehensive. In short the meeting was quite remarkable. We congratulate firstly Sayedna Mulla Sahib on the success of the meeting. He played the host in such a way that not only could no one complain against anything, but that most men will remember long his hospitality, good management and charming manners. In other ways, the Honourable Mr. Ibrahim Haroon Jafar, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Mr. Muhammad Kadir Shaikh, Oriental Translator (to Government), Maulana Sherwani, Nawab Mir Muzaffar Hussain Khan and other residents of Surat deserve a vote of thanks. Heartfelt congratulations will be voted when the measures for the educational advancement of the Muhammadans suggested at the meeting are put into actual practice.

Famine in Alibág Taluka (Kolába).
Kesari (114), 7th Jan.

44. "Unfortunate Agriculturist" writes from Alibág (Kolába) to the *Kesari*:—This year there is famine in the Kolába District. The agriculturists in the Alibág Taluka have been feeling its effects already. They held a meeting last September and forwarded a resolution in the matter to the Collector of Kolába, who has replied to them as follows:—"Applications concerning lands the crops in which have failed will be considered according to the Rules regarding remissions and suspensions. In individual cases the applicant's rank and other sources of income if any will be taken into consideration at the time of the enquiry." Apart from what Government may decide, the whole tract of the salt land from Mándva to Revdanda has, so to say, practically remained waste. Many doubt whether the crops in this Taluka this year will be even four annas. When crops are four annas or less the Rules grant suspensions. Where, then, is the necessity for Government to examine the position of the applicants? Even though one may have some other sources of income, this is such a severe time of famine that some of the well-to-do even are feeling anxious about their future. Bagait, the only other sort of crop in this taluka, has also been causing apprehensions. The well water has already begun to be spoilt and may dry up within a couple of months. If, therefore, Government do not

grant remissions many middle-class men will have to dispose of their houses, etc. Our people, therefore, should continue to agitate.

Alleged destruction of crops in the Sátára District by wild boars.
Shri Shâhu (130), 1st Jan.

45. The *Shri Shâhu* complains that while over a large part of the Sátára District the crops have almost wholly failed, in those parts where a little fall of rain has helped the crops to some extent, wild boars are totally destroying them. It points out that though the cultivators are trying their utmost to prevent this destruction of crops their efforts have proved unsuccessful owing to want of arms and it therefore suggests that arms should be given to them for the purpose and armed police should also be despatched to deal with the pest. It further alleges that villages near Sátára City, like Songaon, Pathkhal and Borkhal, have also suffered from the ravages of wild boars.

Alleged inadequacy of famine relief operations in the stricken districts.
Gujarâti (18), 5th Jan.; *Bombay Samáchár* (63), 6th Jan.

46. Commenting upon the report issued by Mr. Purshottamdas in the matter of famine relief operations in the Presidency, the *Gujarâti* deplores the inadequate measures taken so far to combat the effects of famine and urges upon Government the need of supplying fodder to the affected areas without making any distinction with respect to the class of cattle that require prompt attention. It is of opinion that it would be an anomaly to withhold the benefits of the concession rates from agriculturists having milch cattle. It calls upon Government to take early steps to mitigate the effects of famine and to ask the railways to afford all possible facilities for the transport of fodder. [Elsewhere the paper requests His Excellency the Governor to pay a visit to the famine-stricken districts and thus acquire first hand information. The *Bombay Samáchár* requests Government to do all in their power to supply fodder to affected areas and to save cattle.]

Alleged difficulties of rayats in obtaining *tagâi*.
Din Mitra (105), 1st Jan.

47. The existing method of granting *tagâi* to agriculturists is defective and requires to be changed, inasmuch as the cultivators have to propitiate the Kulkarnis and Talatis and have also to spend several profitless days at the Taluka Kacheri before they are payed the *tagâi*. None but the cultivators themselves can have an idea as to the amount of inconvenience which they have to suffer by such detentions at the Kacheri in these hard days of famine. In connection with this we would suggest the following arrangement to avoid the present unnecessary delays in payment after the applications for *tagâi* are sanctioned. The Mamlatdar should, after estimating the number of applicants likely to be dealt with in a single day, summon them in writing to present themselves at the Kacheri on a certain date and they should get a subsistence allowance, which should be restricted to two days only, if the Mamlatdar is not able to pay the *tagâi* to them on the appointed day. If any agriculturist fails to get the *tagâi* even after these two days they should submit a complaint to the Collector who should hold the Mamlatdar responsible for the whole matter.

Comments on the occupation of Constantinople by Allied troops.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th Jan.

48. "Rumours there have been; the news that is now vouchsafed says that a French battalion has been detailed to occupy part of Stamboul, that British troops will be quartered at the 'British' quarter of Constantinople, and that an Italian force will occupy another quarter. In a word, Constantinople is being occupied, if it is not already occupied, the representative forces of three victorious Powers being commissioned to enter it and share the divided honours. There were reports that Constantinople was not to be occupied, but the present intelligence confirms the apprehensions entertained by the Moslem world about their veracity. It is no use disguising the fact that the Mussulmans of India will regard the event as a calamity and a humiliation—which can only be repaired by the statesmanship and good offices of Britain and her Allies at the Peace Conference."

49. It seems there is no unanimity even among the Allies themselves on certain important questions. The most important question before the Inter-allied Conference will be that of the reduction of armaments. So far as the army is concerned, England has no objection in undertaking its reduction, but she refuses to curtail her navy on the ground that her formidable sea power was the main factor which enabled her to make a firm stand against the enemy. In view of this refusal by England, the Government of the United States has laid down an extended naval programme for the next year, intending to make her naval strength at least equal or even superior to that of any nation in the world. Obviously this intention on the part of America is an implied 'challenge' to the present British Sea Power; and as a similar challenge by Germany to compete with the Naval Power of Britain resulted in the last disastrous war, this intention of America will scarcely be considered as supporting the underlying principles of the proposed League of Nations. The next question is that of exacting war-indemnities from the enemy. The sum intended to be exacted from him is so exorbitant that he will not be able to pay it off even in 50 years. On the contrary the imposition of such a huge burden will simply result in the rapid spread of Bolshevism and will ultimately exasperate the enemy into repudiating obligations of all kinds. Some propose boycotting the enemy from getting raw materials from the outside world, while others favour the retention of his colonies by the Allies. These and similar questions have rendered the work of the Conference all the more difficult, and it is doubtful whether the Conference will amicably settle them. [The *Hindusthán*, writing in the same strain, adds:—The enemy is to be supplied with foodstuffs; but the question is what to take from the enemy in return. If the Allies accept his industrial products in return, it would be contrary to their long-cherished idea of boycotting all imports from the enemy countries. But there is no alternative, they must accept the enemy's goods. And when they agree to accept them, they will have to supply him with raw materials too, and for this purpose they will turn their attention to India as India is a perennial source of raw materials of all kinds, that is, India will have to give up her idea of industrial development and will have to supply her raw meterials to the enemy nations. It is in this respect that India has to safeguard her interests at the Peace Conference. If the national debt of Austria and Germany grows very large why should other European States feel so solicitous about it? The British Empire must, in the name of justice and propriety, feel more interested in helping India's industrial development than in enabling Germany to pay off her debts. But in spite of that, it would be India's ill-luck if her interests are subordinated to those of Germany in view of the latter being a relative of England! This is the occasion which will test the sense of justice of the Westerners in connection with their treatment of the Eastern people.]

The work of the Peace Conference.

Prája Mitra and Pársi (30), 5th Jan.; *Hindusthán* (22), 7th Jan.

50. "The Delhi communiqué regarding Professor Ramsay Muir betrays an uneasy conscience. It attempts to contradict a truth. It would not have it that the Professor has been called upon to resign his position on the Bengal Publicity Board. Mr. Ramsay Muir no doubt undertook to organise a series of lectures, not on the war but on the issues of it, at the principal centres in India. It is made out that it was pressure of work which compelled the Professor to tender his resignation. Originally invited to co-operate on the Calcutta University Commission, the Professor's views endeared themselves to certain officials and apparently his desire to add to his income made it easy for him to fall in with the suggestion for a peripatetic tour at the country's expense. The ways of the Publicity Board are mysterious..... The public still questions the *raison d'etre* of the Publicity Boards. If eminent students of internationalism like Professor Ramsay Muir are going to enlighten the darkness of India by gratis addresses there may not be much objection even to listening to some mediæval pronouncements. But the matter assumes a different aspect when it is a

Comments on the resignation by Professor Ramsay Muir of his post on the Publicity Board.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th Jan.

question of payment. The war may be over, but few of its horrors save actual carnage have ceased. The famine is there and prices of necessaries show no decided downward tendency. Whatever now is the function of those Publicity Boards, its publications and itinerant lecturers? Even if the editors of war journals perform their duties gratis, which they do not, the cost of the establishment is a superfluous luxury which does no Indian any good, always excepting salaried parasites..... Is India going to be mulcted in another lakh or two because certain gentlemen find it useful and very profitable to attend certain meetings for which they are paid where they concert measures for the stifling of honest criticism and, failing this, of 'ignoring' it? The Delhi communiqué is on the face of it a halting apologia which lets out more light than it intended. What is required is an unvarnished story of the history of this Board of concealment and a statement of the reasons, if any exist, of its costly survival."

Comments on the removal of Mr. N. C. Kelkar's disqualification for Council elections.
Sanjaya (123), 9th Jan.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (39), 9th Jan.

51. The plain Mr. N. C. Kelkar will soon become the Honourable Mr. N. C. Kelkar. Government have removed the bar to his election as a member of the Legislative Council and there is every chance of his being returned by the people now. We can, therefore, safely congratulate him in advance on his success. Indeed Mr. Kelkar should have had this honour long before this. He would have been successful at the first election that was held after the inauguration of the Morley-Minto reforms had not Lord Sydenham used, or rather abused, his powers in declaring him to be an objectionable person and, therefore, ineligible for election. His many qualities of head and heart would have ensured him an entry by this time into the Imperial Legislative Council and the Honourable Mr. Khaparde would have had in him an able co-worker. Whatever reason Government may have had for removing the bar in question their decision will not fail to give satisfaction to the people. But since this removal followed immediately after the unexpected attitude adopted by Mr. Kelkar towards the Willingdon memorial it has become easy to connect the one with the other. [The *Dnyán Prakásh*, while congratulating Mr Kelkar on the removal of his disqualification, declares that the step taken was entirely due to the highmindedness of Lord Willingdon.]

Grievances of passengers at the port of Dábhol (Ratnágiri).
Kesari (114), 7th Jan.

52. "A passenger" writes to the *Kesari*:—Every two or three days a thousand or more passengers collect at the Dábhol port to catch the steamers. The port being a small one, the passengers have to undergo great hardships for of want adequate boarding and lodging arrangements. The most crying of these wants is that of lavatories; and apart from what the males suffer in this respect the females naturally suffer the most for want of them. They have often to walk long distances on the sandy beach, when they sometimes get stuck in the mud for want of guides. For constructing new wharves and for extending those that exist and similar other conveniences for use of the passengers, the steamer company recovers an anna per head from the passengers. But no one knows how much this fund now amounts to nor the improvements the company has undertaken. If Government allow the company to recover this tax is it not necessary for them to look into the grievances of the passengers that pay it?

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's statement that it is the bounden duty of everyone of British birth in India to fit himself to bear arms in her defence.
Home Ruler (5), 4th Jan.; *Hindusthán* (22), 9th Jan.

53. "On the occasion of the presentation of colours to the 5th Calcutta Battalion, Indian Defence Force, on December 31st, among other things Lord Chelmsford said 'I believe we shall all be agreed that it is the bounden duty of everyone of British birth in this country to fit himself to bear arms in its defence'. It is a very queer doctrine His Excellency has enunciated and he assumes much too much when he believes that 'we shall all be agreed' upon it. We cannot imagine any single sound reason which makes it the

'paramount duty' of the Britisher in this country to fit himself to bear arms in its defence. It is the paramount duty not of the Britisher but of the sons of the soil who are denied their elementary rights of citizenship in being debarred from bearing arms in their own country while every white foreigner, whoever he may be, has that right. Why the duty of defending this country falls to the lot of 'everyone of British birth' is a complete mystery to us. But perhaps it is only an item in the comprehensive programme of white man's burden which 'everyone of British birth' is coscientiously shouldering in this country. After such unmistakeable indications of the new angle of vision from such a quarter it is difficult to determine what value is to be attached to all the pious declarations which the officials are never tired of pouring on our devoted heads. For our part we feel that the Anglo-Indians are incorrigible and the taint of their vicious views is of such a deadly character that few can escape it after they enter its sphere of influence." [The *Hindusthdn* makes similar remarks.]

Comments on the Industrial Commission's report.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th and 8th Jan.

54. Agreeing with certain reccommendations of the Industrial Commission regarding regulation of railway freights on Indian goods, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes in its 11th article on the Commission's report:—"All these recommendations, however, will be of little utility until there is a better control possessed by the Railway Department of the Government over the railways worked by the companies; and so long as there is no statutory modification the only action which the Department can take is by way of argument or influence. This hopeless condition is highly deplorable. It means that, in spite of all efforts on the part of the people towards industrial development, Indian industries will still have to depend on foreigners for favours. The Boards of Directors of the Indian Railway companies in England can, if they so choose, strangle any of the Indian national industries by the imposition of heavy rates, if by doing so they can protect or help similar industries in the United Kingdom. This anomalous position must at once be set right by legislation. And it can only be set right if railways in India are completely nationalised. The Commissioners again have made no suggestions regarding shipping freights though they say they were quite aware of their importance. This omission is to be very much regretted for the reason that in promoting many key industries we shall have to depend on shipping freights. For instance, India's greatest trade after cotton is in oil-seeds and the oil pressing industry has not yet been developed in the country mainly on account of the very heavy freights on oil. The remedy would be to have a mercantile fleet of our own, but that is a wider issue. The alternative would be to charter a very large tonnage in foreign countries if the British shipping companies continue to maintain heavy freights. Something of this type was planned by the late Jamsedji Tata. But he was a farseeing man. Government can help if they choose to do so and if they have a desire to help indigenous industries which are seriously handicapped." [In its 12th article the paper writes:—"We have now practically examined the whole Report, but there remains the most important question of financing of industries. Every industrial enterprise in the country has more or less been determined by the facilities which existed for obtaining its working capital. The Commissioners admit that 'the existing banking system is too inelastic, and is insufficient to meet the needs of the country; and that in respect of industries, development is greatly retarded because the Banks refuse tc advance money for lengthy periods on the security of the holdings and plant'. This system tells heavily on the enterprise of the middle class industrialists. 'Indians suffer in special degree from this deficiency.' What a sad comment! The Commissioners find a remedy in the inclusion of Indians on the Boards of the Presidency Banks. This is another instance of the injustice done to the Indians. It was not to be expected that the European element, which found undue favour everywhere in India, would let Indians into its preserve to the prejudice of its own interests. We accept, therefore, with pleasure the recommendation of the Commission which seeks to right an ancient wrong. In this connection we deem it necessary to lay the utmost stress on the recommendation of the Commissioners that 'where industrial undertakings receive Government aid, *e.g.*, by way of guarantee or subscription to share capital, this capital should be raised in rupees'. This suggestion should be further

modified. If the Government even undertake to purchase or place orders for the products beforehand by way of encouragement, or help in the acquisition of land and other rights, the capital should be in rupees. The Commissioners' suggestion, while it affords Indian investors a good opportunity of taking interest in industrial undertakings, does not help much. There is no proposal that the share capital should not be transferred to foreigners, in India or abroad. If the shares are transferable to them, they would, if they find the working of Indian companies inimical to their interests, try to control it in their own interests by getting a larger proportion of the shares. Against this there should be a sufficient safeguard if this rupee subscription is to be effectual in the interest of Indians only..... It is the *control* of industries that is the chief potent factor in the nationalising of industries. Political rights without fiscal autonomy are useless. So would be the mere raising of capital in India without effectual control of the industries. It will be the creation, with India's own money, of a new type of economic slavery. If the country is financially and industrially at the mercy of foreigners, no system of political freedom will be of any value to its people. It is this important change that Indians are asking for and they should see that they get it along with other political and industrial reform."]

Comments on the grievances of liquor shop keepers in Bombay City.

Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 9th and 10th Jan.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 9th Jan.; *Bombay Samáchár* (63), 9th Jan.

55. Referring to the complaint of the licensees of country liquor shops in connection with the insufficiency of the liquor-supply and the hardships of getting it, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* exhorts Government to do justice to the petitioners by redressing their grievances, and to institute an enquiry into the causes so as to set matters right once for all. The paper holds that increase in the excise duty on liquor will not serve to make the people temperate and if Government will put it out of their reach by raising its duty enormously people will take to other intoxicants such as opium, etc. It concludes by saying that it is a matter for satisfaction to note that the Excise Commissioner has given a very favourable reply to the deputation of the licensees. [In its next issue an anonymous correspondent writes:—Government are not aware of the hardships, worry and difficulty that the licensees have to suffer in getting liquor at the Sewri depôt. Though the licensees have paid the huge fees in advance, the quantity that is supplied to them for their daily consumption is quite insufficient to meet the heavy demands. The reason is that Messrs. Carew and Company are not equal to the task they have undertaken, and so Government should at once try to give relief to the aggrieved licensees by taking proper steps in the matter. The *Sánj Vartamán* described in details the hardships that the licensees have to undergo in getting the liquor and adds that as the quality of the liquor supplied by Carew & Co. is of a very suspicious character, it is the duty of Government to make a thorough inquiry into the matter and see that its quality is not so bad as to seriously affect the health of the consumers. It strongly condemns the practice of auctioning licences inasmuch as the licensees, under this system, are compelled to attract customers with a view to make up the huge sums that they are obliged to pay as license fees. This practice, the paper remarks, was abolished some time back, but has again crept in under the weak regime of Lord Willingdon. The *Bombay Sámachár*, writing in the same strain, says that the present practice of supplying equal quantities to all licensees irrespective of the difference in the demands at their shops is absurd and inexplicable and so it should be replaced by one which would regulate the supply in proportion to the varying consumption at the shops.]

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad should resign his seat on the Reforms Committee if he is appointed Advocate General, Bombay.

Hindusthán (22), 10th Jan.

56. We are glad to hear that Sir C. Setalvad is to be appointed to officiate as Advocate General of Bombay. Sir Chimanlal as well as the province of Gujarát deserve to be congratulated on the proposed appointment. We would, however, like to point out that the appointment will tie Sir Chimanlal in the official chains and that he should, therefore, resign his seat on the Committee appointed in connection with the Montagu-Chelmsford reform scheme as a representative of the people. We hope Government will

appoint a popular representative in his stead and will not allow any cause for discontent by appointing an official to a seat which rightly belongs to a representative of the people. We would ask Sir Chimanlal to be forewarned against any scheme that the officials might have framed in connection with the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee and which might be fathered upon him.

Revenue Patils also should be granted war allowance like kulkarnis.
Kesari (114), 7th Jan.

57. Ramrao Khushalrao, Revenue Patil, Charubahal, district Násik, writes:—If in these days of famine it has been decided to grant war allowance to Vatandar Kulkarnis, why should the poor Patils also not have it? The pay of the Patils ranges from Re. 1 to Rs. 8, and they alone know the worry they have to undergo while dancing attendance on officials both subordinate and superior. But they being illiterate none pays heed to their grievances. Will some Honourable member favour the poor Patils by interpellating in their behalf in the Legislative Council?

MUNICIPALITIES.

Comments on the recent fire at Mandvi (Bombay City).
Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th Jan.

58. "The Mandvi fire is a ghastly revelation of the impotence of the Municipality to safeguard the life and limbs of the citizens under circumstances which they are expected both to prevent and control. Had due care been exercised with regard to the storing of inflammable material in or near dwelling houses, the chances of a fire breaking out would have been minimised. How it came about that a building was permitted to exist with only one staircase for nearly four hundred souls to go up and down is another municipal mystery. Thirdly, what was the matter with the Fire Brigade? Are they still so inadequately equipped that they were unable to force in the iron bars which prevented the unhappy victims from escaping through the windows? In many parts of the town, owing to frequent thefts, the iron or wooden bars are a necessity, especially in the hot weather when no windows can be kept closed. But some explanation is necessary from the Fire Brigade Department how it is that the cost incurred to maintain the department has not been able to save the lives of quite a number of people. We fear many more than four women have perished under most painful conditions."

Bombay Samáchár (63), 8th Jan.

59. Referring to the recent Mándvi fire, the *Bombay Samáchár* pointedly draws the attention of the public to the necessity of having two staircases at least for those buildings which are inhabited by many families and asks the Municipality to compel the owners of such buildings to provide them with two staircases, if they fail to do so betimes. It strongly condemns the dangerous practice of having godowns on the ground floors of residential premises and packing them with all sorts of goods, especially with inflammable goods, and urges the Corporation to take the necessary steps to restrict such dangerous practices in due course of time.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 17th January 1919.

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*Reported in advance.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 18th January 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on Sir S. P. Sinha's appointment as Under Secretary of State for India.

Kaiser-i-Hind (26), 19th Jan., Eng. cols.

***1.** "It is certainly a grand and bold departure and we have the fullest confidence that Sir Satyendra will acquit himself of the great trust reposed in him in his important Ministerial position as Under Secretary of State for India as much in the interests of Britain as of India. He is one of us and has felt the pulse of modern India under exceptional positions of honour and trust and there is every hope that the Indian point of view will now be correctly and fully represented before the British Cabinet. Of course a heavy task lies ahead of Sir Satyendra as he will have to fight men of the stamp and convictions of Lords Curzon and Milner. But Sir Satyendra's experience and knowledge of the existing conditions in India fully qualify him to fight India's battles in the Cabinet and in the House of Lords to which it is expected he will be elevated."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 19th Jan.

***2.** "The announcement made this week that the Right Honourable Sir S. P. Sinha has been included in the new Lloyd George Ministry as Under Secretary of State for India is, it is no exaggeration to say, the most encouraging political happening in the history of British Rule in India for many a long year. Compared to this the appointment of Indians to the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and the Provincial Governors is of secondary importance. The Indian Under Secretary of State will state the case for India in open Parliament whereas the members of the Executive Councils are parts of a machine and as such have no individual existence so far as the public are concerned..... The effect of this appointment in India will be to accelerate greatly the reaction in favour of sober and steady counsels in Indian politics, which has been stimulated by the proceedings of the Special Congress in Bombay, and even more, of the Congress session at Delhi last month. It should also have the effect of convincing the more reactionary type of Englishmen in India of the futility of endeavouring to maintain the old and discredited attitude of supercilious disregard of the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people as represented by the best Indians among the English-educated classes."

Gujarâti (18), 19th Jan., Eng. cols.

3. "It is an appointment of the highest historical importance in the annals of British India and a precedent pregnant with far-reaching consequences. It is no wonder that it has been resented by the Anglo-Indian press with the exception of the *Times of India* which has received it in a spirit of generosity and also by the *Pioneer*, which is shrewd enough to discern the momentous political import of such a precedent. We must all bear in mind that Sir S. P. Sinha, though he will doubtless make his views heard by his colleagues, will be a member of Government and it would be grossly unfair to him to pitch our expectations too high. He is a brilliant lawyer with a well-balanced judgment and capable of viewing things in their true perspective and, as a cool-headed statesman, of appreciating the limitations of abstract ideals and principles in practical politics and the claims of conflicting views and interests. His appointment is doubtless a great historical landmark and has sent a thrill of joy and pride through the heart of the whole country..... Mr. Lloyd George's Government deserves to be congratulated throughout the whole country on the signal courage, striking magnanimity and lofty statesmanship it has displayed in taking this unprecedented departure and India cannot be too grateful for this recognition of her claim to fair treatment in the determination of her own destiny and of imperial policies."

Sunday Chronicle (13), 19th Jan.

***4.** "The news of the appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha as Under-Secretary of State for India has been very naturally hailed with joy by all Indian communities, as it is a position of great possibilities for the amelioration

of the Indian situation, unless Sir Satyendranath has been totally obsessed with official blandishments and plays the pliant tool of the Mandarius of the moment. It is quite a business-stroke no doubt on the part of the *ex*-Liberal Prime Miniter and the taking of such a bold step—a totally new departure—has been possible because of the healthy conditions of British Public Life untainted by unmitigated arrogance or colossal conceit or rank colour prejudice—elements which work down to positive negatism (?) the working on principles of merit and natural right. In rank and honour the position of Under Secretary of State for India is certainly higher than a Provincial Governorship or Chief-Secretaryship of a Provincial Government or even the permanent Commissionership of a division in an Indian province. How is it then that positions of lesser executive satrapy cannot be given to Indians of equal merit or even greater merit in India? Because the atmospheric condition in India is over-charged with the bureaucratic gas of prestige and colour bar. At the very idea of an Indian becoming a permanent incumbent in one of the three aforesaid offices, Anglo-India will go into hysterics and this Civilian will go on sick leave, that will take furlough and yet another will apply for leave on urgent private affairs, and so on, and another Ilbert Bill agitation will be seen. This is the difference between the atmospheric conditions in England and in India. It will be argued that Membership of Executive Councils has been given to Indians of merit, but people know many things as to how tied hand and foot in every detail these Indian Members of the Executive Council are, especially of the Imperial Government at Simla, and how they have felt both in their official capacity as well as in their social position among the demi-gods and how they long to get out of it no sooner than they enter it. A veil is drawn over everything and one is allowed only to think of them in strict privacy. These Indian Members of the Executive Councils are not even fit to be members of Eupopean clubs in India, far less to be an executive head in a province or a division with Civilians of other colours under him as subordinates! People, however, are not so easily to be hocussed by the sop of big appointments to Indians here and there. They want the whole perspective being changed and principles of right and justice asserted in every sphere of public life."

*5. "The appointment of the Honourable Sir S. P. Sinha to the post of the Under Secretary of State for India will certainly be hailed with delight all over India, and will undoubtedly be considered as an advance in the direction of the fulfilment of some of the demands of the Congress and the Muslim League. The telegram announcing this glad tidings further says that he will be raised to a peerage also, and, if it so happens, then he will be the Government's champion of Indian reforms in the House of Lords. The appointment of Lord Curzon, who has never disguised his opposition to reforms, as the leader of that House, had created much anxiety in the Indian minds about the passage of the Reforms Bill through that Chamber, and an Indian peer, armed with full knowledge of the conditions and growing aspirations of Indians, will be the best man to resist opposition to reforms in it. We hope that His Majesty will be pleased to create him a peer and show to the world that no distinction is observed in that respect between Indians and Englishmen. The conferring of the Under Secretaryship on him has removed the colour bar in the Ministry; and the peerage will complete the process of removing it altogether in the United Kingdom. We hope enough wisdom will not be lacking in the Ministry to effect this salutary change. But the appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha to the Under Secretaryship is only one step in advance in the right direction, and, unless the India Council is totally abolished or at least half Indianised, much cannot be expected from it now. The hardened bureaucrats, who form a majority in it, wield much power, and before them the Secretary of State is practically helpless in many matters, The lot of the Under Secretary, under such circumstances, is not very enviable, and we do not know what fate awaits the proposals of the Congress and the Muslim League in that matter. One thing, however, is practically certain that unless the poison in the India Council is eradicated or nullified to a great extent, the Under Secretary, even if he be an Indian, will not be able to improve the

Mahrátta (7), 19th Jan.

tone of the heart of that body politic on which depends the health of the limbs at Simla and the provinces."

6. "The appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha as Under Secretary of State for India in the new Coalition Ministry is a measure of imperial significance. It clearly shows that His Majesty's Government mean business when they declare that it is their intention to raise India to the position of an equal partner in the Empire. Not only has the principle of equality been asserted, but it has also been partially acted upon. As a member of His Majesty's Government, Sir S. P. Sinha will have as much to do with shaping the policy and moulding the destinies of the Colonies and Dominions as with those of India. From the Indian standpoint this appointment stands on the same high level as the announcement of August 20, 1917. In it we see the first earnest of the fulfilment of all the promises made in the announcement..... Other people have obtained high honours. But very often such honours mean the elevation only of the individual. It has been the peculiar good fortune of Sir Satyendra Prasanna that his rise symbolises the advancement of the whole Indian nation.' [The *Deccan Ryot* writes:—"Sir S. P. Sinha's elevation to the Under Secretaryship of State for India will be highly gratifying to every Indian. He will thus be the first Indian member of the Government of Great Britain. Mr. Montagu has secured an excellent advocate of his scheme in the House of Lords, from where we hope Lord Sinha (of Calcutta ?) will be of immense service to his motherland. After the Reforms Bill passes into an Act of Parliament, we hope to welcome this distinguished countryman of ours to India as the first Indian Governor of an Indian Province." The *Dnyánodaya* writes:—"This appointment makes new history and means first-hand information for the British Parliament on all things Indian, leading, let us hope, to a larger place for India in the British Commonwealth. The Prime Minister has, by this nomination spiked the guns of the Indian extremists and given an earnest that he means to do his duty by India."]

Servant of India (9), 16th Jan.; *Deccan Ryot* (4), 16th Jan.; *Dnyánodaya* (38), 16th Jan., Eng. cols.

7. "The admission of this brilliant Indian Commoner into the British Aristocracy will be a very interesting phenomenon as showing that Messrs. Lloyd George and Montagu will not allow racial considerations to stand in the way of conferring high honours on leaders of the Indian Empire. It once for all removes the Bar Sinister and accords to Indians a higher place in the Councils of the Empire. The appointment also proves that Mr. Lloyd George is in earnest to do something substantial for the political advancement of India. At the same time it is not necessary to go into excessive exultation over the appointment because one Indian in an ante-deluvian chamber of about six hundred reactionaries can do nothing for his country. We doubt even a hundred Indian Peers, if they are created to-morrow, can ever influence the decisions of this old world institution in which superannuated gentlemen find a quiet resting place. We indeed consider the appointment of an Indian to the Under Secretary-ship as excellent in many ways. But experience has taught us the bitter lesson that high appointments like the Executive Councillorships bring no blessings to the people at large, unless the whole spirit of the administration is thoroughly changed to suit the democratic aspirations of the people. While we feel highly gratified at the breaking down of the colour bar, which the elevation of Sir S. P. Sinha to the Peerage indicates, we do not expect wonderful things for India by his under Secretaryship. The days are going swiftly by for Indians to be satisfied with fine phrases and empty titles."

New Times (8), 16th Jan.

8. The Lucknow Congress-League Scheme had already demanded that one of the Under Secretaries of State under that scheme should be an Indian; and the Home Rulers will no doubt be delighted at the realisation of that demand. This is the first instance of an Indian getting the post of Under Secretary and hereafter there will be no obstacle to the entry of an Indian even into the Ministry. Later on Sir S. P. Sinha may no doubt be appointed a provincial Governor. He will now be created a peer and will thus have the right to sit in the

Kesari (114), 14th Jan.; *Indu Prakásh* (42), 14th Jan.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (39), 14th Jan.; *Sanjaya* (125), 14th Jan.

House of Lords. Some even expect that when Mr. Montagu's Indian Reforms Bill goes to the House of Lords the duty of piloting it will be entrusted to 'Lord Sinha' instead of to Lord Curzon. In that case the apprehension caused by Lord Curzon's appointment in the Ministry will be removed by that of Sir S. P. Sinha. By delegating Sir Satyendra Sinha to the War Conference, on behalf of India, the Unionists may, on the score of safeguarding Indian interests, demand from President Wilson naval stations and the trusteeship of Muhammadan countries, it is likely that his views on the Indian Home Rule Bill and the Indian tariff will receive respectful consideration in Parliament. We hope that Sir Satyendra Sinha will fully avail himself of this opportunity with a view to secure Home Rule for India. [The *Indu Prakdsh* says :—Sir Satyendra Prasanna is a true Indian. There need be no doubt that he would be more inclined to fulfilling the aspirations of Indians than any Britisher. We strongly hope that Indians of all shades of opinion will congratulate him. The *Dnydn Prakdsh* writes :—Both the appointments of the Secretary of State and Under Secretary of State for India are satisfactory. Mr. Lloyd George has brought to the notice of Indians his liberalism, courage, statesmanship and sympathy for Indian aspirations by appointing as Under Secretary Sir S. P. Sinha who is the first Indian to be thus appointed, and by following a new method in making the appointment. If there is a desire to appoint Indians to responsible posts there is no want of qualified men. The *Sanjaya* remarks :—It was inevitable that Mr. Montagu would continue as Secretary of State and Mr. Montagu's appointment would make that of Sir Satyendra more useful. As he is to sit in the House of Lords he will be able to keep Lord Sydenham in check. We do not think however he will be able to give effect even to the amendments suggested by Mr. Surendranath Banerjee and Mr. Shastri in the Reform Scheme. India can only congratulate Sir S. P. Sinha personally and express her gladness that an Indian has been admitted into the Ministry. She need not think more than this of this appointment.]

9. Referring to the appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha as Under Secretary of State for India, the *Sánj Vartamán* declares that though the cabinet as a whole is disappointing, Mr. Lloyd George certainly deserves to be congratulated on this striking innovation which be has introduced with courage. Sir S. P. Sinha, it adds, though a moderate in his political views, is a true patriot and in his present office can do great service to his country. It concludes by saying that India is extremely grateful to Mr. Lloyd George for his thus recognising the claim of India in the Empire. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* while endorsing the above mentioned views considers this step of the Premier as an index to the changed attitude of England with regard to India's political future and adds that time is at hand when India's long-cherished confidence in British policy will come to fruition. *Akhbár-e-Islám* pronounces this appointment to be a memorable event and states that the Government of Mr. Lloyd George has really fulfilled the terms of the declaration of the 20th August 1917 by taking this important step. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, while writing in the same strain, urges the Government of His Majesty to introduce more Indians in the Parliament as the paper considers such a step absolutely essential for the will-being of India. The *Hindusthán* thinks that unless the Secretary of State for India-in-Council is made responsible to the public in India, an appointment like the one in question would scarcely be calculated to do any permanent good to the people. It asserts that unless the Government of India and the controlling agency in the British Cabinet are made responsible to the public opinion in this country, India cannot be said to have self-government in the real sense.]

Sánj Vartamán (32), 13th Jan.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 14th Jan.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 15th Jan.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 14th Jan.; *Hindusthán* (22), 13th Jan.

10. "For a Coalition Government to command the confidence of the country, the first requisite is unanimity of policy among the heterogeneous elements that are brought together for temporary purposes. The Government of Mr. Lloyd George was in any event bound to be an artificial combination and the announcement of the new ministry has

Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th Jan.

confirmed the worst fears of intelligent observers..... There is undoubtedly cause for grave disappointment, but it will be confined chiefly to those who, contrary to the probabilities of the situation, cherished the hope that the blank cheque would result in something better. An enormous Unionist majority now holds power and in the Government there is, to all intents and purposes, their decisive majority. How, for instance, the issue of Free Trade will be decided against the possible protest of the weak and stifled 'Liberal' representatives, can be imagined. How any fruitful policy of concilation for Ireland will evolve from the collective mind of this Government is a matter of pessimistic speculation. So far as India is concerned, the weight of reaction and political obscurantism may prove a hindrance to the liberal solution of her crying problems. Mr. Montagu is there, no doubt. The selection of Sir Satyendra Sinha as Under Secretary of State is a commendable and daring departure for which Indians have to be thankful. It is anticipated that he will be elevated to the House of Lords. This is perhaps the only really courageous departure in the formation of the new Government. For India, it is a great and memorable move, while for Sir Satyendra there is a great opportunity of serving his Motherland with vision and courage. While the great opportunity is there, it is well to remember that he can rise to the height of his opportunity only if he identifies himself with the progressive political idealism of India. It is for him, by his energy, tact and persistence, to gain the confidence of his countrymen, in a position to which he goes without their mandate, but in which he can fight for the utmost attainable limit of their legitimate rights. For, if he sits in the Lords, it will be for him to realise that he has a 'constituency' 6,000 miles away, whose interests he can guard and reflect by courageously identifying himself with the aspirations of his countrymen."

11. "From the Indian point of view the reconstructed ministry is not at all satisfactory. That the Unionists should predominate in a Parliament where they are in the majority, is quite natural and out of 60 major and minor offices, 30 including most of the most important ones go to them..... Sir S. P. Sinha's appointment as Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for India will no doubt be welcomed, though it comes as a great surprise, for the simple reason that this is for the first time that the principle of the white man's sole monopoly for the good government of the world has been challenged by the inclusion of an 'Indian' in the British Government. According to Reuter, it is expected that Sir S. P. Sinha will be elevated to the English Peerage and go to the House of Lords. Sir S. P. Sinha should be proud of his attainment and his countrymen too will be proud that he should have attained such notable success among foreigners. Mr. Montagu's retention as Secretary of State for India was long foreseen. Even Mr. Lloyd George dared not have at this time thrust a Tory M. P.—however indispensable to the British Government—on that Office, without immediately arousing the suspicions of all right-thinking men. Mr. Lloyd George's choice in this case is undoubtedly the best of a bad performance. It must be made clear, however, that Mr. Montagu does not possess that confidence of Indians which they showed towards him when he entered upon that office after the Mesopotamia debacle last year."

Young India (15), 15th Jan.

*12. "Unrest prevails throughout the city and rumours of further extensions of the trouble are in the air. We think the matter has passed the stage of a private affair between employers and workmen, and there is a wide-spread feeling that Government should intervene at once. A Commission should be appointed to enquire into the whole question of the position of workmen as affected by the general and heavy rise in prices, and how far the rise in wages has kept pace with it. Some immediate relief should be granted, contingent on the conclusions of the Commission. We are sure that the employers will gladly meet Government more than half-way in any measures they may adopt to bring the present dangerous state of affairs to a speedy termination."

The mill-hands' strike in Bombay.

Indian Social Reformer (6), 19th Jan.

13. "Labour in India is organising itself for concerted action and he must be a blind man who does not read the signs of the times and take note of the collective force of labour to better its economic position. The most remarkable feature about the strike is that the mill-hands are taking it in a holiday mood and are anxious to follow peaceful and constitutional methods. The spirit of self-control is remarkable. Another striking feature is the desire to nominate three well-known citizens to represent their grievances. Their choice will show the men who are trusted by the people. Here are a lakh of people, mostly uneducated, quite unfamiliar with modern political methods and showing the instinct to act together through their representatives. Is this not a political instinct and are these men not politically minded?" [In its issue of the 14th instant the paper writes:—"It is a most gratifying sign of the times that Labour in India is awakening to organise itself on the principle of co-operation..... We rejoice to think of the beginnings of Industrial Democracy and Trade Unionism in this country. But as in England so in India the battle for labour is most arduous because it is beset with insuperable difficulties while the forces opposing it are very powerfully entrenched. Here the Anglo-Indian exploiter makes common cause with the Indian capitalist because both are opposed to the demands of labour..... Show one British Captain of Industry in India, since the establishment of the Legislative Councils, who has raised his powerful voice at least for shorter hours of labour—the mill workers have to work nearly eleven hours a day, which to say the least is monstrous—not to speak of the amelioration of the conditions of labour in other ways. Take all the files of all the Chambers of Commerce in India and you do not come across any resolution submitted to the Government calculated to make the workers' lot a little more bearable, a little more happy. At the Kolar Gold Fields, which are owned and worked entirely by British capitalists, Mr. Radha Kamal Mukherjee tells us the death rate is far higher than that of any industrial city in India. At the same time, we cannot forget that in the treatment of their employees Indian millowners behave sometimes even worse than their European friends..... But the present labour unrest is but an earnest of what is in store for the country, if the Government does not take time by the forelock and pass such legislation as will reasonably reduce the hours of work, ensure a fair wage and procure a tolerable house to live in for the worker..... We are passing through a world-convulsion and labour cannot be free from its effects. We hope that some of our educated countrymen will take the lead in organising Indian labour in all parts of the country as in Madras and thus give a direct lie to the charge that educated Indians are only champions of capitalism and unscrupulous exploiters of labour."

New Times (8), 12th and 14th Jan.

14. "The great Labour strike continues with all its attendant loss of material wealth, strain on the resources and temper of the strikers, a prevailing state of uneasiness in the minds of the general population and, above all, the actual loss of, and potential danger to, human life. There can hardly be any doubt that the situation has assumed a much more grave aspect than was the case in the beginning of the week, menacing not only the economic organisation of the city and, consequently, of the Presidency, but also the peace and order of the city..... There is, however, one redeeming feature which brings into relief the real remedy that alone can end the crisis and that must be immediately enforced. We refer to the fact which has emerged the more clearly as the situation has developed in all its complications—that the demands of the strikers, when all is said and done, are reasonable and just. What then prevents the satisfaction of these demands? Obviously the only obstacle would be the absence of any possibility of understanding between the two sides. If the present strike were of the character of strikes which usually occur in Western countries, the responsibility for a deadlock of a similar nature would be shared by the strikers and the employers alike. But this strike differs fundamentally from the usual Labour strikes in Western countries in this all-important respect—that it is a strike of absolutely unorganised Labour and that, further, for such a strike, it is one of unprece-

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th Jan.

dented and unmanageable magnitude so far as numbers are concerned. Thus there is no doubt that the grievances are shared in common by all the strikers in Bombay and that the bulk of them are of one voice as regards the substance of their demand..... Further, a dispassionate observer cannot overlook an important factor—namely, the state of mind to which the workers were driven, before they struck work, by the cumulative strain of epidemic, famine and abnormally high cost of living—a state of mind which has not been improved by the fact, which has faced them throughout this week, that it is they and their families who have suffered from the pinch of unemployment never experienced by their employers—not to speak of the loss of life and injuries which only their comrades or other innocent persons have borne. The millowners, on the other hand, are organised. They are capable of taking and have taken collective action. They have, from a monetary point of view, suffered considerably. But, as regards things that matter infinitely more, their loss has been nothing to what the hundreds of human beings, hitherto regarded as 'hands', have sustained. There is no reason why they should not take the right course that the occasion calls for. It is an occasion not for obedience to a false sense of prestige, but for action—immediate action—prompted by courage and generosity of spirit. Generosity, in the monetary sense, is not demanded of them. The increase of wage demanded by the workers is due to them. It is true there has been an increase in their wages during the war. But, as the letter of the Secretary of the Millowners' Association, which we publish elsewhere, shows, the increase—whatever it has been—has not been commensurate with the rise in the cost of living during the period. In view of this fact the treatment accorded to their employes by the millowners has certainly not been fair and, having regard to the enormous profits of the textile industry during the war, might be characterised as callous. We earnestly trust that these considerations are not lost sight of by the millowners and that they will at once recognise the wisdom of a prompt satisfaction of the strikers' demands. If that action on their part is not forthcoming it is the duty of the Government to intervene. The situation has passed beyond the stage of being a mere economic dispute, the solution of which could be left to the good sense of the parties concerned. It is responsible for the prevalence of grave uneasiness among all sections of the people and it affects public safety. The Government cannot suppose that their duty begins and ends in giving the police authorities a free hand. The proposal that Government should intervene, we shall be told, is unprecedented. But the times and the situation demand the making of precedents and we make the proposal with a full sense of responsibility because the times are extraordinary and call for an extraordinary remedy. War conditions, profiteering, epidemics and famine have played and continue to play havoc with the lives of the people—especially the poor—and have driven them to a state of mind which calls for special consideration and treatment. The causes we have enumerated above have produced a state of dangerous aggravation in the popular mind and vast pent-up forces of discontent are in existence. It is the task of statesmanship not to allow this state of feeling to be aggravated further by the obstinacy of employers and the continuance of a minor state of martial law. We believe that a courageous attempt to bring about a settlement of the dispute at the present moment, if made by Government in a spirit of just consideration of the workers' demands as well as a due regard for the other factors in the situation, cannot fail to succeed."

*15. "We must confess to a sense of keen disappointment at the action taken by the Governor-in-Council in regard to the great strike of mill-labourers. The disappointment will be shared, we fancy, by the general public as well as the labourers themselves. We said, on Friday, when we urged that Government intervention was desirable, that intervention should come in the form of a courageous and just attempt to settle the dispute. The course adopted by the Government is unfortunately neither just nor courageous and shows that the advisers of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, who were the advisers of His Excellency Lord Willingdon, are no wiser than they were. The workers of Bombay, however, some of whom have had to learn bitter

Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th Jan.

lessons, have not forgotton and are wiser, and it is hardly likely that those now affected will commit their fate merely to an assurance that the sympathetic Governor will use his influence with the employers to get good terms for them, even when backed by all the influence and assurance brought to bear by the Commissioner of Police, who is the last person in the world that most people would have chosen to play the part of go-between in such a matter. What is that the Governor-in-Council does? He holds a conference with the mill-owners. The next day he calls the leaders of the men, tells them that the dispute lies between them and their employers, but that Government, in view of the gravity and extent of the dispute, wish to hear both sides of the case. He then asks the men to state their demands, and, having had these formulated, tells them that they have a case which deserves careful consideration, but advises them in their own interests to go back to work. In his speech, which is characterised by somewhat elusive phraseology, he assures them that he is convinced the employers are ready to deal with their grivances 'sympathetically and promptly'. He adds that he cannot say 'in regard to your demands what you should get or what you should not get' but that if they go back to work promptly he will use his best influence with the employers to see that justice is done. We may prove to be wrong. But we do not suppose, and enquiries support our supposition, that the men are going to return to work on a vague and non-committal assurance of this kind. And we cannot conceive how His Excellency could have supposed they would. Sir George Lloyd must have had some experience of the working of these things in England and we can assure him that if you strip the Indian labourer of the psychological paraphernalia, produced by different conditions and environment, which forms the surface of his mentality, you will find underneath that he is very much like his comrades all over the world. He understands plain speaking and he shies at anything in the way of equivocation. And he puts his trust in those who practise plain dealing. We have the fullest faith in Sir George Lloyd's good intentions, but he cannot forget that he is surrounded by advisers who, to speak plainly, have not a shred of credit in the popular estimation, who are experts in attempting to preserve prestige while making a display of sympathy and conciliation by vague and non-committal assurances of the kind contained in Sir George Lloyd's address to the men. Unless somebody is going to walk over the heads of these people and bring a new spirit of statesmanship into the councils of the Bombay Government there is little hope of their intervention leading to a solution of this grave crisis. There were three courses open to the Governor. One was to tell either side, as the case might be, that it was wrong and should give in. The second was to offer arbitration by a tribunal that would inspire confidence. The third was to refuse to interfere at all. But Sir George Lloyd asks one side to put all their cards on the table and surrender at discretion. Why are we not told what the mill-owners said at the conference held by them with the Governor-in-Council? Why are we not told what the Governor-in-Council said to them? Why this generous publicity to the proceedings at the conference with the men, when there is absolute reservation as to what happened in discussion with the owners? If the Governor-in-Council received any sort of assurance from the mill-owners, the fair and proper course, as well as the most expedient, was to tell the men what it was. They formulated their demands, and it is unreasonable to suppose that they will break their strike on a vague promise that the owners, contrary to all evidences of their conduct, are sympathetic and that the Governor will use his influence to see that justice is done, though he cannot say what they should get or should not get. That is not the way to induce men who are suffering with grim determination great privations to obtain their rights, with the knowledge that what they may gain or lose now will be unalterable for a very long time to come. For strikes once broken are not easily resumed. We think the Government have badly and mostly unfortunately blundered, but that does not prevent them from mending the mistake. The problem must be attacked anew. It is at least due to the men that they should be told on what grounds the Governor is assured of the intention of the mill-owners to deal 'sympathetically and promptly' with the men's demands. Sir George Lloyd's statement implies that the mill-owners

have told him what their intentions are. Then why not let them be known? If they have decided what they are prepared to do, it is nothing short of criminal folly to conceal their intentions and thus prolong a cruel situation so gravely affecting the whole community; and the Government ought not to encourage them in such a course. The mill-owners should be told plainly to put their cards on the table. If they refuse to do so, we do not think it is too much to ask that Government should find some means of forcing their hands. A Government that could pass the Rent Act, could surely not want to stop short at an equally drastic step in such a case. If the mill-owners, on the other hand, frankly state what terms they are prepared to offer and these are not acceptable to the men, then there is a clear issue, and Government should at once offer arbitration by a tribunal in which both sides would have confidence. Such a tribunal could be composed of two arbitrators nominated by each side, respectively, with an impartial chairman as umpire to be chosen by the arbitrators themselves."

*16. "The satisfactory end of the Dockyard strike is a sign of the times. The authorities of the Dockyard, a department of Government, have recognised the justice of the demand of their employees who, also, it may be added, struck work without notice. They did not take refuge behind a false sense of prestige; but decided to act with courage and promptitude. The authorities of the Cloth Market also have recognised the wisdom of similar action towards their mehtas, notwithstanding the uncompromising attitude previously taken up. We earnestly hope the mill-owners will profit by these examples and put an end to the strike by a courageous recognition of the inevitable and win back the confidence and respect of the public which they have almost forfeited by their obstinate attitude. If this is not done at once the duty of Government is clear. The Government must have realised the futility of the procedure by which they sought to end the crisis. It is clear that the determination of the strikers is the greater since their interview with the Governor. It is now time that the Government should tell the Mill-owners' Committee plainly and bluntly that, if they are sincere in their desire to deal with the men's demands promptly and sympathetically, they should not delay a moment longer in showing by practical action that they really mean what they say."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Jan.

*17. "The Committee of the Mill-owners' Association have now adopted the wise course of making substantial concessions to their employees on strike and deciding to communicate forthwith to the workers the terms they are prepared to concede. If the information we have received is correct, this step was taken on the strong advice of the Governor, and, in that case, Sir George Lloyd deserves the gratitude of the whole community for having adopted the course which wisdom and statesmanship indicated but which, none the less, it required courage and initiative to take. It had been expected that an official communique would be issued in the course of yesterday evening, reciting the terms granted by the owners and urging the men, on the part of the Governor, to accept them. At the time of writing, however, the circular issued by the Mill-owners' Committee to the mills is the only authoritative statement. According to this, the terms are to be posted at the mills this morning, though we understand, in at least one case, the notice was put up last evening. We defer any detailed comment on the matter for the present. But we have reason to believe, so far as our enquiries go, that the terms will be accepted by the men, who, though disappointed that they contain no actual provision for the payment of the strike days, have obtained concessions of such a substantial character as to afford them the satisfaction of feeling that they have gained nearly all they wanted and have secured a notable victory. Our only regret in the matter, and it is one which we feel will be shared by the public, is that the mill-owners should have needlessly delayed in the adoption of a course which appeared inevitable almost from the outset. On the other hand, it is gratifying in the highest degree to all those who are concerned for the welfare and uplift of Indian Labour that these brave labourers have stood so worthily the awful strain of the last twelve days. They have unflinchingly

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Jan.

stood by their demands and have resisted persuasion and pressure of an unprecedented kind in their strong determination not to go back to work until the owners revealed their intentions and gave them the necessary undertaking. If they go back to work to-day, as we trust and have no doubt, they will, it will be with the knowledge that they have gained substantial concessions, lost nothing—for the bonus largely balances the loss of the strike days—and have shown that Indian labour, even when practically unorganised, knows how to fight with courage and dignity and has learnt to assert its rights. On the foundations thus laid we see a new and a better future in this city for the working classes, who have been for too long the silent and oppressed victims of a capitalist class whose care and respect for the labour which produces their wealth have been of the scantiest."

*18 "One-sided enthusiasts triumphantly dwell upon the abnormal profits the mills have earned during the war. That cannot be denied by the mill-agents. At the same time it must not be forgotten that before the outbreak of war many of them had been working, if not at a loss, under great difficulties which left little margin for profits. The mill-industry, next to the jute industry, is the most important staple industry in this country. The owners of jute factories have no rivals to compete with. Not so in the case of the mill industry which has to face powerful competition from the Japanese and Lancashire mills. If the cost of production is increased beyond certain limits, not only will the mill-owners suffer by the reduction of their resources urgently needed for improvements and extensions, but also the mill-hands themselves as workmen and also as consumers along with millions of poor consumers of cloth in the country. As against the grievances of a lakh of mill-hands must be considered the elementary wants and requirements of millions of poor people who must be in a position to clothe and feed themselves at a reasonable cost. It will, therefore, be seen that in dealing with the demands of the strikers, the question of their welfare as well as that of the consumers and the well-being of the mill industry must be impartially considered. How to reconcile the claims and interests of these three parties is the question which has got to be solved..... While the legitimate demands of the mill-hands must be sympathetically considered, the question of the industrial development of the country by economising resources cannot be brushed aside. ..... It will, therefore, be seen that the whole subject of the wages of the strikers is not quite so simple as is imagined in some quarters. It is lamentable that the mill operatives have no regular and responsible organisation of their own through which they can represent their grievances in an authoritative and effictive manner. Millowners, however, ought not to take advantage of this weakness but come forward to afford them relief as promptly and liberally as they can. If the mill-hands cannot co-operate intelligently, surely the millowners ought to do so on their side in doing the needful. We quite appreciate the serious difficulty of dealing with thousands of ignorant men who have no accredited representatives of their own in whom all of them are prepared to place full trust and confidence. This is, no doubt, the greatest difficulty that has to be faced in dealing with the situation. 'Food relief,' says President Wilson in his message to the Congress, 'is the key to the whole European situation.' The remark is equally applicable to the situation created in Bombay and our Government, too, have a good deal to learn from this message and will do well to see that freight is still further reduced, make more shipping and railway waggons available for the transport of food and import necessaries of life which have become exorbitantly costly."

Gujarâti (18), 19th Jan., Eng. cols.

19. How was it that a lakh of poor, disorganised men could be so perverse or foolish or imprudent as to be blind to such a simple fact? We are afraid that this question has not been yet answered by anybody. How could the men run the grave risk of a strike and a possibility of being permanently thrown out of work? We do not find any reason to suppose that the men have become so senseless as to be blind to simple facts. Nor do we think that the trouble is due to any political causes as suggested by a certain class of people in Bombay. The

Deccan Ryot (4), 16th Jan.

attempt to connect the labour troubles in Europe which have recently assumed threatening political forms with the strike in Bombay is also without any reason on its side. To us, the plain truth seems to be that the mill-hands seem to have been living such miserable lives that it has ceased to matter to them whether they are or are not employed by the mills. Besides this, the power and organisation of the mill-owners is so infinitely greater than in the case of the mill-hands that helplessness and desperation seem to be the only attitude of mind possible for the latter in their dealings with the former. If the labourers had any hopes of success by peaceful negotiations if they had any faith in their ability to persuade their masters to consider their demands in a spirit of reasonableness, we have no doubt that the mill-hands would have thought twice before casting their lot with the Century Mills labourers. If they had been able to keep their heads cool and if they had removed the only ground of complaint of which advantage is being taken by some of our Bombay leaders, it would certainly have been a better thing for the cause for which the strike has been decided on. But all the same, we know that the mill-labourers in India are a very reasonable and tame class of people who would not take very bold steps unless forced by circumstances. ..... We hope the Government and the leaders of the labouring communities in Bombay will realise the need of improving the conditions which drive thousands of men to such extreme measures *even* when the immediate provocation is inconsiderable."

20. The Bombay strike is gaining in strength. The grievances of the strikers are real and their demands reasonable. Mr. Jamnadas, Dr. Sathe and others told them to resume their work and get their grievances amicably settled by appointing a *panch*. But they demanded a written assurance that they will be given at least 25 per cent. increase in their wages and that they would be paid for the strike days otherwise they refused to resume work. If it is a matter of fact that the mill-owners honestly desire to increase the workers' wages why should they refuse to give a promise to that effect? "We won't be overawed by the strikers to grant an increase; we would do so of our own accord; we really desire to increase their wages", say the mill-owners. But this is all make believe. How is it that they came to entertain this desire to grant 25 per cent. increase only after the 25th December? Not a single mill-owner said before that, even by mistake, that he was willing to raise the labourer's wage to that extent. The rule that if the nose is pressed the mouth is opened is applicable in this case also. In the vain attempt to keep up prestige, why tell the strikers to resume work unconditionally and promise them consideration of their grievances only after they have done so? Who is to guarantee that if they resumed work the mill-owners would be true to their word? The postmen and the Railway workshop labourers were given similar promises when on strike. But the moment they resumed work and all went on smoothly, the breach of promises began. It is because of such bitter experiences that the labourer wants a definite promise in advance. Economically the mill-owners would be no losers if they granted the increase because they have themselves been saying that they were going to grant it. These being the circumstances the mill-owners may well show their magnanimity and yield and save the poor labourers from hardships in these days of famine. Supposing the strike is broken and the labourers yielding through starvation are forced back to their work the discontent in their minds will continue to smoulder and may blaze out again. The present Governor is in sympathy with Labour. If, therefore, he advices the mill-owners properly this question will permanently be solved.

Kesari (114), 14th Jan.

21. The fact that the city is comparatively quiet during the present strike is as much due to the workmen's innate love for peace as to the efficient police arrangements. The sympathies of the public are with the workmen and it is generally believed that they do not get fair treatment at the hands of the mill-owners. As the men are driven to this extremity owing to the prevailing high prices of necessaries and the succession of epidemics, the mill-owners ought to concede their legitimate

Indu Prakásh (42), 18th Jan.; *Sudhákar* (132), 12th Jan.

demands and thus end the strike. If the parties do not come to an understanding Government should intervene and effect a settlement. [The *Sudhdkar* says that the prolongation of the strike is causing less both to the mill-owners and the workmen and that, therefore, they should settle the dispute amicably.]

*22. We make bold to say that the wages paid to the mill operatives in Bombay at present are far below a living wage. This unfortunate class of workers did not get a living wage even when the prices of food stuffs were not very high. When the mill labourers did not in ordinary times get sufficient pay to keep body and soul together it is not at all surprising if they lose all patience in these times of extraordinary high prices. It is necessary to take strong measures to improve the lot of mill labourers. Government should, therefore, inquire into the social and economic position of the mill labourers and fix their wages by law, as the mill agents are not likely to take any steps to improve the lot of their employees. [In a subsequent issue the paper refers to the intervention of His Excellency the Governor and writes:—We must thank His Excellency the Governor for the initial step he has taken to intervene in the dispute between the labourers and their masters, but we fail to see the propriety of the method adopted by His Excellency in the matter of settling the dispute. But we think neither His Excellency nor his advisers are at fault. His Excellency's intervention has not improved matters. We wish the strikers had acted in accordance with the advice given by His Excellency and had resumed work. But they have lost all faith in the millowners through their bitter experiences in the past. His Excellency should now direct all his energies towards bringing about a settlement of the strike. He should interview the mill-owners and the leaders of the strikers at one sitting and should use his influence to bring about a compromise. Should the parties not arrive at any settlement the Governor should intervene and force a settlement upon them. The *Praja Mira and Pársi* expresses gratification at the sympathy expressed by His Excellency the Governor with the strikers and the promise given to them by him and writes:—It is not unnatural that the strikers should hesitate to act upon the assurance of the Governor after the bitter experience of the participators in a strike in spite of such an assurance in the regime of the former Governor. We would, however, assure the strikers that there is no likelihood of their being disappointed if they act upon the advice given by the Governor, as His Excellency has shown the courage of publishing in the Press an authoritative statement in the matter. We hope that His Excellency Sir George Lloyd will succeed in bringing this matter to such a termination as would tend to increase his prestige among the people. In the subsequent issue the paper earnestly appeals to His Excellency to use his influence to bring about an early settlement of the dispute between the mill-hands and their employers. The *Jam-e-Jamshed* is gratified at the intervention of His Excellency the Governor. It refers to instigation from certain quarters that puts up the labourers to advance extravagant demands and dwells upon the necessity of organising labour so that its views may be sounded through its accredited leaders. In the subsequent issue the paper calls upon Government to cancel the Excess Profits Tax with a view to enabling the mill-owners to meet the demands of the strikers.]

Sánj Vartamán (32), 18th and 20th Jan.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 20th and 21st Jan.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 20th and 21st Jan.

23. The *Sánj Vartamán* expresses its sympathy with the mill-operatives in the strike that they have organised and earnestly calls upon the mill-owners to take pity on the lot of their employees and to increase their wages so that they may be able to keep their bodies and souls together. In a subsequent issue the paper views with anxiety the prolongation of the strike and appeals to His Excellency Sir George Lloyd to intervene and to use his good offices to put an end to the strike. It again urges upon the mill-owners the urgent necessity of giving an adequate increase to

Sánj Vartamán (32), 11th and 17th Jan.; *Hindusthán* (22), 11th, 13th, 16th and 17th Jan.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 16th, 17th and 18th Jan.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 18th, 17th and 18th Jan.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 12th and 17th Jan.

their employees who in its opinion are living on starvation wages. [The *Hindusthán* also urges upon the mill-owners the necessity of increasing the wages of their employees with a view to enabling them to maintain themselves and their families in these times of high prices. It asks Government not to look with indifference on the conflict between labour and capital but to appoint Conciliation Boards to arbitrate between the strikers and their employers. It approves of the step taken by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd in cancelling his visit to Delhi and hopes that something good will come out of the interest manifested by His Excellency in the strike. It draws the attention of Government to the serious situation created by the prolongation of the strike and asks them to appoint a Conciliation Board without any delay and make it incumbent upon the strikers and their employers to accept its decision. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* entertains high hopes of the interest shown in the matter by His Excellency the Governor as evidenced by his cancelling his visit to Delhi in view of the strike and believes that the strike will soon terminate as a result of the intervention of the Governor. It also calls upon the mill-owners to recognise high prices as the root cause of the strike and calls upon them to devise some agency by which their operatives may be able to get their necessities of life at low prices. It requests His Excellency the Governor to use his influence to put an end to the strike and urges upon him the need of removing the present restrictions upon the transit of food stuffs which in its opinion have led to the rise in prices. It suggest that Government should insist upon the mill-owners supplying food and clothing to their employees at cost price. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* deplores the unorganised condition of labour in Bombay and dwells upon the need of establishing a Labour Union with a view to safeguarding the interests of mill-hands and others to represent their grievances to the authorities. It recognises the evil of the prolongation of the strike and asks Government to appoint an Arbitration Board to settle the dispute and to create an agency through which the people will be able to get their necessaries of life at reasonable rates. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* deplores the indifference shown by mill-owners towards the welfare of their employees and impresses upon them the necessity of providing sanitary dwellings for the labourers and education for their children. It recognises the gravity of the situation created by the prolonged strike and requests Government to intervene and put an end to it.]

Young India (15), 15th Jan.

24. "The aid of the military was requisitioned on Saturday morning. It must be remembered that until then the strikers as well as those who had been voluntarily turned out of their work by the various mill managements had shown no disposition whatsoever to be unruly or ill-behaved, and the accounts of the two Anglo-Indian organs of capitalism and reaction that the strikers were getting uncontrollable and giving a lot of trouble to the police were exaggerated and garbled. We have been constantly watching the conduct of the strikers since it began on Thursday and we cannot honestly say that the men were rowdy and bent upon mischief. On Friday they resolved not to provoke any breaches of peace or order, and in spite of the provocations—they were many indeed—they have firmly adhered to their resolve with one or two sundry exceptions for which they cannot be held altogether responsible. The calling in of the military was in these circumstances superfluous. It is significant and throws a curious sidelight in the course of the strike and the conduct of the Police that in these days when property has more value in the eyes of the law than the lives of thousands of men, that a few thousand men could march from one mill to another and compel them all to close without the Police bestirring themselves in the matter. The folloing speaks for itself. 'Though the impending trouble was known for a few days no Police assistance could be got. The only reply our Manager got to numerous phone messages to the office of the District Superintendent of Police was from a Havaldar that the Inspector was too busy to pay any attention to our calls and that the trouble was common all over and he would report the matter to the Inspector when at leisure. The above are plain facts and you are at full liberty to make your own inquiries on the spot if you so desire.' If Mr. Vincent could requisition on

Saturday the aid of the military, he could have done it equally well on Thursday. We are strongly inclined to believe that the men would have mostly resumed work by Saturday afternoon or Sunday, if some mysterious forces were not working underground. There is reason to suspect that inspired agencies were at work to prevent the men from resuming work as they were advised to do by some of their best friends. The credit of attempting to bring the trouble to a speedy and satisfactory end should belong to the much reviled Home Rulers..... Let the mill-owners who seem to think that the Home Rulers were at the bottom of the mischief ponder over this and then reflect what interest the Police and the magistracy—may be in their private capacity—had to prevent the early termination of the strike, which was to ensue from the openly given advice of the Home Rulers. They might also consider along with this the complaint made by Messrs. Hormasjee and Company in their letter to the Police Commissioner regarding the laconic and indifferent answer which they got from the District Police Station. The public will no doubt be grateful to the new Governor for the anxiety with which he is reported to be watching the course of the strike, for his declining to be led away by the mill-owners and for cancelling his visit to Delhi. It behoves, therefore, the Governor to order a thorough and open investigation of the events of the past few days and not to allow himself to be led away by the representations of the official agencies." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—"The soldiers on leave made disquieting demonstrations in various parts of England including London in favour of the demand for demobilisation. At Folkestone it led, says Reuter, to an 'unparalleled incident,' which was that the departure of the Guards' Colours for Germany was postponed. The soldiers returning from leave to the tent camps on Friday paraded the streets as a protest against the slow demobilisation. In other places, too, notably in London, the men marched on the Prime Minister's residence at 'No. 10, Downing Street,' where they must have made an effective demonstration. For, the Prime Minister had subsequently to address the men not to filch from the nation the fruits of victory when they were in sight. The War Office has tried to explain away the discontent among the troops as having been due to 'misunderstanding'. Therefore 'the authorities decided not to treat the matter as a breach of discipline'. Not only so, but the authorities also came to 'a satisfactory arrangement' with the men, after which the Guards' Colours arrived at Folkestone and were conveyed across the Channel without incident. We have referred to this, not because we intend in any way to cast a slur either on the troops or on the authorities, but because it reveals the pliant spirit of 'authority and discipline,' which are made so much of in this country. The way in which a big labour demonstration has been handled in this City furnishes a too self-evident contrast. Upholders of 'law and authority' have raised an enormous howl at the fact that during a demonstration of discontent by a lakh and thirty or forty thousand unorganised men, a few window panes were broken or a few wooden gates smashed up, either under provocation or impulse. These good people do not seem to realise that the wonder is that in spite of their numbers, the great variety of their temperaments, the loosely-knit character of their association and, above all, the frequent provocations they received, they exercised so much self-restraint, forbearance and good humour as to cause only a very trivial damage to property. We are opposed to violence of all sorts, whether it be against men or property. But if what one of the upholders of property says of the police that they did not render him any assistance when called for is true, we should certainly say that the behaviour of the strikers in this City was on the whole a splendid example in self-restraint."]

25. "On the present occasion the real danger is in the persistent attempts that are being made to draw a red herring across the trail by attributing the strike to the instigation of certain designing men rather than to any economic cause. The serious significance of such a theory is overlooked. If a number of men can induce a lakh of workmen to go on strike it is impossible to overrate the power of these men. For our part, we dismiss such a theory without hesitation. The men

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 17th Jan., Eng. cols.

have grievances and it should not be difficult to redress them. The strike is due partly to economic causes and partly because a strike is like an epidemic and spread like an infection. The strike here began with a few hundred men, but now a hundred thousand men have been drawn into it. There is no reason yet to complain of the attitude of the millowners. They cannot be expected to submit to the demands of the men at once. In the majority of instances the men did not wait to formulate their demands before going on strike. The action of the Government, in imposing an extraordinarily heavy tax on excess profits, has had a most depressing effect upon millowners and business men, and that is another reason why the deadlock continues and serious attempts have not been made to put an end to the strike."

A soldier's objection to being kept in India for firing on Indian labourers on strike.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Jan.

*26. In a letter headed "A Tommy's Grievance", an anonymous correspondent writes to the *Bombay Chronicle* :—"After reading your article about the Bombay strikes and as a soldier, I should like to voice my opinion upon the subject. We quite understand, and are in sympathy with the strikers, who are ground down to the lowest possible wage ('not a living wage') by the European and Civilian Mill-owners. These Mill-owners have apparently a right or at least are able to call upon the Military to stop any disturbance (*in reality to protect themselves*). Now, what is the position of 'Tommy'? He is a man who has left business, home, and everything dear to him, to volunteer, to serve his country, and has endured during the past four years many hardships on different fronts. Now he is in India, waiting, and longing to get home after successfully coming through these four terrible years (one of the lucky ones who has escaped death, or serious wounds), he is kept out here (as a tool) for the civilians in India, who since the beginning of the war while making huge sums of money have ignored common Tommy and looked upon him as an inferior being. But, who is it they call upon when trouble arises—'common Tommy,' who, in the majority of cases, are men holding far better position than the Europeans out here. The war is now finished and Tommy is waiting to get home to his wife and children to build up his business, instead of which he is kept out here and ordered to fire upon men, with whom he is in sympathy as well as undergo the danger of being injured or killed. Would you kindly publish this letter in your valuable paper please?"

Comments on the Conference of Provincial rulers at Delhi.

Hindusthan (22), 14th Jan.

27. The *Hindusthan* views with suspicion the object of the Governors' Conference at Delhi and declares that as some of the Bengal (?) Civilians have opposed the Reform Scheme it is likely that this Conference would have something to do with that opposition. It, therefore, earnestly hopes that so odious a subject as this shall not be allowed in the Conference. The paper maintains that Civilians, being executive officers, should not be allowed any voice in the formulation of policy as their work is exclusively confined to its execution. It is strange, the paper adds, that the Government of India permit these Civilians to take part in such political activities when they, as Government servants, are expressly forbidden to participate in political propaganda of any kind.

Some causes of the prevailing high prices.

Gujaráti (18), 12th Jan.

28. Commenting upon the prevailing high prices the *Gujaráti* writes:—Special permits have had to be secured by the merchants for sending out goods or selling them. This procedure was availed of by the merchants to raise the prices with a view to profiteering. Ordinary merchants could not easily secure permits. Much time had to be lost in securing an interview with the Controller and they gave up the idea of importing goods as they were disgusted with the contradictory orders issued from time to time by the Controller. This gave an opportunity for others to raise the prices. Where is the control on the prices? While the control on the prices is ineffectual the officials seem to be more mindful of filling the Government coffers than of redressing the grievances of the people. The Government coffers still continue to be filled up by the maintenance of heavy freight

charges by land and sea. People are not likely to get any relief unless Government withdraw all checks upon the free transit of goods and give facilities to the merchants by placing railway waggons at their disposal. There is no doubt that famine and high prices are at the bottom of the epidemics and strikes. The mill-owners should expose the evil effects of the present policy and should bring pressure to bear upon Government to remove the restrictions on the transit of goods and place railway waggons at their disposal in large numbers so that matters may be put right.

Government control responsible for the rise in the prices of rice.
Satya Shodhak (126), 12th Jan.

29. As the war was over, poor people were expectantly awaiting reduction in the prices of rice and other things, but the contrary happened owing to the restrictions imposed by the Controller. If this state of things is allowed to continue, more and more would die of starvation as the severity of the famine grows more and more intense. It is time therefore for the early removal of this control. In the Konkan there is also a great clamour for unhusked rice. The Kolába District, which supplies such rice to the district of Ratnágiri, has got a cosiderable surplus of it for export. But it cannot be sold in view of the circular issued by the Collector of Kolába, which allows a man the concession of selling, to places outside the district, rice worth only twice the amount of the land assessment which he has to pay, subject to the guarantee that he will pay the revenue in full. This guarantee the people fear will render void the applications already made for remissions and suspensions of revenue, and so they are not disposed to sell their surplus stocks of rice. Most of the people on this side are habituated to eat Kolába rice and cannot get on with Burma rice specially in view of the spread of cholera. We request our Collector to bring this matter to the notice of the head of the Kolába District.

High prices due to increased circulation of currency notes.
Kesari (114), 14th Jan.

30. Lately the ever-increasing and enforced circulation of currency notes and the dearth of coins has been causing unnecessary loss and hardships to many who have at times to pay exorbitant commission to get their notes cashed. There is such a run on the Currency Office in Bombay and the treasuries in the mofussil that serious disturbances are prevented only with the help of the police. In these days of famine hardships this state of things has led to a further increase in the already prevailing high prices. The situation must be brought under control by Government. They should remove the restrictions on the importation of gold and silver and arrange for the free coinage of gold and silver. For the time being they should stop buying gold and silver for coinage and with a view to reduce the large circulation of notes, should stop any further issue of new notes. They should also arrange for unconditional cashing of notes at all treasuries and should no more hold it an offence to melt such coins. Unless such or similar arrangements are made the prices will still further rise and cause strikes all over the country just like those that have taken place in Bombay.

Home Rulers have no sympathy for the masses.
Jágaruk (43), 11th Jan.

31. The war has helped to spread democratic ideas throughout the whole world and no one can expect India to remain unaffected by them. This is why the Indians have put forth their demand for *swarájya* the legitimacy of which has now been acknowledged by the British Government. This does not, however, mean that all those who claim *swarájya* have the interests of the masses at heart. At any rate the attitude of the Home Rulers and of those who control the Congress tends to confirm our suspicions. They opposed the Cotton Cloth Control Bill lest it should touch the pockets of the wealthy mill-owners although the measure was clearly meant to give some relief to the poor. Similarly they opposed the allotment of £45 million to meet the extra expenses of the war simply because the amount was to be raised exclusively from merchants whom the war had benefited. As a matter of fact they have absolutely no sympathy with the masses but are actuated by a desire to protect from loss the class to which they belong.

32. A correspondent of the *Political Bhomiyo* takes exception to epithets like "rascal", "wicked", "vile", etc., used in connection with the Emperor Aurangzeb in a serial story appearing in the *Praja Bandhu*, dated the 12th January 1919 as, in its opinion, it will injure the religious susceptibilities of the Muhammadans. The paper calls upon the Collector of Ahmedabad to do the needful in the matter. [Elsewhere the paper supports the view expressed by the correspondent and calls upon the editor of the *Praja Bandhu* to apologise for publishing such a story. Should such an apology be not forthcoming in due course the paper calls upon the Mudammadans throughout India to protest against the publication in question with a view to drawing the attention of Government who, it hopes, will do all that lies in their power to set matters light.]

Alleged injury to Musalman feelings in a story appearing in the *Praja Bandhu* of Ahmedabad.
Political Bhomiyo (76), 17th Jan.

33. Commenting upon the declaration recently made at Bombay before the Registrar of Marriages, under the Civil Marriages Act, by a Brahmin and his Native Christian bride that they belonged to no religion, with a view to legalizing their union, and their admission into Hinduism a few hours later by the Hindu Missionary Society which also performed their marriage ceremony according to the Hindu ritual, the *Achárya* writes:—This is a fraud, pure and simple. We fail to see why such a registration should not be cancelled if the parties are afterwards admitted into some particular faith. We earnestly invite the attention of Government to this matter.

Marriages under the Civil Marriages Act should be cancelled under certain circumstances.
Achárya (95), 12th Jan.

34. Commenting upon the Imam-Clayton case the *Subodh Patrika* writes:—The days when Europeans could treat the Indians with contempt and impunity are gone never to return. It will be much better if responsible and respectable Europeans will realise the strain such incidents put on the relations between the two communities and regulate their conduct accordingly.

The Imam-Clayton case.
Subodh Patrika (47), 12th Jan.

*35. "Analysing the mentality of the three great parties in England, *viz.*, the Conservatives, the Liberals and Labour, any one can at once see that it is hopeless to expect anything from the Conservatives. The Liberal politicians are bound by their traditions, and, though they do not directly take India's questions in hand, they cannot oppose India's demands downright. But both the Conservative and Liberal members, coming as they do from the aristocratic and middle class sections, cannot be expected to do much in India's favour because they have their interest in keeping India in leading-strings. It is Labour and Labour alone that can and will see the wrongs righted and the nations freed from bondage. In India's case they may have points of their interests conflicting with those of India, but these points are few and far between. In the present Parliament they are in a minority, but the Labour party will, at the same time, be an influential opposition and they will surely exert a wholesome influence in favour of India. We admit that India must take wind in her sails from every quarter in order that her ship of progress may sail straight to its goal; still we cannot ignore the truth of the advice given by Michael Davitt, the great Irish patriot, long ago in 1905, in connection with the discussions that were going on then in the country as to whether Indian questions should be made party-questions are not. He wrote:—'India is misgoverned and exploited almost solely in the interests of the aristoratic and middle-class sections of the British people belonging to Tory and Liberal parties who either own or control the entire Press of England and have a monopoly of both Houses of Parliament. These classes and interests will not consent, unless compelled to do so, to any effective reforms in the rule of your country which may tend to arrest the drain of wealth wrung out of the taxes of your people..... My advice would be—let the delegation speak direct to the working classes of Great Britain. These benefit in no way

India must seek the help of the Labour Party in England.
Mahrátta (7), 19th Jan.

through impoverishment of the Indian people. They obtain none of the money which is squeezed out of the earnings of your half-fed workers; nor do their sons obtain enjoyment and pensions at your expense in the Indian Military or Civil Services, in the task of grinding revenue out of your salt, and sweat and toil. The workers of England, Scotland and Ireland will give your spokesmen a sympathetic and disinterested hearing and your cause can count with confidence on the whole-hearted support of the Labour Party in Parliament'."

Delhi was never too far off to the Marathas.

Rdjakdran (123), 12th Jan.

36. In the course of a long article on the Delhi Congress the *Rdjakdran* says:—The only Urdu (?) expression *Hanoz Delhi dur ast* (Delhi is yet afar off) used by the authors of the Reform Scheme is meaningless and childish and we fail to understand why they were tempted to insert it in their report. Delhi was not too far off to the Marathas in the 17th and 18th centuries when there were no modern means of communication and their horsemen even went beyond it upto the very frontiers of India. They held the Imperial cities of Delhi and Agra for decades, and, who ever might have coined the phrase *Hanoz Delhi dur ast*, Delhi was never too far off to the Marathas.

The Franchise Committee and the recommendations of the Bombay Government.

Deccan Ryot (4), 16th Jan.

37. "The Bombay Government had invited some of the gentlemen who will be examined as witnesses before the Franchise Committee to an informal conference at Bombay on Monday last when the Honourable Mr. Curtis explained at some length the scheme of the Bombay Government in so far as the constitution of the Bombay Legislature is concerned. Without going into details about it, we might simply say that the hand of Lord Willingdon—and his weakness—are apparent on its very face and it is bound to be very unsatisfactory unless the Committee modifies it in many respects. What strikes us most in this connection is the astounding ignorance of those who are responsible for the drafting of the Government scheme. Some time ago the Viceroy told his Council that he was in favour of communal representation, and the only question was as to the way it was to be secured. Now it is obvious that if a district in this Presidency is to be constituted into an electorate entitled to send *only two* representatives, there is absolutely no chance for the numerous communities into which the Presidency is divided except through communal electorates. The Bombay Government seems to think that communal electorates should be given only to the Muhammadans and the Europeans. So all the other communities must make the best of the two seats allotted to each of the districts. Is there any possibility of most of the non-Brahman communities securing any representation with such electorates? Take any district in this Presidency and you will find that the two seats will go to one or two of the higher castes while the others will have no chance whatever. The simple remedy is to start with constituencies electing at least three or four, if not more members. The next important point was that while the small European community has been given separate electorates, the Bombay Government has not seen its way to consider the claims of the Indian Christians, Parsees and Jains who are as distinct minorities as the Europeans and who are in greater need of protection than either the Europeans or the Muhammadans. There was some possibility of one of these two seats being earmarked for Marathas and Lingayets. This is neither certain nor satisfactory to the numerous other non-Brahman Hindu communities in the Deccan. Mr. N. C. Kelkar's Note submitted to the Franchise Committee commits the same error of ignoring the other communities like the Malis, Bhandaris, etc., who must be considered by everyone who wishes to be fair and just. The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye takes a broader view and proposes the reservation of a larger number of seats for the 'Backward Classes'—and not to this or that community. The mistake about his proposal is that he nowhere defines the 'Backward Classes' as he should. Literacy seems to be in his view the criterion. But when we remember that small communities like the Prabhus who are literate to a very great extent, but

who are politically as weak as any other community—and others like the Sonars, Sutars, Vanis etc., who are more or less in the same position—will have no protection whatever under his proposals. They will not be classed with the Backwards and yet, in competition with the Brahmans in the Deccan, we are sure that they will go to the wall with all their merits. The Government seems to be hopelessly ignorant of the social conditions in the Deccan. Our co-opted members are not, we are afraid, much better. Mr. Natrajan, as we said once before, knows very little about the beyond-Bombay conditions of the Deccan and Karnátak Districts, and it is to be feared that he will be as much deceived as the Government by ignorance of social conditions. There are persons among us who still do not know that the Jain is a distinct class professing a distinct religion in no way connected with Hinduism or that the Mali is different in caste from a Maratha. Our Brahman politicians like Mr. Kelkar see no injustice in ignoring all non-Maratha Hindus."

The Reform Scheme and the I. C. S.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th and 16th Jan.

38. "On the 20th of December last, the *Searchlight* of Behár published a circular issued by the Secretary of the Civil Service Association of Behár, inviting the members to answer certain questions about their prospects under the Reform Scheme. As the Lieutenant-Governor of Behár is a member of the Civil Service it is possible that the agitation was begun under high auspices, or at least without the opposition of local authorities. The 'terms of reference' ostensibly related to the status of Civilians under the Reform Scheme, but their apprehensions are, according to the trend of their argument, best dispelled, if by some means or other the prospect of reforms is wrecked. Now the Civilians of Madras have in their turn flocked to the Madras Club and after a meeting decided to submit a memorial regarding their 'grievances' under the Reform Scheme. The draft memorial published elsewhere will show that they have made out a long and laboured case for the preservation of their 'rights'. Responsible government has been declared, on the highest authority of the British Empire, to be the aim of British policy in India. The slightest approximation to the goal means a departure from the irresponsibility of the bureaucrats. The 'rights' and 'privileges' can be maintained only if the present system continues; any change from it diminishes their irresponsibility, making them amenable to the representatives of the Indian people. Those who remember this basic fact in the progress of Indian polity can easily see that a cry for the retention of the 'privileges' of the Civilians is really a war-whoop against every reform worth speaking of. For the benefit of India and for any approach towards responsible government, the bureaucracy must be shorn of its irresponsible powers. The transfer of power means a diminution in their 'rights'. We cannot therefore dissociate the grievances they formally express from the intention to obstruct all reform. For the Madras memorial clearly shows that it is not a question of salary or promotion upon which they primarily agitate but the idea of reform itself. It is political propaganda and a concerted attempt to overawe the Secretary of State and the British Cabinet. The ordinary Civilian in India is far too mindful of his own interest to intimidate any one with the threat of a 'general strike' or 'retiring on pension.' But this is nothing short of a 'stunt' in which the bureaucracy plainly declares its alliance with the enemies of Indian reform. Further, it is well to note that the probabilities are that these are not isolated moves existing only in Behár and Madras, but that there is a strong all-India agitation afoot. We imagine that the Civilian members of the Government of India, who subscribed to the Report, have sense of honour enough not to associate themselves with this defiant move; but it is still the duty of the Government sternly to check the organisers of this overawing demonstration and censure them for taking part in disorderly and unjustifiable propaganda. For it is the sub-ordination of the Indian Civil Service, which is the issue in India; all the anxiety professed about pay, promotion and allowance is a peg on which they hang their real theme. High officials are in the movement; for in Madras the 'Committee' is packed with Civilians who have reached the top of the ladder, including a High Court Judge. In passing, we would observe that the active interest of the Honourable Mr. Couchman in the

work of the Committee illustrates the lamentable fact that those who are deputed to assist in the introduction of reforms are exactly those who are their virulent opponents. Mr. Couchman is expected shortly to work as a co-opted member on one of the Reform Committee. Seeing as we do his earnest interest in the making of the memorial, we presume that he will sit in the Committee with his tongue in his cheek..... We do not care to go into more details. But the fact is that the Indian Civil Service, contrary to the etiquette and discipline of their engagement, have joined the fray as the enemies of reform and the friends of their retired kinsmen of the Indo-British Association. There have been many devices for stifling the voice of India and denying her rights. There have been real breaches of faith. The agitation of the pensioners in England is doing harm to the interests of the country. At least one Anglo-Indian paper—with which we did not agree on the point—once observed that the participation of a retired Civilian in an anti-Indian propaganda was wrong. What will the reactionaries now say about the conduct of the Civil Service plunging themselves into a controversy to retard national progress in the land whose hospitality they enjoy?" [In its next issue the paper writes :—"*New India* is receiving many congratulations for publishing the I.C.S. memorial in Madras. They are well deserved, as the contents of the document reveal not only the oposition of the Civil Service to any reform causing the diminution of their power, but the fact that the members have resolved to depart from the rules of discipline forbidding participation in political propaganda. It is the policy of approaching towards responsible government in India which is being impugned and denounced by them. Now that the policy of the August declaration has been called into question, what action will the Government of India and the Secretary of State take in view of this mutinous agitation of the Civil Service? We hope the Government of India will issue a communique repudiating the movement and calling the recalcitrants to a sense of loyalty. The Home Member in the September debate of last year in the Imperial Legislative Council warmly protested against the suggestion that the Civil Service would chafe under and prove hostile to the introduction of reforms. These were his words :— 'I have heard it said that the Services and particularly the Service to which I have the honour to belong, will not co-operate loyally in giving effect to these proposals. My Lord, I should like to assure this Council that any such conduct would be contrary to the traditions of the Service, and to the spirit which has actuated it for many years. I confidently believe that the Service to which I belong and all other Services will loyally and wholeheartedly endeavour to make the proposals a success and will co-operate gladly and willingly with their Indian colleagues in carrying them out.' Sir William Vincent must be keenly disappointed that he relied so greatly on the loyalty and good faith of his confréres in the Service. But now that the Civilian's attitude has been unmasked and damning proof given of his efforts to rally 'sympathy' in Britain and aid in the wrecking of the Reforms, what is the Home Member going to do? He cannot connive at the revolt nor indeed can the Government of India remain indifferent. We wish some non-official member would ask for a full statement about the plot at the next meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council. But the fiat has been issued that no interrogatories will be allowed at the next meeting of the Council. We cannot afford to wait till August to know all about the depth and nature of the present agitation. It is, therefore, all the more necessary that the Government of India should, of their own accord, make their position clear and call their subordinates publicly to order without the slightest delay. The Government are no doubt preoccupied with post-war problems, but it will be a scandal if the bureaucracy are allowed to screen themselves behind that excuse and obtain silence while their nefarious confabulations are in progress."]

*39. In a long article on the memorandum of the Madras I. C. S. on the position of the service under the new reforms, the *Mahrátta* writes :—"The draft then describes the position of the Civilian officer to show how intolerable it will be in the new regime. It is as follows :—'The District Officer will never give a decision without feeling that it may be arbitrarily revoked from above. And the fact, admitted in the

Mahrátta (7), 19th Jan.

report (paragraph 177), that the policy of the Indian leaders with whom the power will rest, will be naturally, and from their standpoint, justifiably, to weaken and discredit an alien Executive, and it is obvious that the position of the Civilian will soon become intolerable.'..... It is quite true that his position will be such. But there is no other alternative for it. If the services are to be Indianised, and if the new policy is to be brought into action, the position of the I. C. S. cannot but be otherwise. Some of them who do not like it may go, and India will be glad to escape from such men whom, in all conscience, we cannot deem as faithful to British ideals. As long as British ideals were 'paying' to these men, they did not complain. But as soon as they called upon the I. C. S. to sacrifice their prospects and material gains, they began practically to disown them. Such men India does not want. We want those who will as cheerfully bear the sacrifices as the gains from those ideals. If such men are rare in the I. C. S., better it is if we have the select few only rather than the pelf-seeking many. India will not be sorry for the latter, and will welcome their departure as soon as possible. But they cannot have the enormous pensions claimed by them. They must be content with their due, and not a farthing more they deserve and therefore should have. Contrast with this the noble band of American C. S. men in the Philippines. In their report to the Secretary of War for 1913-14 they, *i.e.*, the Philippine commission, recommended their own extinction! They said that the Jones Bill or any similar enactment, granting Fillipinos Self-government, should be modified 'in the way of making its provisions more liberal.' They favoured the rapid Phillipinisation of the services! Not only this, but they actually brought it into practice. And here in India we have an I. C. S. association actually opposing the scheme, and alarmed at the prospect of the diminution of their gains—a service which has all along unremittingly neglected or opposed the fulfilment of the solemn charters and proclamations, and which has fought against its Indianisation! And yet what meed of praise has been bestowed on these unworthy men!"

40. "We regard it as a libel,' remark the authors of the reforms report, 'on the Indian Civil Service as a body to say that they have resisted or will resist the policy announced last August'. This policy consists in the progressive realisation of responsible government in this country, and the announcement contains a definite injunction that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible. We have no means of knowing how far the I. C. S. welcomes the objective, but there is every indication latterly, the assurance of the Home Member in the Government of India to the contrary notwithstanding, that it does not support the reforms outlined in the report as 'substantial steps' towards that objective. It cannot be gainsaid that the reforms make a revolution in the position of the Indian Civil Service. As Lord Lansdowne said in the House of Lords: 'The adoption of these proposals means the destruction of the I. C. S. as we have known it in the past. The authors of the report know in their hearts that there is no room in this scheme for the I. C. S. that we have known in past years. But while the I. C. S. will be whittled away numerically [Lord Lansdowne of course means by the I. C. S. only the European section of it], I think it is very likely to be done to death politically.' These are no doubt strong words but they are substantially true. For the execution of the reforms scheme does imply the practical destruction of the Service 'as we have known it in the past.' No doubt 'much is being asked of the services,' and the change is not 'irksome' but repugnant to many among them. It is not to be expected that they will readily 'fall in with the new order of things'. They will have ample opportunity of tendering advice, but will cease to have on many matters the last word which they at present enjoy. They must be content to execute, instead of directing, policy. If they quarrel with this position which properly belongs to them, no one can offer them any consolation. However, no one who has rightly grasped the implications of the policy announced in 1917 can quarrel with this impending change in the position of the I. C. S. without attacking the policy itself, and the fact that the I. C. S. Associations make complaint of what logically follows

Servant of India (9), 16th Jan.

from the effectuation of constitutional reforms only proves that the I. C. S. does not accept the policy. The conditions that will hereafter obtain in India are without doubt fundamentally different from those which existed when the present members of the I. C. S. signed their covenants or perhaps from those which they expected to exist when they put their hands to these august documents. One can only sympathise with them; but no cause of complaint arises so long as the covenant did not ensure to them a continuance of those conditions during their tenure of office. Even the members of the heaven-born service have got to submit to occasional vicissitudes of fortune equally with other men of a less elevated station, and if they think that the reforms will cause a degradation in their status, well, they must face it out with a good grace. Those who find the position unbearable can escape from it by resignation, but to claim a retiring pension with reference to their 'loss of prospects' or to claim equally fat berths in other parts of the Empire as a reward for their unaccommodating nature is the height of arrogance which the Government will do well, in its own interest, publicly to discountenance. It is something that the Madras I. C. S. Association does not suggest, as Lord Sydenham recently suggested, that the covenant excuses the service men in their disobedience of the orders issued by Indian ministers. If they are bidden to give effect to a policy 'diametrically opposed to British ideals' or to their personal convictions, again, they can sever the bond which ties them to the service by resigning. It is in this way that the requirements of service are reconciled to the scruples of conscience in every country, and we can only follow it in India. No one wishes to add to the difficulties of the services which, it is universally recognised, are great. The Indian leaders will 'show themselves capable of statesmanship and self-restraint' while dealing with the I. C. S. and make every allowance for their natural feeling, when they are called upon to surrender a large part of their long-enjoyed power; but the latter must, for their part, be willing to be brought down from the present position of master to that of servant."

*41. "The English members of the Indian Civil Service in Behar and Orissa and Madras have formed themselves into associations. They have sent representations to the Government of India condemning the Montagu-Chelmsford reform scheme and, indeed, the pledge to put India on the way to responsible government, and demanding that their interest as regards salaries and pensions should be guaranteed by the British Parliament if the reforms should be introduced. We have always believed that Government officials were forbidden to organise themselves into associations on the principle of trades-unions, and the action of the Indian Civil Service in the two provinces strikes us as being exceedingly out of order. If they can combine to oppose the reforms to-day, they can combine for any other purpose another time. That, however, is a question for the Government to consider. We cannot admit any vested interests on the part of the Services in the present system of administration. And if a change has to be made in it for weighty reasons, it is insubordinate on the part of the Services to throw themselves in the way. Then, again, we maintain that the present system has been a lamentable failure so far as constructive national legislation is concerned, as proved conclusively by the miserable position of education, sanitation and Indian social and economic development."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 19th Jan.

42. It seems the angle of vision of these heaven-born civilians of India has undergone no change whatever and they do not seem to have any idea of the terrible war also. They have practically threatened to resign; but this threat will hardly have any effect on His Excellency the Viceroy. The gist of their memorial is that they believe themselves to be superior to Indians, and they cannot bear the possibility of their advice being rejected by Indians. The underlying spirit of their memorandum shows them to be worshippers of Kaiserism, and if they had the power they would come forward to spread Kaiserism throughout the world. The arguments they advance in favour of their cause clearly prove

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 16th Jan.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 16th Jan.

them unfit for the present times. It is in the interest of the general public that they should be asked either to resign or to withdraw the present memorial. [The *Sánj Vartamán* considers this step of the civilians as a departure from the rules of discipline, forbidding participation in political propaganda, and declares that the memorial of the Madras Civilians shows what the real attitude of the civilians is with regard to India's political progress. The paper doubts very much whether they are really prepared to leave India and believes that the threat now held out by them is simply a hollow one. It is of opinion that this attempt on the part of Madras Civilians deserves serious condemnation at the hands of Government and hopes that His Excellency the Viceroy will not fail to take severe notice of the selfish and short-sighted leaders of this organisation.]

43. The Anglo-Indians have lost their heads since the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme. The chagrin of the I.C.S. bureaucrats in particular who have hitherto been accustomed to wield uncontrolled power knows no bounds. They have raised a cry that they have been deprived of their rights and have been mercilessly attacking the scheme. Their activities are particularly noticeable in Behar and Madras and we find nothing but selfishness in the statement published by them. It is much to be regretted that an I.C.S. officer holding the post of a High Court Judge should lend his support to this movement. It is equally gratifying, however, that the liberal-minded I.C.S. officers who assisted the authors of the scheme in preparing it are keepting aloof from this agitation. The movement is inopportune and un-British and is thoroughly disliked by the people and we urge Government, therefore, to put a stop to it as it is subversive of all discipline.

Indu Prakásh (42), 16th Jan.

44. The *Gujaráti* deplores the Extremist leanings and want of tact and moderation shown at the last sessions of the Indian National Congress. It is, however, of opinion that the impatience shown by the Congress is mostly due to the high-handedness of the officials and their lack of sympathy for the people. It declares that no good purpose will be served by the Moderates remaining aloof from the Congress and it impresses upon them the need of working within the fold of the Congress. It adds:—Those who fail in doing their duty after knowing the real state of affairs will be guilty of ingratitude to their country as well as to their King. Both the leaders of the people and the officials should awake to the sense of their responsibilities and we hope all will surely co-operate to avoid the conflagration that usually bursts out after a long period of association with helplessness, despondency, inaction and slavery.

Comments on the last session of the Indian National Congress.
Gujaráti (18), 12th Jan.

45. "Any one, who reads with a dispassionate mind the speeches made and the resolutions passed at the Delhi sessions of Indian National Congress, cannot but be struck with the spirit of reckless criticism and the extravagance of demands—due, we believe, more to the impudence of ignorance than to the considered judgment of the speakers, which characterised its proceedings and which have revealed, as nothing else could have done it, the bankruptcy of statemanship amongst the latter-day leaders of the Congress."

Subodh Patrika (47), 12th Jan., Eng. cols.

46. In his presidential address the Honourable Mr. Malaviya dwelt at considerable length upon the Hindu-Moslem *entente* and expressed his willingness to sacrifice his life if necessary to achieve the unity of the two communities. The Pandit alone knows whether he really means what he says but the public at any rate will not believe in this tall talk as he is accustomed to indulge in such fiction. Mrs. Besant too is a well-known fibster. She had stated at a meeting that she would move a resolution in the Delhi Congress in favour of granting separate representation to the untouchable classes but clean forgot all about it afterwards. But in these days people have short memories. The Home Rulers themselves have forgotten all Mrs. Besant's past services and she was treated with scant

Jágaruk (43), 11th Jan.; *Jágriti* (44), 11th Jan.

courtesy at the last session of the Congeess. [The *Jagriti* says the reckless conduct of the Extremists at Delhi opened the eyes of Mrs. Besant and she then realised why the Moderates had to hold a seperate Conference.]

The Delhi Congress and the Moderates.
Kesari (114), 14th Jan.

47. Referring to the several charges made by the Moderates against the Delhi Congress, the *Kesari* writes:—The Moderates argue that these charges justify their secession. Those who have followed carefully the proceedings of the Special Congress, the Moderate Conference and the Delhi Congress will see that nothing was done by any party within the Congress to justify the withdrawal of the Moderates from the Congress. The Special Congress neither danced in joy over the Montagu scheme nor tore it to pieces. It tried to introduce in it the principles approved at Lucknow even by the Moderates. There is no difference between the suggestions of the Moderates and those of the Congress. How is it destructive to national good to say that the amendments must be made? The Moderate party thinks that Mr. Montagu will not grant even as much as he wishes now to do if we say we are dissatisfied; in order that the bureaucracy might feel satisfied we should not express any dissatisfaction at the Montagu scheme; in order to keep it in a good mood we should bear the burden of 67½ crores: otherwise the bureaucracy will not fail like an enraged cobra to hiss in a poisonous manner. The Delhi Congress has placed its foot on the cobra's tail and enraged it. The Unionists favouring this cobra will be for about five years more in power and those who do not adopt a conciliating policy are not the friends of India. Such is the sum and substance of the objections of the Moderates. The Anglo-Indian papers say that the Congressmen are unfit to bear the burden of *Swarájya* and that their unfitness has been proved by the Delhi Congress. We do not know how such a conclusion can be arrived at. What is improper in not accepting the burden of 67½ crores if the great war came to a sudden close? Really speaking if England gets any indemnity from Germany, 300 crores spent by India should be handed over to it first. The Unionists will not be so just, but what necessity is there of bearing the new burden, after the war is over? The Unionists have pledged themselves to support the Reforms. The Liberals and Labour members also have said the same thing and the latter have expressed their willingness to apply the principle of self-determination to India. The Unionists cannot extend their Empire by allowing India to be discontented. It is assumed that the new Parliament is not favourable to the Reforms Bill and we are requested not to insist upon additional demands but the assumption is wrong. There is no substance in the argument that India has no friends in Parliament as the subsidy to the British Congress Committee has been stopped. For the last ten years the Committee has done nothing. There is no party as capable as the Labour Party in Parliament to suggest amendments to the Indian Reforms Bill on behalf of India. Barrister Baptista and Lokamanya Tilak helped that party well in the elections and they have secured the sympathy of the party for the Congress. The Great War has invested Labour not only in England but in the whole world with importance and it takes a real pride in the principle of self-determination. The Unionist Party is capitalist and Labour is democratic. In India bureaucracy is capitalist and Congress is democratic. There is no wonder that both should draw together. The Congress has accepted the policy it should have done in consideration of the situation in England. The fears expressed by the Moderates are baseless. [Elsewhere the paper writes:—The Moderate Party thinks that Mrs. Besant would secede from the Congress and join the Moderate Conference soon. But Mrs. Besant has no such idea whatsoever. She is not in favour of the advance step taken by the Delhi Congress. She does not approve of the demand made for full provincial autonomy. But the question was moved by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya himself. The United Provinces, Delhi and Punjáb delegates were very enthusiastic about it and there is no meaning in charging the Nationalist party of Bombay and Madras in this connection. If anybody can be held responsible for giving a push to the Congress the credit is due to the non-official members of the Bombay Legislative Council. These members made a

strong demand for full autonomy. And it raised an echo all over India and representatives came from every province with the desire of making a similar demand. The opinion of the Congress is the opinion of all the provinces; the Congress cannot have a separate opinion. The *Bengalee* and the *Englishman* say that the Congress gave up its loyal traditions and that it supported the seditionists. The *Statesman* and the *Englishman* are beside themselves because the Delhi Congress condemned the Rowlatt report and requested the release of political prisoners. The Moderates also have not stood by the Rowlatt report and the Sydenham gang in England has raised the cry that the Moderates are not fit for *swarájya*. The days of repression are gone and if it is again begun in India under cover of the Rowlatt report it will be proved by experience that such a great mistake was never before committed. Regarding the visit of the Prince of Wales, it was expressed that it would be out of place to make a show of welcome before the visit was announced officially and the question was dropped without discussion. The delegates assembled in Delhi are quite loyal to the King-Emperor and when the Prince of Wales would really come over to India, he would undoubtedly be welcomed by them gladly. It is also objected that the Congress dealt with international questions; in our opinion, the speciality of the Congress consisted in linking itself with the world movement. What was objectionable then if India looked up to America? And Mr. Lloyd George is in hearty agreement with President Wilson. What was wrong in suggesting that India's representative should be at the Peace Conference to speak on behalf of the Congress? The paper further remarks :— It appears from General Smut's views that all the Muhammadan nations in the Turkish and Russian Empires will be placed under the League of Nations and that the administration will be divided between England, India and America. There is thus no doubt that many questions involving the interests of India will be raised in the Peace Conference. It needs no saying that Muhammadan interest will be specially discussed. What national harm is caused if at such a juncture the Congress and the League feel that an elected representative of theirs should be present at the Peace Conference when such questions are being discussed there?]

48. After the separation of the Moderates as a party from the National Congress, a new party is again appearing on the horizon from the same organisation. Mrs. Besant has decided to dissociate herself from those who refuse to adhere to the Special Congress programme and to create a party of her own. At first sight it would appear that this new split does not augur well for the political progress of India; but on closer examination it will be found that this split only means that people now refuse to follow blindly the dictates of others without being convinced of their truth or propriety and that they have become alive to the necessity of thinking out everything for themselves. Such parties are not unknown to British politics; and so we cannot expect otherwise in India. Any number of parties may be welcome provided they all work for the same cause in a really compromising and tolerant spirit. Everybody must have his freedom of opinion; it does not matter if he errs; he may grow wiser by that experience in future. [The *Hindusthán*, writing on the same subject, says :—It is strange that Mrs. Besant is trying to create a nationalist party of her own followers in the various Home Rule Leagues. She herself has declared that the work of the Home Rule League was to carry into effect the resolutions passed by the Congress, as the latter was purely a deliberative body. But now the Home Rule League has passed resolutions different from those of the Congress and is thereby itself assuming the rôle of a deliberative body. How did the Home Rule League come to play this new rôle without the consent of its members? As a religious head Mrs. Besant my decide anything on behalf of her disciples without their consent, but as president of the All-India Home Rule League she cannot assume the same autocratic authority. In order to point out the erroneous attitude of the majority, with whom she does not agree, at the Delhi congress, she emphasises the opposition to the resolution in connection with welcoming

Mrs. Besant and the Delhi Congress.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 12th Jan.; *Hindusthán* (22), 15th Jan.

the Prince of Wales. Does she thereby mean to suggest that the opposing majority was disloyal? Her article in the *New India* in this connection is the first of its kind from the pen of a leader. If she really intended to point out the error of the Delhi congress she ought not to have prematurely dwelt on so delicate a subject as 'loyalty'. It is not desirable to extol one's party by calling the other party 'disloyal'. The various branches of the Home Rule League in Gujarát should bethink themselves of this question and should get it decided by Mahatma Gandhi if they cannot decide it for themselves.]

Comments on the utterances of Muhammadan leaders at the recent sessions of the Congress and the Moslem League on the subject of the future of Turkey.

Sind Moslem (11), 11th Jan.

49. "The deliberations of the Delhi sessions of the Moslem League must be welcomed by all those who mean well to the British Empire, since not one single word has been uttered from the League platfrom in connection with the Khalifate and the Moslem States that does not already remain endorsed by the voiceless Moslem congregation. We are living in the New India, and the Modern Moslem India has, in its forward march, taken passionately to its democratic institutions. If the Musalmans know their duties to the British Empire, they also know their rights in it, and mean to preserve them. The British Empire, as put by the Right Honourable Mr. Ameer Ali in his letter of protest to the London *Times*, does not consist of exclusively Christians. The Musalman subjects of the King-Emperor form a very important part of it and they are not devoid of the faculty of speech, however gagged they may be, and the ministers of the Crown shall have to hear them. It is therefore that the community pays a homage of tribute to Hakim Ajmal Khan Sahib, the Chairman of the Congress Reception Committee, Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari, the Chairman of the League Reception Committee, and to the Honourable Mr. Fazlul-Haq of Bengal, the President of the League, for the *honesty* they have shown in making audible the feelings of their co-religionists. During the course of the war, following the advice of their great leader, Mahomed Ali, the Mussalmans 'trusted their souls to God and placed their services at the disposal of the King-Emperor,' but now, when there is virtual peace, and the darkest clouds lie hanging over our heads, Musalmans are unbosoming themselves, chiefly because further silence on their part would be nothing less than an unpardonable treachery to themselves and the great Faith they proverbially adore. The question of Khalifate and the Holy Places is a most delicate one, interwoven as it is with Quranic injunctions and the commandments of the Prophet himself, to override which no human being has any power. Musalmans will never tolerate any interference with the settled fact of Khalifate and they may be trusted to know what is demanded of them, when there is a rival or a pretender to the *Imamat*. Every Muharram proclaims to the world at large the lesson of the Tragedy of Karbella and the effect of it cannot particularly be lost upon the Musalmans. The doctrine of *Jazirut-ul-Arab*, a legacy of the Arabian Prophet, is similarly a part and parcel of our faith. We cling therefore to the Charter of Religious Liberty and appeal to the responsible ministers of the Crown to stand by the House of Islam, as represented by Turkey in the present map, and to save Islambol (the city of Islam) and its territories from being thrown into the melting pot. After all in the contentment of the subjects lies the happiness of the sovereign: so went the Great Proclamation; and can anything give us greater contentment than Britain's helping her Musalman subjects to preserve the legacy of their Prophet?"

Political Bhomiyo (76), 17th Jan.

50. The *Political Bhomiyo* regards the views expressed by the Chairmen of the Congress and League Reception Committees and the President of the Moslem League on the question of the future of Turkey as really echoing the feelings of the Muhammadans in India and approves of the resolutions passed at the last sessions of the League on the subject. It hopes that the Imperial Government will recognise the necessity of meeting the wishes of their loyal subjects and that they will do all in their power not to allow Muhammadan feelings to be injured by any decision of the Peace Conference that might affect the position of Turkey.

51. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* refers to the argument alleged to have been advanced by the Sherif of Mecca that the Caliph should be a descendant of the Koreish tribe, and declares that more than one descendant of this description is alive in Arabia today who is fitter and more capable than the Sherif for the said office, while the Sherif, an *ex*-servant of the Sultan, having rebelled against his master and shed blood at Mecca in contravention of the express tenets of the faith, is utterly unfit to be the Caliph. It relates how the last Caliph of the house of Abbas made over the right to the Caliphate to an ancestor of the Sultan descended from Osman. It also maintains that the Ottoman Turks have sacrificed blood and treasure in the course of centuries for maintaining the prestige of Islam, they have never attempted to aggrandise at the expense of their neighbours in Europe, they have always exhibited a decided preference for peace and tranquillity, they have protected the holy places of Islam, and the head of their Empire has filled the office of Caliph for three centuries by the unanimous consent of Musalmans all over the world. The paper asserts that they still acknowledge him to be their Caliph, and states that the attempt to keep the holy places under the sway of any power other than the Turkish would set alight a conflagration which would make the last armageddon pale into insignificance. It recalls to mind the declaration that the holy places of Islam would be preserved intact whatever else happened in the war, and asks why the Anglo-Indian newspapers are piercing the hearts of Muhammadans and why members of Parliament are allowed to suggest that Palestine should be converted into a Jewish state thereby thrusting a poisoned dagger in the very hearts of the Musalmans. It reminds the public that the Jews insulted Christ himself and went to the length of crucifying him; and affirms that the Turks have made all sorts of sacrifices for maintaining the prestige of the holyland. The paper argues that it has come under the occupation of the British forces by agreement and not by conquest; hence the Peace Conference should restore it to whoever may be the Caliph. It concludes by urging that the question of the Caliphate should be left to the Musalmans to settle.

Caliphate should remain with the Sultan of Turkey.
Mufid-e-Rozgár (150), 19th Jan.

52. Commenting on President Wilson's Manchester speech, the *Gujaráti* writes:—This shows how far Dr. Wilson has had to descend from the castle of his high ideals in the realm of practical politics. Now he is thinking of a League to promote friendship and goodwill. Taking history and human nature into consideration, we do not expect much good to come out of the League of Nations. We shall not be surprised if Dr. Wilson gets a bitter experience in the long run. After loud talk on the principle of self-determination the Nations concerned have resolved to make the principle applicable only in the case of the subjects of the defeated Nations. No one can say whether the principle should be made applicable within the British Empire. This is not a small blow to Dr. Wilson's ideals. The League of Nations is to replace the old Balance of Power; but we fail to understand why the question of the Balance of Power would not crop up in the proposed League of Nations. The war has been fought and victory achieved, but the questions with us now are these: How are the benefits of the victory going to be apportioned? Who is going to benefit the most? How is the map of Europe to be drawn? While the President is indulging in his ideal of the League of Nations, we are confronted on the one hand with the greed of European Nations and on the other with the Socialistic movement which is a revolt against the oppression of capitalists. This movement is gaining strength in Russia, Germany and Austria. The movement spreads like an epidemic and might before long spread to England, France and America. It is to be seen how far the victors really succeed.

Reflections on President Wilson's League of Nations.
Gujaráti (18), 12th Jan.

53. "Is it that the statesmen of the Allied Powers have greatly changed after their military and diplomatic triumphs? We are afraid it is the case to a great extent. A year ago President Wilson's formula 'peace without annexation and without indemnities' was wholeheartedly accepted by the Allied Powers and self-determination was then the order of the day. Now indemnities are to be demanded from Germany and

Alleged change in the ideals of the Allied Powers after their victory over the enemy.
New Times (8), 11th Jan.

the German Colonies are to be permanently retained by the Associated Powers. Whether the people of the German Colonies will be allowed the privilege of exercising self-determination or whether they will be disposed of at the discretion of the conquering powers we are not yet told. If the claims of South Africa to retain German East Africa should be conceded we think it will be a great injustice to the people of East Africa. It is true our countrymen living in that country wish that it should be retained for Indian colonisation. Sir Theodore Morison and His Highness the Aga Khan advocate the same thing. We wish to state most emphatically that the people of these territories should be allowed to determine their own future, for, we in this country advocate self-determination in all our national concerns..... The Associated Powers have to abide by the principles of high morality which they have proclaimed to the world if as Mr. Wilson says 'the friendship of the world' is to be organised at Paris and if at the beginning of the new age statesmanship is to lift mankind to new levels of endeavour and achievement..... We have also the British Imperialists to whom the League of Nations is mere nonsense. They can never worship at the altar of self-determination because their whole supremacy is maintained upon the denial of this gift to the subject nations within the Empire. That Ireland and India should remain purely domestic matters and that the proceedings of the Peace Conference are to be conducted—partially at least—*in camera* cause certain misgivings in the minds of lovers of peace all the world over."

India and the war.
Chitramaya Jagat (Gujarati) (66), Dec. 1918.

54. Shyamswarup Bálayogi writes in the course of a long article under the heading "When will there be permanent peace?":—If President Wilson earnestly desires to preclude all possibility of war in future by establishing his proposed League of Nations he ought to invite to the Peace Conference people's representatives even from the colonies of the great Empires. As colonies have been the chief cause of jealousy and enmity amongst great nations, until President Wilson manages to have self-government for the colonies of the great Empires, he should not expect to have any permanent peace in future. He ought to know that all the colonies under the great Empires have been obtained by them by force and diplomatic tricks and are also held under their control by the help of the same expedient. If this expedient of force and diplomatic tricks were for a moment eliminated, the self-determination of colonial people and other crushed subject-races would take a form altogether different from the present one. India occupies a position altogether different from that of the other colonies of the world. The English have not introduced that form of government in India, which prevails in the British colonies. President Wilson should come over to India with a view to make an impartial inquiry into the existing relations of the English with Indians. British interests are given special preference over Indian interests in all matters political as well as commercial, and even the interests of other European nations are often allowed to be secured to the prejudice of the public interests of India. An Indian is not free to bear arms even for a just cause. He is not allowed even the right of free speech and writing for a legitimate cause of complaint against Government. In their own country, the Indians even though well educated, are not allowed to hold lucrative, high and responsible posts. In enacting laws and in executing them, the Indians have been emasculated by various manœuvres and manipulations. The truthful Indian leaders who try to put this state of affairs before the public are illegally exiled or interned even without an enquiry. The least possible attention is paid to the education of Indians in order that they may remain incapable of comprehending the true state of affairs. The history of India's ancient valour is misrepresented, her true civilization is destroyed even in matters of social and religious reforms, and the attempts to fill the minds of illiterate Indians with base and ignoble ideals, are actively encouraged. By such means every effort is made to destroy the national unity of India by creating enmity between various classes, communities and castes of India. By either converting or offering some other allurement to them, educated Indians are encouraged to despise their own countrymen. Indians, brought to an unfortunate pass by such rule for two hundred years, are not entrusted with the internal management of their own country, in spite of their keen desire and fitness for it. They are frustrated in their efforts for constituting well-organised national institutions by various impediments, as the British

authority in India looks upon them with a jealous eye. The Indian Army and the Police, maintained at India's cost, are used against Indians themselves. Indians are not free to deal with other nations according to their own choice. In times of emergency they (the Government) win over some Indian leaders to their side by cajoling them and use them in their own interests against the wishes of the public—thus they patch up the hollowness of the British Rule in India. For these reasons, the fire in the hearts of this great nation is likely to break out at any moment in future. It was under such circumstances that the last war broke out. Immediately on England's joining it, the British authorities in India sacrificed India's money and army in their own self-willed manner. The unarmed subjects of India could not stop them from doing so. Impoverished and helpless as India was through plague, famines, dependence and disarmament, she was not in a position to join the war; but when the British authorities in India compelled her to show enmity towards the enemy of England and to join the war even with her scanty resources she joined it. Indians had no enemy in the world; they have acted with equanimity towards all the nations of the world; why then should they have Germany and Austria as their enemies? Why should the Turks fight against their seven crores of co-religionists in India? The reason was that as India was forcibly compelled to stand by the side of England against Germany the European enemies of England considered India as one of their enemies and consequently Germany was on the point of attacking India. This bitter duty of joining the war was, however, loyally performed by India. The peace-loving Indians have suppressed hundreds heartburnings and occasions of rebellion, and have tried their best to uphold the prestige of England. [The writer then proceeds to show that in spite of India's doing so much for England she has been disregarded so far as the Peace Conference is concerned. England, he continues, will no doubt make concessions on land as well as sea as a sacrifice on her part in the Peace Conference and in doing that India's commercial and industrial interests are sure to be sacrificed, that is, England will make friends with other nations at the cost of India in the Peace Conference. This conduct on the part of England, the writer adds, will tend to make India poorer and poorer in course of time, as a result of which India will have to be the enemy of the whole world on some future occasion. He, therefore, in order to avoid this undesirable consequence, suggests that India should be allowed the full right of self-determination in the present Peace Conference. The writer concludes :—] Indian soldiers have shown much valour on various battlefields in the last war and India is asked to celebrate the victory. No real Indian, however, should be proud of this victory. If we examine our position by applying the principles of equality and self-government, we shall find that we are defeated. When the representatives of the Indian people have not the right even to sit by the side of the representatives of the smaller nationalties like Belgium and Servia, what victory can we be proud of? It is only the bureaucrats and the autocratic Native States, basking in the sunshine of bureaucratic favour, that are wild with the joy of victory. Let them be so; but India, groaning under famines and fatal epidemics, still looks like a cemetery.

55. "The speech of Mr. Petit, President of the Indian Industrial Conference at Delhi, dealt chiefly with the recommendations of the Indian Industrial Commission and with proposals likely to be made during the coming reconstruction period regarding the development of industries in the country. Mr. Petit welcomes the proposed creation of the Imperial and Provincial Departments of Industries as the 'lack of an Industrial Executive is inimical to industrial progress,' but would not have the Industrial Board suggested by the Commission. In place of such a Board he would have an advisory council consisting largely of elected members as is going to be the case with Provincial Departments. The Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya does not approve of the suggestion for the institution of Imperial Industrial and Imperial Chemical Services, but Mr. Petit rightly accords his support to this suggestion

Comments on the presidential address of Mr. J. B. Petit, President of the last Industrial Conference at Delhi.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 13th Jan., Eng. cols.

emphasising, however, the necessity for their being recruited mainly from Indians. Our experience of such Imperial Services in the past is not of a pleasant character for we have found that there is an insignificant percentage of Indians in Scientific Services. The usual hackneyed excuses are trotted out to explain this absence of the Indian element in the services that the so-called standard of efficiency and education is not reached by Indians. This is a very convenient and plausible excuse for it is the bureaucracy which is the final arbiter of what constitutes this standard. They may consider the standard to have been reached in the case of an European stripling with the most ordinary qualifications, but they may with impunity consider an Indian with the best of qualifications as unfit. Illustrations of this sort of unjust and unfair discrimination will be found abundant everywhere. Europeans in any number were appointed as Officers in the Indian Munitions Board with the most insignificant qualifications, but being Europeans they were considered efficient for the administrative or executive posts which they honoured by holding. But there were instances of even Indian M. Sc.'s with first class honours being appointed merely as clerks on a paltry sum of rupees one hundred or so. On the other hand, there were European and Eurasian clerks on a salary of rupees two hundred and fifty or more whose duty several times consisted merely in consuming a large quantity of tobacco every day. This is by the way, however. We have no objection to these noble patrons of easy chairs and tobacco getting their monthly honorarium from a benign Government. What we urge is this that Indians with qualifications should not be allowed to rot away in forgotten nooks and corners. The only remedy for such a state of things would be to stipulate that the new services should consist mainly of Indians for we have too long been deluded by the soft promises and the sweet speeches of the powers that be, that the main object of the admistration is to get Indians for different services. His Excellency Sir George Lloyd has advised us to cultivate the art of mutual faith and we shall have faith, but faith backed up by statutory stipulations, so that the other side may not have any temptation of breaking its promises and making us lose our faith."

Alleged waste of money by the Bombay Educational Department in creating superfluous Inspectorships.

Praja Bandhu (29), 12th Jan., Eng. cols.

56. "People always desire that more funds should be spent towards the spread of primary, secondary and higher education, but they also expect that educational grants are not misspent and swallowed in creating unnecessary posts and maintaining them. The low paid teacher has been clamouring for bread when new posts of highly paid Inspectors are being created. It is doubtful whether they do any useful and substantial work. Even recently a temporary post of Organiser and Inspector of Training classes—Rs. 350—50—600—is created whose pay, travelling allowances and office establishment charges would at the most modest computation reach Rs. 1,200 a month, *i. e.*, nearly Rs. 15,000 a year. Similar other Inspectorships have also come into existence during these five years or so, *viz.*, Science Inspector and Drawing Inspector costing the public treasury something like Rs. 30,000 a year. Since their installation in their fat posts the only appreciable change noticeable is the starting of showy laboratories, purchase of costly apparatus, perfunctory knowledge of Science and the use of costly Science note-books specially issued by the special Science Inspector personally, for which the poor pockets of Indian parents are milked every year. The Drawing Inspector too has practically insufficient work to do, but then he pockets a fat salary and the big travelling allowance that he can manage to carve out. The very same work was done by the Principal of the Schools of Art and Design. The work done then was in no way inferior to that done now. The money spent after maintaining these two posts could have been better utilized in raising the status of teachers. Too many Inspectors and low paid teachers are a self-evident anomaly, and an administrative blunder. As if the department were not satisfied with a manifestation of mistakes in the past, it has brought forth another white elephant in the already top-heavy department, *viz.*, the Organiser and Inspeetor of Vernacular Training Classes. There are five dialects in the Bombay Presidency, *viz.*, Kanarese, Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi and Urdu, and no man

however clever and intelligent he may be can ever be expected to know all these languages and inspect the work of these schools. The present holder of the post steps out from the office of the Director into this sinecure. He has to travel long distances, and talk with the heads of the new primary Training Classes or the Deputy Educational Inspectors in the districts, and quietly pockets his pay as well as double first class fare for long journeys. This work of talking and organising new schools could have been very easily done by the Divisional Inspectors and the Deputy Educational Inspectors, who are expected to have more local influence and better knowledge of the local language. If more expert advice were needed by the heads of these new classes, the mature experience of the Principals of the existing Vernacular Training Colleges could have been sought and availed of. This new Inspector will be moving like Halley's comet from one sphere of action to another, but he will not be in a position to benefit the institutions under his charge as the other officers mentioned above would. If the amount spent in maintaining this new post had been utilised in training more primary teachers, this very day three more training classes could have been started and the supply of trained primary teachers could have been augmented."

Need of a Government Arts College in Sind.

Home Ruler (5), 11th Jan.

57. Referring to the activities of the Committee appointed by the Bombay Government to consider the question of increased facilities for College education, the *Home Ruler* remarks :—" In Sind there is only one college and in spite of the fact that a large number of students migrate every year to the Presidency colleges, some students here are refused admission. We are even acquainted with some cases in which the refusal for admission has resulted in the young student's giving up all ambitions to acquire higher education. While in other countries every facility is afforded for higher education and in some cases it is even free, it is extremely regrettable that some students here find it impossible to get accommodated in the existing institutions. The Government of Bombay has realized its duty in the business at a very late hour but it is to be hoped that now that they have realized it, they will perform it effectively. There ought to be at least one Government College in every division and we find that with the sole exception of Sind this is actually the case. In this as well as in other respects the Government of Bombay persists in treating Sind as the cinderella of the family. The necessity for another college in Sind is so patent that we do not consider it necessary to go over the oft-repeated ground. We trust that the authorities will for once cease to act the step-mother towards Sind and that she will get her legitimate share of the higher education..... We deem it our duty to point out that converting the existing Sind College into a Government College will not meet the requirements of the province. The Sind College is a private enterprise which should not be meddled with. But Government should start a new college of their own to meet the increasing demand for higher education in the province which the Sind College cannot possibly do."

Proposed introduction of the Value Payable Parcel system between England and India.

New Times (8), 11th Jan.

58. "The Anglo-Indian Madras Chamber of Commerce has resolved to advise Government against the introduction of the V. P. system between India and England and the Madras Trades Association which is also an Anglo-Indian body is of a similar opinion. The suggestion of the introduction of this system has alarmed the Anglo-Indian shop-keepers in India who make large profits on account of its absence. A cheap V. P. system between the two contries is most desirable because it eliminates the middleman in India; the buyer is brought in direct contact with the seller and both are economically better off on account of the disappearance of the middleman. The decision of the two Madras bodies is only another instance of the selfishness and greed of the Anglo-Indian monopolists of trade in this country. We hope the Government of India will take a boarder view of this matter—the interests of the seller and the buyer—and will not succumb to the clamour of interested parties."

59. "Famine-stricken" writes to the *Sanjaya* :—In our Násik District, where Government have this year declared famine, grass is at present being sold at four times the normal prices. Its supply moreover, being inadequate, the cattle from most of the villages, including some five thousand from Sangamner and Sinnar alone, have been removed to places in the adjoining district of Thána. Though grazing fees for these cattle had already been paid in this district in July and August prior to the declaration of famine, the Rangers of the Thana Forest Department are demanding fresh fees for them, at as. 10 for each cow or a bullock and Rs. 1-4-0 for each buffalo. Notices have also been issued by the Forest Department at Sinnar (Nasik) demanding grazing fees for cattle maintained in the local pinjarapol and declaring that in default they will be removed to the Government cattle-pound. Will Government and the forest authorities kindly look into this and relieve our sufferings in this matter?

A complaint against the Forest Department in connection with grazing fees.
Sanjaya (125), 12th Jan.

LEGISLATION.

60. After acknowledging that there is a great deal of opposition to Mr. Patel's Inter-caste Marriage Bill in Sind the *Home Ruler* remarks :—"But we hold firmly to our view that the passing of the bill will serve the best interests of the masses. If attempts to eradicate caste have failed, as Mrs. Besant is said to have pointed out, that is indeed no reason why they should not be made again. All the opinions that can be quoted showing that the loss suffered by the stronger community by an admixture of blood is greater than the gain to the weaker one, cannot, in our opinion, hold water for a moment. For the outstanding fact is that the four castes as they existed in the ancient Hindu polity have really ceased to exist. A great deal of confusion has already taken place, and it will be quite impossible to rehabilitate the system on its original basis..... Descending from these considerations to practical politics let us remind our friends of the other side of the fact that even in the present circumstances any Hindu can adopt the Anand or the Civil form of marriage under the respective Acts which legalize such marriages. But in doing so, he will cease to be governed by the Hindu Law. Marriages of this kind are, as a matter of fact, taking place and in some communities do not place a social ban upon the married people concerned. Now, is it better that the Hindu Law should expand and make room for these new conditions or is it preferable that some men should be removed from the fold of the Hindu religion? That is a question of practical politics. To conclude we give whole-heartedly our support to the bill on religious, social as well as political grounds..... Religious, social and political life is intertwined and cannot according to the fundamental notions of *Dharma* in the Hindu religion be separated into compartments; you cannot proclaim political equality on the one hand and create social barriers on the other. To us indeed, the passing of the Patel Bill will be the harbinger of a new era in the history of our country, of the emancipation of the teeming millions whom unconsciously or consciously the higher castes have long kept in subjugation. It is in this spirit that we heartily support the bill."

Mr. Patel's Inter-caste Marriage Bill.
Home Ruler (5), 10th Jan.

MUNICIPALITIES.

61. "A correspondent writes :—'An advertisement is now appearing in local papers over the signature of the Executive Engineer, Bombay Municipality, Mr. J. W. Mackison, for a mechanical engineer for the Love Grove Pumping Station, so cleverly worded as to debar qualified Indians from applying and competing for the situation. Mr. Mackison stipulates that applicants should have received their mechanical engineering training in *Europe*. Does he mean to say that the training given by the technical and engineering colleges in this country is inferior to that given in Europe? The Bombay Municipality gives a large grant to

Adverse comments on an advertisement published by the Executive Engineer of the Bombay Municipality.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th Jan.

the Victoria Jubilee Technical College and if the latter after thirty years has failed to turn out mechanical engineers who cannot satisfy the requirements of our Municipality, the sooner the grant is withdrawn the better. There are many large power units, steam and electric, of thousands of horsepower, working in Bombay and other parts of the country, put up and managed most efficiently by Indian mechanical engineers trained in India. Almost 90 per cent. of large mills and factories of Bombay are now under the charge of Indian engineers. Even the Tata Hydro-Electric Company's Parel Receiving Station is now in charge of an Indian engineer, and many sub-stations of this Company, distributing and supplying thousands of horsepower, are now in charge of graduates of our V. J. Technical College.' The correspondent continues :—'Why should Mr. Mackison then advertise for a man with European qualifications, unless it is intended as a cover for engaging a non-Indian? Will any member of our Corporation bring this matter before it and ask the Commissioner to inform the heads of various departments not to stipulate European training in open advertisements for officers and subordinates without first obtaining the sanction of the Corporation? Some of the foremen and superintendents of our municipal workshops getting Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 are also Europeans who have had no training in any technical or engineering colleges either in India or Europe! These were preferred to graduates from the V. J. Technical Institute—can anybody explain?' The issue raised by the correspondent is obviously a very important one and we trust the Corporation will devote immediate attention to it."

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 24th January 1919.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 25th January 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. "By the untimely death of Prince John at the early age of fourteen years King George and Queen Mary have received the first serious blow within their own domestic circle and the sympathy felt for them will not be confined within the four borders of the British Empire. The whole world admires the gentle and kindly character of King George and the bereavement he has suffered will evoke world-wide sympathy. Within the British Empire and more especially in India, the sympathy will be mixed with deep sorrow and regret, for in no part of the British Empire, are our King and Queen held in greater esteem and reverence and in no country will their loss be considered as a personal loss, than in India. It is a thousand pities that after the anxieties of the last five years—fully shared by our King and Queen—when the dawn of victory has ushered in a period of rejoicing, our Sovereigns should be stricken so unexpectedly with so grievous a loss. But the ways of Providence are inscrutable. Let us pray that He may sustain them in their sorrow, with patience and fortitude." [The *Gujarátí* writes :—" The people of India appreciate keenly what it means, especially for Royal parents, to lose a son; and with their knowledge as to how devoted Their Majesties have been towards their children and how pure and noble have been their domestic virtues, their sorrow and sympathy with them in this hour of bereavement will be no less heartfelt and sincere than the sentiments to which the British nation has given graceful expression."]

Death of His Royal Highness Prince John.
Sánj Vartamán (32), 22nd Jan., Eng. cols.; **Gujarátí* (18), 26th Jan., Eng. cols.

2. The people are surprised at the announcement that His Excellency the Governor will shortly pay a visit to Sind. Why should not His Excellency pay a visit to the famine-afflicted areas in Gujarát and other parts of the Presidency? Does not the Governor care for popular esteem? Why does he not put into practice the promise of examining into the grievances of the people made at the time of assuming office? In these circumstances, would it be wrong on the part of the people if they say that the Governors come to India to enjoy life for five years? How would the sincerity of the Governor be judged if he is not to be found among the people to sympathise with them in their distress and the hardships that their cattle have to suffer? [The *Deshodaya* urges upon His Excellency the Governor the need of paying a visit to Gujarát to enable him to devise measures to cope with the famine prevailing there.]

Suggestion that His Excellency the Governor should visit Gujarát instead of Sind.
Gujarátí (18), 19th Jan.; *Deshodaya* (68), 21st Jan.

3. "There is a good prospect that work will generally be resumed in the mills this morning. The hope that the men would go back to work yesterday was not fulfilled. This was due chiefly to the men's insistence on the terms being properly notified by the authorities of each mill, in the due form. Over-night the Governor's communiquè had been read to some parties of workers by the Commissioner of Police and this document, signed by Mr. Vincent, was posted at all the mills. But in spite of the inspired reports appearing in our contemporaries of 'ovations to Mr. Vincent,' it appears that the strikers as a body did not consider a document over his signature authoritative. At any rate they had no confidence in it and they insisted that, in each case, the terms should be announced by the mill authorities themselves, signed by the agents and counter-signed by the manager. This was done and it is expected that work will now be resumed..... As we stated in our issue of yesterday, it was anticipated on Tuesday evening that a press communiqué announcing the terms conceded by the Millowners would be issued by the Government for publication yesterday morning. We received no such communique, however, in spite of strenuous efforts to run it to earth. It was not given to our reporter at Police Headquarters, enquiries at the Government Central Press—which had to be made of an intelligent *ramosi*—showed that it had not been sent for printing, the Secretariat was in darkness, and repeated efforts to get at Government House—the Private Secretary, the Military Secretary or the A.D.C.-in-waiting—failed. Apparently

Comments on the mill-hands' strike in Bombay.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd Jan.

it was handed over to the keeping of the worthy Commissioner of Police, and not being in the 'Vincent Maharajki Jai' *bundobast*, we were not vouchsafed a copy."

4. "So far as the workers are concerned it is obvious that they feel it a real grievance that the terms offered by their employers contain no provision for strike pay. It is futile to speculate as to how many of them are determined to regard this grievance as so important as to refuse to resume work on the terms offered by their employers. It is obvious that, having so long remained united in a common struggle, there is a general feeling among them that they should remain loyal to one another to the last. This is a natural feeling and it should be respected. It is conceivable that if a fair opportunity is given to them to meet together and discuss the situation freely, a concerted decision to resume work, on the terms offered by their employers, may be arrived at. The misguided activities of the police unfortunately present a formidable obstacle to this consummation. The leaders of the strikers are being prevented by the police from moving about freely to confer with one another and advise their followers. Public workers, who are anxious to get at the men and give them advice to resume work, are handicapped by being followed about by C. I. D. men in taxis wherever they go, which makes it difficult for them to come in touch with the strikers. If the Government of Sir George Lloyd are really anxious to see that the strike ends soon—as we hope they are—they should at once put a stop to these mischievous activities of the police. There is no reason why the Police Commissioner should interfere with other people, better entitled to the respect and confidence of the strkers, trying to do what he has failed to do. Meanwhile, we earnestly trust the Committee of the Mill-owners' Association will take a generous and wise view of the facts of the situation and will fully realise the difficulties of the strikers. Having accepted, in substance, the justice of the men's demands, is it wise to remain unyielding in regard to a very small concession? What is the price that is being paid for the withholding of that concession? It is not merely the great loss of material wealth, as a result of the practical stoppage of the mill industry. The infinitely greater loss is the suffering that is inflicted on hundreds of men, women and children in various ways as a result of the pinch of unemployment, not to speak of the loss of life through the virulence of the cholera epidemic. The virulence of cholera, as the Health Officer states, is itself the result of the strike. As men with some sense of the duty they owe to the City, are the mill-owners ready to assume the awful responsibility involved, for the sake of a paltry sum or mere prestige?"

Bombay Chronicle (1), 25th Jan.

5. "A European", who says he is not an Englishman, writes in the course of a long letter to the *Bombay Chronicle*:— "Your clear insight into the real nature of the strike and courageous advocacy of the right cause make me feel confident that you will publish this letter. It is unnecessary to disclose my name to the public, as there is nothing personal in what I am going to write; but it is advisable to state that I have no connection whatever either with capital or labour in this city; not even any political interest in the country, as I am not an Englishman. You have repeatedly asserted that the mill-owners have forfeited the goodwill of all classes. I regret to say I have heard more than one person uphold their views and express the opinion that stern repression is desirable against the strikers. As a man and as a thinker I protest against such attitude. It is inhuman, it is impolitic. No doubt Government is bound to keep order at all costs; but why this cost should be paid by the lives of the ignorant poor instead of by the money of the well-to-do is not clear. Law and order are fundamental necessities of society; but the law must be just and the order must be impartial. Any repression in the name of the law that permitted usury, and allowed usurers to misuse the Small Causes Court to squeeze the life's blood from the poorest; any order that permits employers of labour to withhold or to deny the payment of wages due cannot command respect, and should be altered lest they should be upset. I know well that mill-hands have legal power to exact their dues in a court of law; I know equally well how

Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd Jan.

impracticable such a course is to them. To frame a law and to place it beyond the reach of even the humblest unit of the population is a piece of hypocrisy. The result is that the real nature of work in the mills is forced labour, and that the owners can commit with impunity acts of misappropriation. This is a grievance that has rankled for many years in the breasts of the mill-hands, this is an act of injustice that the public conscience should compel the abolition of. The reasoning of the owners is well known; but above the emergencies of private interests there are the claims of morality, and no act that breaks the moral law is justifiable under any specious plea of opportunism."

6. "Feelings ran very high on both sides and neither side seemed quite ready to yield. This came from the mutual suspicion, which has been entertained for a long time and which speaks volumes for the extraordinarily unsatisfactory conditions under which labour had to work. The Mill-owners' Association as an Association is a very small coterie of superannuated men untouched by modern notions of the duty of employers towards the employees. ..... Under these circumstances, when it was announced that His Excellency the Governor was going to intercede, the announcement was welcomed everywhere as the only solution of the matter; but we are constrained to remark that the manner and methods of the Governor's initial intercession altogether fell short of the bold and statesmanlike course which was required for the occasion. The Governor intervened through the assistance of people, in whom the working classes have little confidence. There are people in Bombay in whom Labour has got real confidence and it ought not to be difficult for the Governor to find them out. To the carefully selected deputation which went to the Secretariat, His Excellency Sir George Lloyd had the opportunity of giving an assurance on the part of the Government of their deep sympathy and of the steps which were being taken for the increase in the cost of food supply in Bombay, aud so on. In regard to the strike itself, the Governor sent them back with advice which at that stage of the strike was altogether futile and one-sided. The obstinacy disclosed by the mill-owners in insisting so long on an unconditional surrender, in refusing to negotiate, in declining to formulate a basis of discussion, deserved a very sharp reprimand from a sympathetic Governor. Instead of this, we were merely told about an interview which the Governor had with them without being told what passed at thar interview. That was cold comfort to men who were suffering. They had preserved on the whole a very dignified and orderly behaviour and the wonder was that the extremely irresponsible character of crowd psychology was not manifested by the mill-hands in their meetings and groupings and in their consultations..... Verbal assurances never did any good in sush cases and the attempts of those who played a large part in bringing about this deputation of workmen to the Secretariat to mix up the issue and to suggest that if the workmen did not go back it would involve any disrespect to His Excellency the Governor, must be very strongly deprecated. The sincerity of the intentions of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd personally must be acknowledged by all, and if the advice given to him was of a bureaucratic character the fault does not rest with him..... Government interference was certainly not called for in order to overawe the workmen and in order to play upon their simple faith in the beneficence of the Government. We rejoice that the obvious course has now been taken by the Government and by a bold and statesmanlike stroke just concessions have been secured for the labour in the mills. His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, by the action he took on Tuesday, will earn the respect and gratitude of all men, who love justice and who believe that only on the basis of justice as between employer and employee can industry truly prosper."

Young India (15), 22nd Jan.

7. Commenting on the strike of the mill-hands in Bombay the *Muslim Herald* calls it a victory of the strikers, and says that the mill-hands ought to be grateful to His Excellency the Governor for his statesmanlike intervention in the matter, which was causing anxiety to the public at large. The paper also remarks that the time is drawing to a close when the rich could oppress the poor and sweat them according to their whims. It says that this

Muslim Herald (151), 24th Jan.

change has been brought about by English education, and the example set by Government. The paper adds that this spirit of equality is the same as was preached by Islam 1,300 years ago. It eulogises the work done by the police in maintaining order and security of life and property. Concluding, it remarks that the settlement has been arrived at after overcoming many obstacles, and hopes that the strikers will accept the terms offered to them by the mill-owners.

8. It is gratifying that Government are discharging their duty in a satisfactory manner in connection with the strike. The Commissioner of Police is exerting himself to end the strike instead of confining his activities solely to the maintenance of order. Also, His Excellency the Governor himself gave an interview to the representatives of the workers and assured them that he would use his best influence on their behalf. He, however, gave it as his opinion that they must return to work before the question could be satisfactorily settled. Unfortunately they are not inclined to accept His Excellency's advice on account of their past experience. [The *Sanjaya* writes:—The authorities are no doubt behaving with commendable self-restraint. But they must remember that men engaged in a struggle for existence are likely to be guilty of minor excesses. They should, therefore, take just such measures as would suffice for maintaining order. The *Indu Prakásh* says that His Excellency's active sympathy for the workers is a matter for genuine satisfaction. The *Sudhákar* writes:—It is sheer injustice that the mill-owners should refuse the legitimate demands of the workers whose labour has enabled them to amass large fortunes. If they do not do their duty by the workers Government should compel them to do so. The *Jágriti* thinks that the irregularities of the men in striking without giving notice or properly formulating their demands beforehand should be condoned as they are not organized.]

Dnyán Prakásh (39), 21st Jan.; *Sanjaya* (125), 19th Jan.; *Indu Prakásh* (42), 21st Jan.; *Sudhákar* (132), 19th Jan.; *Jágriti* (44), 18th Jan.

9. The *Kesari* says that nobody instigated the strike and that the strike was declared because the time was ripe for it. It further comments:—The mill-hands have heard casually for the last so many years of the questions in dispute between Labour and Capital. It is not strange if the point has drawn the attention of mill-hands on account of the great war and specially because of the German and Russian revolutions. The Home Rule movement also has placed the same question before the mill-hands. The Bombay mill-hands had the knowledge that Europe had come to the decision that the strike was the one remedy for alleviating the miseries of Labour. The general opinion is that there was nothing wrong in the demands of the mill-hands. The fear of mill-owners that they will have to be at the mercy of Labour if the demands are conceded is baseless. It is not desirable that the cry should be raised that Capital is in deadly peril. If bodies come into existence as a result of the strike to bring about settlements between Labour and Capital, both of them will be benefited. It is reasonable that both should come to a settlement based on compromise. In the absence of such bodies it is but proper that the work of mediation should be taken up by His Excellency, but there is nothing derogatory to him if the mill-hands insist that the terms of settlement should be decided while the strike is continuing and that there should be a written guarantee. Why should not the mill-owners accept the demand of mill-hands for a written assurance?

Kesari (114), 21st Jan.

10. The *Sánj Vartamán* considers the terms granted by the mill-owners as a triumph for the strikers and writes:—The mill-operatives should be satisfied with the terms offered by the mill-agents and they should resume work without any delay. The mill-agents have been guilty of unpardonable delay in announcing these terms of settlement, but it is a matter for gratification that their terms are not characterised by niggardliness. [In the subsequent issue the paper deplores the attitude adopted by the strikers and calls upon

Sánj Vartamán (32), 22nd and 23rd Jan.; *Hindusthán* (22), 22nd and 24th Jan.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 22nd Jan.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 22nd and 23rd Jan.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 24th Jan.

the mill-owners, in view of the cholera epidemic, to concede in part the demand for the wages for the strike days asked for by the strikers, so that the city's health may not be further endangered by the continuance of the strike. The *Hindusthán* is also gratified at the terms of settlement offered by the mill-agents. It, however, wishes that such an agreement had been arrived at a little earlier. In the subsequent issue the paper scouts the suggestion made by the *Times of India* that the mill-operatives should be sent away to their homes if they do not resume work and asks Government to appoint a Commission to enquire into the causes of the strike and to punish the mill-owners if it is found out that they are responsible for it. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* also wishes that the mill-owners had come to such a wise settlement earlier. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* thanks His Excellency the Governor for using his good offices to put a satisfactory end to the strike. In the subsequent issue the paper deplores the attitude taken up by the strikers and asks the police to find out and punish those who are instigating the poor mill-operatives to refuse the reasonable terms offered to them. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* also deplores the attitude of the strikers and asks them to resume work.]

Gujaráti (18), 19th Jan.

11. The *Gujaráti* is of opinion that the mill-operatives have chosen a wrong time for organising the strike inasmuch as the mill-owners would not mind the closing of their mills for some time owing to the present condition of the piece-goods market. It ascribes the apathy of Government towards the strike to the fact that the close of the war has reduced the Government demand for cloth and deplores what it calls the attitude of indifference shown by His Excellency the Governor towards the strike. It refers to the prevailing high prices as the root cause of the strike and calls upon Government to adopt measures to reduce the prices of foodstuffs and to prevail upon the mill-owners to give a living wage to their employees.

Home Ruler (5), 18th Jan.

12. "It was only a short time back that there was a strike in Madras which the local exploiters and bureaucrats very kindly fastened on the heads of the home rulers and attributed everything to political trouble. It was a transparently fallacious position to take up but that did not deter the local lights. But even they would shrink from putting forward such an explanation for the much greater strike at Bombay. The fact is that labour begins to realize its true position and is gradually coming into its own. That without any previous organization one hundred thousand men can unite and act with one object is a feat of which the most enlightened proletariat need not be ashamed..... So far as the political aspect of the question is concerned, it means that the nationalist party will get a new democratic ally of no mean power and who has in the strike an effective weapon with which to make himself felt. We heartily welcome these new signs of awakening and we are confident that our side will be greatly strengthened in its struggle for freedom."

The cholera epidemic in Bombay and the mill strike.

Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 24th Jan.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 24th and 25th Jan.

13. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* endorses the view of the local Health Officer that the sudden and rapid rise in the city's mortality on account of cholera is to be attributed to the strike of mill-hands and says:—Who is responsible for the loss of the lives of these poor men? It is not possible to believe that these poor people can hold out so long on their own strength. It is obvious that there are some persons behind this innocent but illiterate class, who are instigating these mill-hands, with a view to serve their selfish purpose. Cannot Government and the smart police of the city find out who these persons are and punish them for these actions of theirs? It is strange that the Police Commissioner has taken no steps in this connection. The mill-owners have made as liberal concessions as they can possibly make. One thing, however, is clear from the Health Officer's statement, *viz.*, that the houses of these mill-hands are not fit places for human residence from the sanitary point of view, and mill-owners can do a great deal to improve their condition in this respect. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* suggests that the Municipal election should be postponed for some time in view

of the present virulence of cholera and requests His Excellency the Governor to convene a meeting of the Corporation and other authorities concerned in order to think out the ways in which this terrible epidemic can be conquered. In its next issue the paper refuses to believe that the rise in mortality is due to the mill tsrike as the labourers were not hanging about their chawls, as stated by the Health Officer, but were out near their mills throughout the whole day and even late at night, and it asks the Municipal authorities to concentrate their energies on the improvement of the bad health of the city.]

Comments on the appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha as Under Secretary of State for India.
Home Ruler (5), 18th Jan.

14. "The appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha as the Under Secretary of State for India and raising him to the peerage is characteristic of Mr. Lloyd George. While we do not feel inclined to grow hysterical over the appointment we heartily welcome it as some evidence of the change in the angle of vision. It also shows that the Government is determined to proceed with the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme and they do not propose to whittle it down. We believe that Sir S. P. Sinha is too self-respecting an Indian to keep in office while the scheme was being whittled down..... The ministry must have totally mistaken the feeling in the country if the appointment is meant to console us for any the least bit of whittling down the reforms. The people in this country considered the Government bound by them as the minimum and any departure from it will be justly condemned as a breach of faith. But the appointment has also another aspect. After this announcement Sir S. P. Sinha is obviously not in a position to act as the Indian representative at the Peace Conference. As a junior member of the ministry he cannot possibly make himself felt as the Indian representative in opposition to his Chiefs. At the very least the Indian representative should not be an official subordinate of the British Government. It is therefore essential that another Indian should be appointed to represent India at the Peace Conference.

Subodh Patrika (47), 19th Jan., Eng. cols.; *Jágriti* (44), 16th Jan.

15. Not even the extremist of extremists had in his wildest ravings demanded the inclusion of an Indian in the British ministry. The gift has come to us unsolicited, and is an index, therefore, to the spirit of generosity and broad-minded statesmanship in which British statesmen are expected to solve the problems included in those now two famous words—Reform Proposals..... The moral influence which the presence of an Indian in the Cabinet will exert on many a ticklish question arising out of colour prejudices will, we are sure, always tell in favour of our people..... We can fairly look upon the inclusion of Sir. S. P. Sinha in the British ministry as the beginning of a new era in the political destiny of our people which promises well for the future relations of the two nations." [The *Jágriti* considers the appointment as the first instalment of *Swarájya*.]

Gujarâti . (18), 26th Jan., Eng. cols.

***16.** "It is the greatest honour done to an Indian. But Sir S. P. Sinha's elevation ought not to be judged in that narrow personal aspect. His appointment has raised the political status of this country and established a precedent of the greatest political and constitutional importance.... His professional monthly income used to be between ten and twenty thousand and his acceptance of membership of the Executive Council of the Indian or Bengal Government was a heavy sacrifice for him. Similarly, his present appointment, which carries the salary of £1,500 a year or about Rs. 1,800 a month, will also mean a heavy loss to him. It will thus be seen that the honour conferred upon him involves not only great responsibility, but also a great self-sacrifice for him. Those shouting patriots who demand the highest posts and at the same time talk about the demoralisation of our public men when they accept them in the best and highest interests of the country will do well to bear these facts in mind. It is not every Indian who can afford to become a peer and stay in England for serving the best interests of of his motherland in the House of Lords. An Indian Chief can afford to do so, but that can only be done by neglecting the affairs of his own State

Moreover, he will not be able to exercise the same independence as an Indian like Sir S. P. Sinha can. Though he can never descend to the level of a demagogue, we are sure he will distinguish himself by the display of those higher qualities which are needed in the shaping of a nation's destiny with cool judgment and statesmanlike wisdom."

*17. The glad and thrilling tidings, that the conferring of a peerage on Sir. S. P. Sinha has been officially confirmed, will certainly send a wave of joy over the whole country. An Indian to be admitted to the Cabinet was a dream, but to admit him to a peerage was certainly beyond the pale of the imagination of many. By his admission to this rank, the British Cabinet has once for all broken for Indians the hitherto impassable barriers to the entrance to the highest rank in the Empire, and has, so far as this honour is concerned, for the first time, during the last 150 years of British rule, fulfilled the promises given to us by the Parliamentary statutes and proclamations. Apart from the reasons which made Sir S. P. Sinha's promotion to the peerage and to the post of Under Secretary of State for India almost inevitable, we cannot but congratulate and be grateful to the Premier and Mr. Montagu for taking this bold step, and giving some sort of a valuable earnest to Indians for the reforms to come. We, at the same time, congratulate Lord Sinha for being the first Indian to be crowned with this honour."

Mahratta (7), 26th Jan.

18. The only gratifying features of the Lloyd George ministry are that Mr. Montagu is retained at the India Office and that Sir S. P. Sinha is appointed Under Secretary of State for India. Mr. Lloyd George deserves our congratulations for conferring this unique honour upon Sir Satyendra. But the composition of the Ministry is, on the whole, unsatisfactory. There is hardly anyone in it who would befriend India. When the Reforms Bill is introduced into Parliament it will be stoutly opposed by Lords Curzon and Sydenham and the other men of their ilk and Sir Satyendra, a stranger, will be wholly powerless against them. Again we must not allow his appointment to dazzle our eyes and forget what we aim at attaining. At present Mr. Montagu wields so much influence that he can elevate any Indian to the peerage and even appoint him to be the Lieut.-Governor of a province. This will not, however, cause any change in the present system of administration which will continue to be bureaucratic.

Rájakáran (123), 19th Jan.

19. We are constrained to say that the constitution of the Coalition Ministry is most unsatisfactory and disappointing from the point of view of India. In the opinion of some of our countrymen Mr. Montagu's retention at the India Office and Sir S. P. Sinha's appointment as Under Secretary of State and his elevation to the peerage are hopeful auguries for the future. Our Moderate leaders are simply showering congratulations upon Mr. Lloyd George for Sir Satyendra's appointment. This is not to be wondered at since the goal of these men is to attain the reforms outlined in the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Scheme. But the appointment is not likely to give satisfaction to men in whose opinion the scheme is worthless unless it is modified as suggested by the Congress. His appointment is an astute move in the game of crooked statesmanship. We hope we shall not be misunderstood. We have no hesitation in expressing satisfaction at the personal triumph of Sir Satyendra. But Indians must look at these events only from one point of view. The question that is at present agitating the minds of all Indians is the attainment of *swarájya*. The demand of the nation is that it should be given provincial autonomy at once and the control of the Government of India within fifteen years. Only such steps as would lead us to this goal would give us real happiness. Can anyone honestly say that Sir Satyendra's appointment and his elevation to the peerage will help to solve the question of Indian *swarájya*? If not, why express so much joy? Today Sir Satyendra and Babu Bhupendranath Basu are lending their support to the bureaucracy in the same way as the late Mr. Gokhale did in 1909-10 when the Morley-Minto reforms were inaugurated. The bureaucracy is playing the game of detaching our leaders

Sudhákar (132), 19th Jan.

from us by showing them the bait of honours and advancement. Unfortunately signs are not yet visible of its being defeated in this game.

Rice freight from Burma to Bombay should be still further reduced.

Kesari (114), 21st Jan; *Dnyán Prakásh* (39) 23rd Jan.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 23rd Jan.

20. In response to the universal complaint against the heavy freight charged on rice brought from Burma to Bombay Government have reduced it from Rs. 55 to Rs. 40 per ton. But even this rate is capable of being still further reduced to Rs. 25. When, during the war, wheat was being conveyed to London from Karáchi through the agency of Government, only Rs. 20 per ton were charged. We do not, therefore, understand why the rate of Rs. 40 per ton is required for a much smaller distance. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* says:—Formerly the freight charges per ton from Burma were Rs. 7 and there is no need of stating how heavy the present charges are. The Admiralty took over all ships in order to prevent profiteering and it is surprising that the charges should still be heavy. It is through the Admiralty that wheat is brought to India from Australia. But even that costs less per ton in freight than rice from Rangoon. One can have an idea from this as to how exorbitant the charges are. The *Jám-e-Jamshed*, while expressing gratification at the lowering of the freight charges between Rangoon and Bombay, complains of the high prices of foodstuffs in the Bombay Presidency and urges upon the Government of Bombay the necessity of using their influence to get the freights still more reduced and calls upon them to take the people into confidence by issuing a communiqué in the matter.]

Mahrátta (7), 26th Jan.

*21. "The handling, or rather mis-handling, by the Admiralty of the Freight question in connection with the importation of rice from Burma has certainly become a gross scandal. It is published that the Food Commisioner has now reduced the freight charges from Rs. 55 to Rs. 40 a ton, but even for doing this, the credit, we believe, must be given to Dr. Mehta of Rangoon who exposed this glaring scandal in the *Rangoon Mail*. But the reduction made is not yet sufficient to appreciably lower the cost price of rice, and the present charges also are too high to be justified. It has been given out that when there was the utmost difficulty in securing tonnage, the freight charges on the Indian wheat, exported from Karáchi to London, was only Rs. 20 a ton! Rs. 20 a ton for a distance of 5,000 miles and Rs. 40 for only 1,500 miles! And this, too, when dire famine is stalking in the land and squeezing the life-blood of the population of India, which has, at her own expense, supplied wheat to her British guardians! We are informed again that the freight charged on the Lancashire goods exported to India was only Rs. 30 even when the war was actually going on! And now when the war has stopped, and German and Austrian ships are perhaps lying idle in the British waters, India, famine-stricken India, India that has supplied immense quantities of wheat to the British and the Indian armies, is not given enough facilities of tonnage and freight to meet her own demands!"

Government should inform the public of the steps they take to reduce the high prices.

Gujarátí (18), 26th Jan., Eng. cols.

*22. "The concessions made to their workmen by the employers of labour will no doubt lessen the hardships and difficulties of the latter to a certain extent. But if the prices of foodstuffs are not brought under proper control by the importation of continuous supplies, the position of the poorer classes will continue to be what it has been. Last week we concluded our observations on the subject by inviting the attention of Government to President Wilson's message to the Congress in which he said that the supply of food was the key to the European situation. His Excellency in his speech to the representatives of mill labour assured them that Government were doing all that they could to increase the supply of food for the people and to get prices reduced. We gratefully appreciate what has been done in this direction. But the prevailing high level of prices does not at all show that Government have done enough. The public would very much like to know from time to time what measures have actually been taken by them and with what result. There is an impression abroad that Government have been

making purchases to meet their own requirements at low prices in the mofussil by prohibiting exports of even excess supplies. If it is unfounded, it ought to be removed as promptly as possible. The embargo laid on the transportation of foodstuffs from one district to another has resulted in grave hardship. Government will, therefore, do well to explain the whole position and set the mind of the public at rest by a frank and authoritative statement upon the subject."

Government and the present famine situation.
Indu Prakásh (42), 20th Jan.

23. We do not quarrel with the Imperial Government for feeding the population of enemy countries, but we respectfully invite their attention to the fact that their own Indian subjects are at present dying of starvation. Government could very easily relieve our distress if they would display as much zeal as they did while collecting subscriptions to the war loan. The present scarcity of rice in the Bombay Presidency in particular is as much due to the shortage of waggons as to the Government's desire to make a little profit while importing it from Burma. We are sure Government can enlist the co-operation of our rich people if they will only bestir themselves, and we urge them again to devise all means to provide people with an adequate supply of foodgrains.

Hindusthán (22), 20th Jan.

24. The *Hindusthán* dwells at great length on the distress caused to the people of India by the restrictions placed by the Controller of Foodstuffs on the free movement of grain and other necessaries of life from one district to another and writes :—The appointment of the Controller has not conduced to the well-being of India. It has caused a rise in the price of every article including foodstuffs. Why do not the leaders of the people direct the policy of Government on the right lines? At present people are under the impression that the Controller is sending foodstuffs from India to Mesopotamia to enable the people there to live in happiness. We do not think there is any truth in such a statement. But people in distress indulge in all sorts of fancies. If the Controller is not in a position to afford any relief to the people and if his appointment is capable of giving rise to misunderstanding, Government should adopt the wise course of abolishing the post.

Allegation that Government rice meant for free distribution among the poor of Ratnágiri has passed into the hands of merchants.
Satya Shodhak (126), 19th Jan.

25. Government had several days back sent 110 rice bags to Ratnágiri with the commendable object of distributing the rice among the poor people by charging Rs. 2 only per bag by way of expenses. Some people had offered to pay this amount in respect of all the bags and also to arrange to issue the rice to the people in the presence of Local officials. Nothing of the kind, however, took place, as the bags in question were sold by auction and eventually went into the hands of merchants! The object of Government in this matter was very good, but its miscarriage has given rise to much comment.

Comments on the sentences passed on the accused in the Akola (Ahmednagar District) Mamlatdar murder case.
New Times (8), 24th Jan.

26. Commenting upon the sentences passed on the accussed in the Akola Mamlatdar murder case. the *New Times* Writes—" The sentences are most rigorous and they defeat the very ends of justice. The Mamlatdar, it must be said, was well known for his high-handedness. His recruiting methods were abhorred by the Bhils, his ways of exacting contributions to the war loan were despised; in short, he was a terror to the people. The wild Bhils were driven to a state of unbearable desperation before some of them ventured upon this crime. These circumstances must have weighed with the Special Tribunal to make the sentences less harsh and vindictive. We hope the Government of Bombay will interfere in the matter and temper justice with mercy, taking into cosideration the provocation the people constantly suffered at the hands of an official."

27. In reply to the objections raised by the *Political Bhomiyo* (17th January 1919) regarding certain epithets, used in connection with the Emperor Aurangzebe in its serial story [*vide* Weekly Report No. 3 of 1919, paragraph 32], the *Praja Bandhu* states that the story in question is simply a Gujarati version of a Hindi story that appeared in an Allahabad paper named *Abhyudaya* which is equally popular both among Muhammadans and Hindus, and that as these epithets are used therein with a view to characterise the person in whose mouth they are put and the occasion on which they are spoken, there is nothing objectionable in using them as such in the course of a story. The paper asserts that it in no way intended to injure the feelings of Muhammadans by using these epithets which naturally fit the character using them in the course of this unobjectionable story. The paper styles this action on the part of *Political Bhomiyo* as an attempt to excite the peace-loving Muhammadans of Ahmedabad by magnifying a mole-hill into a mountain. The correspondent of the *Political Bhomiyo*, who started the topic, adds the paper, is talking nonsense and is thus trying to mislead the public and the authorities by means of such unfounded accusations. [The *Political Bhomiyo*, commenting on the above reply of the *Praja Bandhu*, declares that the explanation offered by the latter is not convincing, and will in no way allay the provoked religious feelings of the Muhammadans. Regarding the *Praja Bandhu's* statement that the *Political Bhomiyo* is attempting to instigate the peace-loving Muhammadans of Ahmedabad, the paper maintains that it is not correct. It still hopes that the *Praja Bandhu* will soon correct its mistake in this respect.]

Alleged offence to Musalman sentiment given by the *Praja Bandhu* of Ahmedabad.
Praja Bandhu (29), 19th Jan.; *Political Bhomiyo* (76), 24th Jan.

28. Referring to the incident of a detenu being asked to peform *Shraddha* ceremony in prison, the *Shubhodaya* remarks:—Bravo! Are *Shraddhas* to be performed in jails? God alone knows whether Europeans after many years' stay in India do not know the ordinary religious ceremonies of Hindus or they want to ridicule insolently the Hindu religion!!! Can a boy break the public peace by the time he goes to Calcutta from the jail and performs obsequies? Is it impossible for the Bengal Government to watch him?

Comments on the reported order of the Bengal Government asking a detenu to perform *Shraddha* ceremony in jail.
Shubhodaya (94), 17th Jan.

29. Commenting upon the declaration of independence by the Irish Nationalists, the *Hindusthán* writes:—Matters might assume a more serious aspect if Lord French who is the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland tries to make use of his military talents to set matters right. Let us hope that nothing serious happens. But history teaches us that great changes are not wrought without the occurrence of serious situations. Courage and promptness are very often more useful than prudence in matters political. Caution in political agitation often proves detrimental to the cause. All eyes are now turned towards Ireland. India which is now advocating self-government wishes that Ireland may continue to get facilities to adhere to its own determination. Politics always take a quick turn and India should closely watch movements in Ireland along with the rest of the world.

India should watch events in Ireland.
Hindusthán (22), 24th Jan.

30. "The decision of the United States to prohibit the manufacture, sale, exportation and importation of alcoholic beaverages throughout the country is one of the most far-reaching reforms that has ever been accomplished in any country..... We believe the world can be educated into abhorrence of alcohol. It is for the State to take up the enterprise of checking the evil. This is, however, a world-problem and we wish there were a touch of fanaticism in Governments in their view of the alcohol traffic. Nowhere is it so much in need as in India. Last year a resolution of the Honourable Mr. Sarma advocating prohibition

Comments on the decision of the United States of America to prohibit the manufacture, etc., of liquor.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Jan.

as the ultimate aim of Government policy was defeated in the Imperial Legislative Council. But the most melancholy feature of the debate was the old-world attitude of the Government about the needs of the 'poor man,' the harmlessness of moderation and the receipts of the treasury. The country is being corrupted and demoralised by the excise policy of the Government; the evil is the greater since it is spreading among a people who are by tradition thrifty and sober. It is for Britain to copy the example of the United States and pursue a bold policy of prohibition without compromise. The more so is such a policy essential for Britain as she is the mistress of a great empire full of non-European peoples, who are by tradition remarkable for habits of sobriety and abstention. There is the howl of capitalists and vested interests in the way, and bold statesmanship alone can face it. The innate conservatism and conviviality of the Britisher may be as great an obstacle. But it is foolish to forget the lessons of efficiency and restraint which the war has taught the British race and which are being applied by their kinsmen across the sea. You *can* reform a man by Act of Parliament. If Britain does not embark on a new policy, she will be a loser in efficiency and production, not only within her own household, but throughout the British Empire. The demon of drink is not invincible."

*31. "The United States of America has determined shortly to be a completely 'dry' country. Actual prohibition of drink traffic will become effective from July 1st as a war measure, but the constitutional amendment will take some time to pass through both the Houses..... But when is our Government to learn this lesson? Our tradition and temperament were against this pernicious drink before the advent of the British in this country, and even now Temperance Associations and workers are making determined efforts to stop this evil. But the Government say that their policy is maximum revenue and minimum consumption, and accordingly are realising fabulous income from this disastrous and unholy traffic. They say that they want to safeguard the interests of the moderate drinker and to prohibit illicit distillation, and therefore opening of weak-liquor shops is a necessity. The United States of America, Russia and France have exploded these myths and have shown that moderate drinking and illicit distillation can be altogether prohibited to the immense advantage of the people. They have thus struck at the very root of our Government's policy of maintaining minimum consumption, and we don't know with what grace our paternal guardians can trot this excuse before the public. Will some one of our Legislative Council members corner them on this point and elicit their defence of this policy?"

Mahrátta (7), 26th Jan.

32. We are glad to note that the Sardars of the Deccan, who under the Council Regulations were hitherto required to go and record their votes before a Magistrate in electing their representative to the Legislative Council, have now been allowed the right of sending their votes by registered post. The extension of this privilege, which was being already enjoyed by the University voters, was demanded by these Sardars since those Regulations came into force. Really speaking there was no objection to this demand being conceded earlier, and this shows how even a simple thing is sometimes unnecessarily delayed by Government by its dilatory methods.

The Sardars of the Deccan and the method of registering their votes for the Council election.

Dnyán Prakásh (39), 24th Jan.

33. "The Karáchi Indian Merchants' Association has sent a telegram to the special Officer, Franchise Committee, Bombay, strongly urging the representation of the Association, the only recognised and representative body of the Karáchi Indian Merchants, on the Bombay Legislative Council. This request must seem very reasonable seeing the importance the Commercial community has in the life of this city and of the country in general. Karáchi is a city of great commercial importance in India and its trade is rapidly rising and it is but just and proper that the Indian commercial interests of the city should be safeguarded and advanced

Indian merchants of Karáchi should have representation on the Reformed Bombay Legislative Council.

New Times (8), 21st Jan.

by one of their own members. The local Anglo-Indian Chamber of Commerce sends a representative to the Bombay Council and its sister institution should not be denied the same privilege any longer under the new scheme of Reforms. The Indian Chamber of Commerce of Madras, the Bombay Indian Merchants' Association, the Mill-owners of Bombay and Ahmedabad (alternately) send representatives to their respective Legislative Councils and in asking for a similar representation our influential Karáchi merchants ask for what is their just due. We hope that the Indian Trade interests of Karáchi will, ere long, obtain the recognition they seek."

The I. C. S. and the Indian Reform Scheme.

Young India (15), 22nd Jan.

34. "The only reply which the members of the I. C. S. make to the Reform Scheme is a narrow and selfish consideration of their own immediate interests and their demand can be summed up in one word:— 'Leave things as they are or buy us out by pensions and compensations and let us go'..... A more barefaced and shameless demand we cannot imagine than is implied in all this, nor can a more gratuitous insult be given to the people of this country whose salt these men have been eating for all these years..... We must frankly say that we have not the slightest sympathy with these whimperings of an extremely selfish and unimaginative set of men who consider the privileges of governing this country as their birth-right..... From the standpoint of popular liberty the monopoly of power enjoyed by the Indian Civil Service has never led to any good. In fact, the ideals which have guided these men in the past have been always opposed to the most elementary principles of political liberty. Even now we find that the very greatest disservice is attempted to be done to the people of this country by the parting benediction which the Government by a Service is preparing to bestow upon us. They are using even the last hour of their power for forging political fetters for the people of this land in the form of a Rowlatt Legislation. Nothing seems to be too mean, so long as it would extend the undue and irresponsible power enjoyed by the members of the Civil Service..... In our opinion no agitator or seditionist ever did as much 'to weaken and discredit an alien executive' as the authors of this Madras manifesto and men of their ilk would do if they persist in their fatal tactics. We all want that the political progress of this country should be as even and as peaceful as possible and it must be the ambition of all honourable Englishmen that if they have to part with this country, they should part leaving feelings of friendliness and gratitude amongst the people. But if such obstructionist manœuvres are resorted to by the Indian Civil Service as are foreshadowed in the movement now on foot in Bihar and Madras, then political progress must be jerky, involving embitternment on both sides foreboding no good to the future of both races, who have been thrown together by Providence in such circumstances. It is not too late yet to take warning and we would ask these stalwarts of the Madras Civil Service to read the writing on the wall."

Home Ruler (5), 18th Jan.

35. "The main point in the memorial is that the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme adversely affects the interests of the Civilians who threaten to resign in a body if the British Government presumes to legislate in opposition to the august commands of Indian Civil Servants. In his address at the convocation of the Calcutta University Lord Chelmsford emphasised the urgent necessity of discipline and enlarged upon its many advantages. We trust that His Excellency recognizes that the need for discipline among public servants is at least as urgent as among university students and that he will not sit quiet over this open insubordination. The Indian Civilians are a peculiar class of servants who presume to dictate what their masters shall do. And when we remember that the success of the reforms depends upon their proper execution by these very men it is obvious that we cannot possibly feel very sanguine about it..... The fact is that the bureaucrats have made up their minds to stick at nothing in their mad pursuit of retaining their monopoly of power. That they can succeed is unthinkable; but they will succeed so far as to demonstrate the stuff which the finest Civil Service in the world (as they modestly call it) is made of."

36. Judging from the draft of the Madras I. C. S. memorial it appears that the leading bureaucrats are the bitter opponents of *swarâjya* for India. Home Rulers have argued uptill now that it is the bureaucracy that would be in agony if England were to give *swarâjya* to India. The Madras affair has justified this argument. There are some liberal-minded and far-sighted statesmen in the bureaucracy and they are in full favour of *swarâjya* for India. But the bureaucracy consists mainly of ordinary men who care for their bellies. This bureaucracy is always engaged in first considering about its pay, its allowances, its peace, its prestige and its pension and then about devising means to leave all these comforts unimpaired to the other Civil Servants succeeding it. The complaints made by the Madras bureaucracy are but in keeping with this selfish policy. Promotions and pension prospects of civilians will not be affected by the additional recruitment of Indians because fewer men will come from England and it does not matter if fewer places are reserved for them. Why is the bureaucracy then making a wry face? Because half the posts are to go to Indians? It is rather strange that the bureaucracy should be in such a condition at the end of the war. Some big officers will be drafted from the bureaucracy for the settlement of Arabia, Persia and Muhammadan territories adjoining the Caspian Sea. The Government of India can give to Europeans many more places than those given by Mr. Montagu to Indians, in this new territory. Is this not ultra-selfishness on the part of the bureaucracy that it should feel sorry, when a feast is awaiting it, that a few crumbs go to Indians? How is the prestige of the Civil Service lost if Indian ministers replace European Councillors? At present the Civil Servants as a whole form the Government. The Collector becomes after a time Commissioner and Executive Councillor and helps to frame the policy of the province. As the policy is settled thus, the members of the bureaucracy are individually servants and collectively masters. Under the Montagu scheme the work of settling the policy will go to the Indian minister and European servants cannot parade as masters. The chief demand of *swarâjya* is that the mastery assumed by the bureaucracy should be handed over to the Indian ministers. The present chief complaint is not that there are so many European servants; it is that as Indians have no share in settling the policy of Government it does not conduce to the prosperity of subjects. Settle the policy according to the wishes of the people and it will not matter if the present number of European servants is maintained for some time more. There is no need to give to the Civil Servants more concessions regarding pay, leave and pension on the ground that they will have fewer prospects as days pass by.

Kesari (114), 21st Jan.

37. The campaign of active opposition inaugurated by the Behar and Madras Civilians has done a really good turn to the popular party. We have always been under the impression that the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms had the genuine support of the bureaucracy. All dobuts about their attitude have now been dispelled and it is possible that we may not have even the proposed reforms, inadequate as they are. The bureaucracy's opposition coupled with that of the retired satraps will in all probability succeed in wrecking the scheme and we may even suffer a set-back. The Civil Servants claim that their object in opposing the reforms is to safeguard their own rights. But what are these rights of these servants? They must be very strange indeed if they thwart the legitimate aspirations of Indians. Theoretically even to-day the Indian population is the master of the Civil Servants and the August declaration promises to make it so in reality in future. Government should realise, since they have conceded the above principle, that it is unwise to tolerate any longer the present movement of the Civil Servants and they should, therefore, put a stop to it at once.

Rájakáran (123), 19th Jan.

38. See, what a threat they have held out. They have threatened that they will resign if the reforms are introduced. These men, used to uncontrolled power trenching upon all the rights of the master, are all wrath as soon as the reins of power in their

Karnátak Vaibhav (88), 21st Jan.

hands are to be a little relaxed. What we have to say to these Civil Servants is this:—The policy of India's administration cannot be decided with a view to your convenience and comforts. You should accomodate yourself to a policy conducive to the good of India. The days are gone when India was ruled in the interest of Europeans. Will the Government of India, so watchful of discipline in the services under it, pay attention to this mutiny of servants? Will some non-official member have the matter explained by an interpellation in the Council?

Indian Reforms and the Labour Party in England.
Young India (15), 22nd Jan.

39. "The demand of the Labour Party to constitute the official opposition seems to us most significant and full of hope for this country. A reaction from all this can be confidently expected and the Liberals who have been routed because of bad leadership must ultimately come by their own. A Labour Party strengthened by the failure of the Coalition Government to tackle their peculiar problems would sweep in with a big majority at the next election and such defects as the Bill embodying Indian Reforms may still have would be set right only when this event occurs in the United Kingdom. In the light of this, the work of the Congress Deputation ought to be very clear. Little tactics have never helped with the British people and instead of throwing in our lot with the Coalition Government as they have by the appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha astutely contrived should be done, it would be best if the Congress leaders made clear their unmitigated adherence to the democratic principles which the Labour Party, and to a similar extent the Liberal Party, have maintained for all these years. To secure the passing of the Reform Scheme is no doubt important, but that in itself does not solve the whole problem. Only a Coalition in which Lord Curzon and Lord Milner and other Jingo Unionists hold large powers can consent to the passing of repressive legislation on the lines of the Rowlatt Committee's report. Only the Liberals and the Labour Party can show their clear abhorrence of the art of government which involves the fettering of free nations through such means. Repression with one hand and reforms with the other is not a policy which can be welcomed, and in order to secure political reforms unhampered by restriction on freedom of speech and writing and on legitimate political work, the only proper ally for the leaders of the Congress are the large mass of voters belonging to the Liberal and the Labour Party and the soldiers and sailors who have rubbed shoulders with free men on the battlefield. These would before long secure political power in the United Kingdom as they have secured in other countries in Europe. The Parliamentary situation and the situation of the Peace Conference appear to us full of danger to the cause of Indian political freedom, and after all, the expectations that had been roused by the beating of the big drum may be foiled through the consummate trickery which Unionist Parliamentarians always employ on Indian questions..... We again suggest the calling of a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at an early date in order to consider the situation which it is impossible for us to contemplate without grave apprehension."

Dnyán Prakásh (39), 19th Jan.

40. According to the correspondent of the *Hindu* in England the Montagu-Chelmsford report has been carefully read by many people there and generally speaking they are favourably impressed with it. The question before us now is whether we should throw in our lot with some particular political party, such as Labour, or should work on independent lines. The old trusted leaders of the Congress have always maintained that India cannot profitably join in the party struggles in England. The correspondent in question does not approve of the decision of Mr. Tilak and others to associate themselves with the Labour party and to criticise adversely the acts of Government and thinks that such a course will positively do us harm. Those who have any knowledge of the British temperament are also of opinion that it is unwise for India to attempt to place its grievances before the Peace Conference. The Congress leaders are, therefore, evidently wrong in their present policy. It will only have the effect of alienating the sympathies of our friends in England and will create

an impression that our leaders are thoughtless and short-sighted. Their attitude may also jeopardize the scheme of reforms. Similarly no useful purpose will be served unless all the members of the deputations proceeding to England work in harmony. In the absence of such harmony no one will get anything and all will be playing into the hands of our enemies. It is an easy task to argue before Labourites and convince them of the justice of your claims since they are always in favour of progress, but the real test of your skill lies in converting your opponents to your own views. Only experienced and tactful men can accomplish this task.

Servant of India (9), 23rd Jan.

41. "We see that the *Hindu's* London correspondent has thought it necessary to caution Indian politicians against too close an association with the Labour Party in England, in the belief that it will be able in its present condition to render much tangible assistance in the matter of reforms. The general opinion in India has always been that without identifying ourselves with any particular party we should avail ourselves of the assistance of all; but the *Mahrátta* pins its faith on Labour. 'Both the Conservative and Liberal members, coming as they do from the aristocratic and middle class sections, cannot be expected to do much in India's favour, because they have their interest in keeping India in leading-strings. It is Labour and Labour alone that can and will see the wrongs righted and the nations freed from bondage.' This was not, we know, the view of Mr. Tilak who, in his condemnation of the political propaganda in England as mendicancy, reserved the bitterest denunciation for an alliance with the Labour Party, which he thought would be distinctly prejudicial to India's interests. Said he: 'You now depend on the Labour Party. Labourers have their own grievances, but they won't treat you any better. On the contrary, they will treat you *worse*, because British labourers obtain their livelihood by sending us their goods.' Whatever fraction of truth this utterance may contain, we know that Labour will exact its price, in ways not now suspected by the Nationalists, for the support it will give, and the price *we* would like Labour to exact is to require of the so-called Indian democrats the abolition of all privilege of caste and the removal of the taint of untouchability from all human beings. We are deeply grieved, by the way, to learn on reliable authority that Mr. Tilak has declined to subscribe his name to the anti-untouchability manifesto issued by the Depressed Classes Mission."

The Peace Conference.

Gujaráti (18), 19th Jan.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 23rd Jan.; *Bombay Samáchár* (63), 21st Jan.

42. Commenting upon the proceedings of the Peace Conference, the *Gujaráti* writes:—It is said that England, France, Italy, the United States of America and Japan are working with one mind; but there does not seem to be any unanimity in them. Belgium, France, Italy, Serbia and Roumania each separately assert that they have suffered during the war while England declares that she has made great sacrifices in men and money. In this way each country is advancing its claims for securing advantageous terms from Germany, Austria and Turkey and for splitting up these countries into pieces. On the other hand the subjects of the vanquished nations are convinced that their salvation lies in independence and so are vying with each other for securing the right of self-determination. If the vanquished nations are split up it would be difficult to determine as to who should repay the debts of the old administrations and pay the war indemnities. The next question would be about the formation of the League of Nations. All those who are willing to join the League will have to reduce their armaments. But will either England or France be ready to reduce its army or navy? How is it that the Sydenham party is not prepared to look with brotherly feelings towards India? Let us see how the new map of the world will be drawn and the League of Nations will be formed. God only knows whether Dr. Wilson's schemes will remain unexecuted. May it not be that Sir S. Sinha has been appointed in the British Cabinet with a view to making him a tool in the Peace Conference for securing great advantages in East Africa, Palestine and Mesopotamia and throwing dust in the eyes of other nations? The elevation of an Indian to the peerage and his appointment in the British

Cabinet are no ordinary circumstances and the reasons for taking such a step must also be very extraordinary ones. There must be some connection between the appointment of Sir S. Sinha in the British Cabinet and the Premier's demand for two Indian representatives in the Peace Conference along with those of the other British Colonies. The recognition of the claims of India in the Peace Conference has raised the status of India in the eyes of the nations of the world and has secured to it equality with the British Colonies for which it has been clamouring. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* deplores the tendency on the part of some of the powers that are taking part in the Peace Conference towards favouring secret treaties and expresses its gratification at the stand made by England to uphold President Wilson's ideals. It hopes that the differences in the Peace Conference will not ultimately lead to the friends of to-day being turned into enemies of to-morrow. The *Bombay Samdchár* is afraid that the Bolsheviks in Russia are acting under the instigation of Germany and that Germany would spare no pains to do some harm to India through them. It, therefore, impresses upon the Peace Conference the necessity of suppressing the Bolsheviks in the interests of India and the peace of the world.]

43. Referring to a letter addressed by Mr. Abdulla Kur to the President of the Moslem League, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* states that as the question of the Caliphate has much to do with the Moslems at large, it is gratifying to note that the Moslem League has properly discussed this question as desired by Mr. Kur. [The paper then reproduces the letter the purport of which is as follows:—Indian Musalmans are glad to learn that the war has proved the necessity of allowing self-determination to all the nations, thus leaving all the nations of the world, great as well small, free to determine their own future. The Young Turks have no doubt brought Turkey to a critical pass by their unfortunate attitude in the last war, but it is not proper that the whole of Turkey and all Musalmans of India should have to suffer for the blunder of the Young Turks. As the question of the Caliphate appertains to the Muhammadans of the whole world, its decision must accord with the wishes of all of them. No sensible British statesman can say that the Musalmans of the world, or for the matter of that the Musalmans of India, would be glad if the Turkish Empire is dismembered. The Quranic injunction is that there should be an independent Caliph as a protector of the Holy Places and that over him there should be no influence of any foreign power. So, to set up the ruler of the province of Hijaz, or of two such provinces, as a Caliph would be to insult the religious sentiments of Indian Muhammadans. It is sincerely hoped that British statesmen will not injure the religious feelings of the Muhammadans of the whole world. The decision of the question as to under whose control the Holy Places of Islam should be kept, must be in accordance with the wishes of the seven crores of Musalmans in India and not with those of a handful of Arabs. There is nothing wrong in granting self-government to the various provinces of Turkey, but it is absolutely essential that they should all be under the control of the Sultan of Turkey. At present it is necessary that the Turkish Empire should be made stronger, on the principle of self-determination, and the Caliphate should be allowed to remain as it is. The *Sánj Vartamán* also publishes this letter.]

The future of Turkey and Indian Musalmans.

Akhbár-e-Islám (59), 21st Jan.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 23rd Jan.

44. "What happens to the Turkish Empire is a matter of the deepest concern to a Moslem for no other reason but this, that with the fate of that Empire is closely interwoven the question of the Khalifate and of the guardianship of the Holy Places of Islam. It has nothing to do with the imaginary peril of a Pan-Islamic movement..... In the second place, apart from the practical impossibility of a militant Pan-Islamic movement, in view especially of the establishment of the League of Nations, it is doing gross injustice to the deepest sentiments of Moslems to maintain that their concern for the Khalifate and the Holy Places is prompted by territorial ambitions..... The Khalifate and the Holy Places are part and parcel of the Moslem's religious sentiments and in regard to them he alone can have the final voice.....

Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th Jan.

Now, any territorial settlement of Mesopotamia, Palestine and the Hedjaz which impairs the sovereignty of the Sultan vitally affects the Khalifate and the guardianship of the Holy Places situated in these parts of the Turkish Empire. Mesopotamia, Palestine and the Hedjaz form part of the Jazirat-ul-Arab as described in Moslem books and the requirements of the Islamic Law demand that the Khalifa of the Prophet—the Sultan of Turkey—should have full and independent control over them. What is it then that prevents the fullest consideration being given to these requirements of the Islamic Law, in the territorial and political redistribution of the Turkish Empire? Moslems in India, in common with those who have followed the trend of recent events, apprehend that the obstacle is the ambition of British Imperialists of the Jingo school, who do not seem to have forgotten anything, or learnt anything from the war and who seem still to wield influence in the counsels of the British Government..... If the establishment of a British protectorate with an indigenous ruler over Mesopotamia would militate against the application of the principle of self-determination, the violation of the principle would be the more deplorable if the ruler is to be a person like the Aga Khan, who has the double disqualification of being an alien to the people of Mesopotamia and of having acquiesced in a creed enforced by his ancestors and detested by the Sunnis and Shiahs alike. The resolution passed at the meeting of the Moslems of Madras says that 'the meeting has seen with horror the rumour that it is contemplated to place Mesopotamia under the guardianship of the Aga Khan' and that 'the appointment will be viewed with the utmost disfavour by the Moslem world at large'. The feelings of the Madras Moslems are, we have every reason to believe, shared by their co-religionists throughout the country. In fact, the dismemberment of the Sultanate—and with the Sultanate the Khalifate is indissolubly bound until the bond is repudiated by the bulk of Moslems all the world over—cannot but be regarded by a Moslem as an unjustifiable interference with his deepest religious sentiments..... We earnestly trust British statesmen are not unmindful of the danger of the growing feeling among their Moslem fellow-subjects that their deepest feelings are completely disregarded."

Position of Persia and Afghanistan at the Peace Conference.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd Jan.

45. "Reuter has informed us that the Peace Conference's decision that the Belligerent nations alone will discuss and fix the League of Nation's rules has given considerable dissatisfaction to neutrals. The dissatisfaction is not only natural but justified in view of the purpose which the League is to serve. The voice of the States which remained neutral in the great conflict cannot be altogether ignored. The map of the world is to be readjusted and the boundaries of the neutrals in many cases are contiguous with those of some of the patries to the war..... In Asia the position of China remained long obscure. Persia did not at all count. Its will was negligible, inasmuch as it had not the necessary force to translate it into action. The conflicting reports regarding the unanimity or otherwise or even a general consensus of views in the Peace Conference makes us uneasy about the fate of this ancient country. Everyone is prepared to concede that, barring the most bigoted of chauvinists, who are, after all, very few, no one in Britain desires the absorption of Persia, now by no means a formidable matter, inasmuch as Russia, the only bar to Britain, has ceased to count in the Chancelleries of Europe. Already the southern half of the country, which, according to the Anglo-Persian Convention, appertains to the British sphere of poliitical influenne, is largely policed and has its peace and security safeguarded by the British. There is a keen struggle between patriotism and a desire to live in the breasts of the few Persians who can bestow a thought on anything beside the question of daily sustenance. It is no longer a secret that a British protectorate over the country is in contemplation. We earnestly trust this will not be and that Britain will confine herself to the rôle of a helping friend without impairing the integrity and sovereignty of this hapless country. Afghanistan, another neutral Asiatic country, has exhibited, thanks to the peculiar circumstance of the Court being divided into two factions, firm loyalty to her engagements as to absolute neutrality. Unlike Constantinople, most fortunately for Kábul it was

possessed with no Enver, and though nothing less than the head of the Amir was in jeopardy for a time and for weeks on the North-West Frontier rumours were rife of the assassination of the Amir of Afghanistan and revolutionary outbreaks in Kábul, the country resisted the threats and the subtler diplomatic onsets by Germans and Turks by turn and Germans and Turks combined. Kábul has acted with great patience and self-constraint under most difficult circumstances. An ear, and a patient ear, will have to be lent to Afghanistan's say, direct or communicated, by the Peace Conference."

Comments on the protest of His Highness the Aga Khan and others against the partition of Turkey.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 25th Jan.

46. The *Praja Mitra aud Pársi* considers it proper that His Highness the Aga Khan and others should have sent their letter of protest in connection with the future of Turkey to the Foreign Minister and hopes that the Peace Conference will not fail to do justice to it. The paper thinks that the authors of the protest are the fittest persons to opine on any question regarding Turkey. It argues that as they take their stand on the principle of self-determination, for which the war is declared to have been fought, it is expected that the Peace Conference will give due consideration to the letter and check some of the erring Allies who are advocating the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire with a view to extend their own dominions. The attitude of the Allies, the paper adds, towards Turkey at the time of the Balkan war is to a certain extent responsible for Turkey's joining Germany in the last war.

Lesson to be learnt from President Wilson's opposition to the separate representation of India at the Peace Conference.

Dnyán Prakásh (39), 22nd Jan.

47. France whole-heartedly supported Mr. Lloyd George's proposal that India should be separately represented at the Peace Conference. President Wilson, who has expounded the principle of self-determination, however, opposed it strenuously. We trust this incident will open the eyes of the present leaders of the Congress who believe that our wrongs will be righted if we place them before the Peace Conference. Even President Wilson cannot be expected to consider sympathetically the interests of any other country than his own. Mr. Lloyd George, however, espoused our cause and deserves to be congratulated. He justly contended that all the nations that had taken part in the war ought to be represented at the Peace Conference. It can safely be concluded that whenever any question affecting our interests comes up for decision he will bear our sacrifices in mind. This recognition together with the appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha as Under Secretary of State for India are the most hopeful signs. These events clearly prove that we can rely upon British statesmen to satisfy our legitimate aspirations and that we need not approach a stranger like President Wilson with a request to redress our grievances. The above-mentioned incident in connection with the Peace Conference will also help to prove the fallacy of the argument, advanced by some short-sighted people, that England was introducing reforms in India not through any sense of justice but with a view to set herself right in the eyes of President Wilson.

Reflections on the proposed League of Nations.

O Amigo de Povo Goano (58), 18th Jan., Konkanim columns.

48. Writing about the proposed League of Nations, *O Amigo de Povo Goano* remarks that all nations of the world have always been actuated by greed and have tried to aggrandise themselves at the cost of others. Such being the case, the European nations have not only fought among themselves, but have even gone over to Africa, Arabia, Persia, India and other eastern countries, and have taken possession of them, and are not now willing to give up their sway over them. Now that they have fought among themselves and have grown weak in the fight, they think of devising some means by which they might be able to resist the attack of any other stronger nation which might try to fight against them. The proposed League of Nations is not a new idea, but a very old one which was conceived by men who are dead and gone. It has not, however, taken any practical form up to the

present, because of the desire of each nation to be stronger than its neighbour. President Wilson's fourteen points have been accepted by all the belligerents, but it is heard that America, Great Britain, France and Italy are making concessions to one another. If they are really anxious to form a League of Nations, why are these concessions made beforehand? Bolshevism is growing stronger every day and is even taking hold of Berlin. It has spread to the whole of Europe and it remains to be seen whether we shall have President Wilson's peace or Lenin's peace.

49. On the 2nd of January the Assistant Collector of Customs went to the salt depôt at Kumta and had some salt bags weighed and he found that the bags weighed 3 to 5 pounds short. We do not know what steps he took in the matter. The owners of the depôt are not willing to sell salt by weight. How can they weigh the salt unless ordered by the society? In the license applied for in connection with salt sent above ghauts, it is mentioned that every bag weighs 2 maunds. What is this but tyranny? It is for the Customs authorities to consider what the people should do. The bags weighed on the 2nd instant were recent arrivals. If the old bags in the depôt had been weighed, they would have weighed 10 to 15 pounds short and our articles in the matter would have proved to be true. It comes to this, that the depôt must be compelled to weigh the salt before selling it locally or above ghauts. The Customs authorities should issue strict orders to all license-holders and depôt agents in this connection. Otherwise the rayats are doomed. In the first place the *malki* rate has been quadrupled. If short weight is given, the rayats will be grievously harmed. If it be an offence to sell short weight should not the Magistrate and Sub-Divisional Officer intervene?

The price of salt at the Kumta Salt depôt should be better controlled.
Kánara Vritt (37), 15th Jan.

50. "The price of salt has gone down everywhere else except in Kárwár. We can fairly say that it is due to two causes. One is, of course, the virtual monopoly of production and sale alike, conferred upon the Sanikatta salt-owners. Another is the embargo placed upon Goa salt. It is prohibited from being brought by sea. The Sanikatta monopolists have no rival in the field and this prime necessity of life is being sold at a prohibitive cost. In Goa, salt is sold now at Re. 1-8 per maund; prices have have been brought down by Rs. 3 per maund. Cannot Government do anything in the matter? Is it not due to them to see that Kánara and the Karnátak are properly supplied with salt? Government have got their own salt works in Khárághoda and Maurypur near Karáchi. Why do they not start their works in Kánara? Why do they not allow salt to be manufactured at other places in Kánara besides Sanikátta? Why do they not regulate prices? Why do they not keep salt depôts under municipal control? They should at least remove the embargo on Goa salt, and the inflated price of Sanikatta salt will naturally come down."

Complaint about the high prices of salt at Kárwár.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th Jan.

51. A correspondent from Khánápur (district Relgaum) writes:—As filthy water from the local distillery is allowed to flow into the river Malaprabha, the foulness of the water of the river which is already getting dried up owing to the holding off of rain is on the increase, and the people of the villages on its banks are living in a state of anxiety as there is a likelihood of epidemics like cholera breaking out. Even now the stench of the river-water is unbearable within two furlongs from the river. When are Government going to stop this danger to the health of all the villages down the river from the waste water of the distillery being allowed to run into the stream?

Complaint that the waste water from the Khánápur distillery is spoiling the water of the river Malaprabha.
Kesari (114), 21st Jan.

52. An anonymous correspondent writes to the *Bombay Chronicle*:—"It is nearly a year ago that Government after persistent demands sanctioned a war allowance of 50 per cent. to its servants and thus relieved them from much trouble and anxieties. But Government gave a section of its servants, *i.e.*, the compositors of the above Press, only 25 per cent., knowing full well that their condition was far worse than the clerical staff's, and out of that

Grievances of compositors in the Government Central Press, Bombay.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd Jan.

25 per cent. 1/6th is forcibly deducted for war loan! The situation now has become acute, the prices have gone up unprecedentedly high, epidemic after epidemic has reduced most of the poorly-paid compositors to abject poverty, strikes are in full swing and the conditions are unbearable. And yet with all these evil portents in the air, what is Government doing? That it does not intend to do anything is apparent from its indifference to the sufferings of the poor and starving people. Government is well aware that the war allowance of 25 per cent. is utterly inadequate and that something must be done. But ours is a voice crying in the wilderness. It is all very well to preach that 'strike is a industrial weapon to be used only when all other measures fail'; but when Government is blind to patent facts and disregards the workmen's legitimate demands they must not be blamed for doing reluctantly anything to satisfy the inner man. It is absolutely necessary that the war allowance of 25 per cent. of the compositors should be increased and thus afford them relief."

53. An anonymous correspondent writes to the *Bombay Chronicle*:—"As far as I know no Indians are allowed permanent appointments in the Royal Indian Marine although they may have served temporarily for a considerable time in any Marine Office on shore and may be better qualified than many of the Christian clerks who are at once taken in. This is very discouraging, the more so, as many of the clerks have been serving on temporary establishments since the War and could easily be given permanent appointments but for this racial bar in their way. Now that Indians are allowed in all departments, it is time that this restriction is removed and all may be given equal chances by competition or certain necessary qualifications for permanent appointments. I may as well point out that many non-Christian clerks are serving on Mercantile Marine ships and carrying out their duties satisfactorily and, therefore, there is no reason why they should be denied the chance of joining the Royal Indian Marine."

Complaint that Indians are not given permanent appointments in the Royal Indian Marine.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Jan.

54. "We commented yesterday on the inadequate salary on which a typist was required by the Social Service League of Bombay. As a contrast comes an advertisement in the *Madras Times*, which invites applications from Europeans with clerical experience, graduates with a knowledge of typewriting being preferred, for the post of clerks to the S. B. section of the office of the Madras Railway on a salary of Rs. 150 rising to 200 with free quarters and 'excellent prospects'. Further it is added that the appointment is pensionable. Curiously enough the same paper has another advertisement which calls for applications from labour supervisors for Bushire. It is very obligingly inserted within brackets that Indians need not apply. We see that no corresponding advertisement is published in Bombay papers, which shows that Madras has the monopoly of producing the peculiar type of non-Indians required for service in Mesopotamia. Whatever the ultimate fate of the large province, which was once famous as the granary of Asia, the war, in so far as it concerns this section of our hemisphere, will have been fought in vain, if in the development of the province, Indians have no share and if its exploiting is being reserved from beforehand for men whom a misuse of terms labels Europeans. But, if the prospective chances for Indians in Mesopotamia are thus being limited, those in the other corner of the Asiatic Empire of Britain are not brighter. The Burma Labour and Employment Bureau is, we understand, taking up the scheme of the resettlement of European and Anglo-Indian officers and men of His Majesty's forces in India. Further, the Burma Government are providing a full-time secretary and clerical staff. A joint non-official secretary is to be nominated. So far there is no mention of Indians in this connection nor in the further information which is vouchsafed to us, that employment already has been found either through the Bureau or private efforts for eight men."

Exclusion of Indians from public services in India and Burma.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Jan.

55. The *Kesari* expresses satisfaction at the work done by the Poona Famine Relief Committee for the relief of the famine-stricken and the steps taken by the Collector of Poona for granting suspensions of assessment and paying *takavi* with a free hand, and further adds:—Under the present arrangements payments have to

Suggestions about famine measures in Poona.

Kesari (114), 21st Jan.

be made at the Taluka Treasury before grass can be had from the depôt which is in many cases situated at a distance from the Treasury. As this causes needless loss of time, it is suggested that the payments for the grass should be received at the depôt where the grass is issued to the agriculturists. The Collector recently stated as the wages on famine works are likely to be found insufficient, public works for breaking metal have been started in the Shirur Taluka. We are however informed that the daily wages which the labourers get on these works amounts at most to 3 annas per head. Will this wage prove sufficient to maintain a labourer in these days of high prices? If this is the wage to be got on the public works scale, we would prefer to see famine works opened in their stead, as under section 73 of the Famine Relief Code, the workers would be able to get at least $4\frac{1}{2}$ annas per head. We hope the Collector will look to this matter.

Mrs. Besant and the Delhi sessions of the Congress.

Home Ruler (5), 18th Jan.

56. The *Home Ruler* thus concludes a long article in which it criticises Mrs. Besant's article in *New India* headed "The Congress: General and Personal", in which she gives her own version of the proceedings of the Delhi sessions of the Congress:—"We are sincerely grieved that Mrs. Besant has elected to subject the Congress resolutions to such a harsh criticism in the press. She and her friends have decided to remain in the Congress fold. May we ask them if their present tactics are calculated to enhance the dignity of the Congress whose members they continue to remain or to add to the prestige of the deliberate conclusions of the National Assembly? In the Congress itself criticism is quite legitimate, but we are doubtful whether a wholesale condemnation of the proceedings is in keeping with the position of a Congressman. Some criticism there must be, but if the Congress is not to lose in its authority and influence its proceedings must be handled much more respectfully than Mrs. Besant seems inclined to do. Coming from a Congressman her criticism has a destructive efficacy which no outside criticism can have. Mrs. Besant herself admits that the majority must have its own way. But that can hardly be done unless the minority submits to the will of the majority. We have no doubt that the articles in *New India* will provoke a storm of criticism all over the country. May we hope that in view of the feeling in the country, in deference to the majority which is the essence of all democratic government, Mrs. Besant will review her position and arrive at sounder and more just conclusions? Doing through the Home Rule League what the Congress refused to do is hardly fair to the Congress and we doubt if any Congressman can honestly and constitutionally take part in it. We expect Mrs. Besant to show a better sense of discipline to the Congress. There is one more aspect of the question to which we must refer in conclusion. A decision of this character which is bristling with controversy and which commits the whole body of the Home Rule League to a policy which is opposed to that laid down by the Congress, should not have been arrived at in haste by a council where about eight persons were present and in which the vote was divided. Such a decision places the Home Rule Leaguer in the most awkward position. Is he, in this matter of policy, to remain loyal to the Congress or to the Home Rule League which by our own declarations is nothing but an 'executive' of the Congress and which sought to affiliate itself to the national body? Can any one reasonably argue that an organization which seeks to look upon the Congress as its parent can consistently run counter to the majority in a matter of policy? Further comment on this very obvious issue is in our opinion altogether unnecessary."

Comments on the elections to the Council of the Governor-General of Portuguese India.

O Anglo-Lusitano (48), 18th Jan., Portuguese columns.

57. Referring to the recent elections held in Portuguese India for electing members for the Council of the Governor-General, and to the previous Resolution of the Government reducing the number of elected members of the Council as against the official members and the consequent refusal of the people to hold the elections, *O Anglo-Lusitano* states that the Government held the elections through its servants, though the bulk of the people refrained from voting, and, after

the elections were actually held, further reduced the number of elected members, because one member had not been returned, and made certain laws penalising the abstention from the Council of any gentleman who had been actually elected, although some gentlemen had declared before the elections were held, that they would refuse to act as members of the Council, if elected. The paper adds:—Has any one seen the making of election laws after the elections were actually held, or the establishment of rules to govern cases which are sought to be legalised? Such an act would be regarded as the gravest system of administrative anarchy. But, in fact, this is what is actually happening in Goa with the uttermost disregard of the laws in force and absolute contempt of public opinion and of the most elementary common sense. There, at present, Magistrates are transferred from the functions which they were appointed to exercise to other posts and deputations, and draw cumulative salaries in a manner so scandalous that this state of affairs amounts to a veritable immorality, which would not be tolerated in any civilised country. But in Goa all such things happen, because there is nobody to listen to the representations that may be made.

LEGISLATION.

58. "Government have resolved to push through repressive legislation in spite of the combined protest of the Nationalists and Moderates that it is inadvisable to do so. Whether we get anything from the proposed reforms —which is very problematic—we are sure to suffer from legislation of this character with which the autocratic bureaucrat is going to arm himself..... Even so moderate a paper as the *Indian Social Reformer*, which is under the control of Sir N. G. Chandavarker, has advised Government to wait and see the effect of the reforms in satisfying the country's aspirations and in pacifying public opinion before venturing on repressive legislation. But Government seems to give no heed to all wise counsels of statesmanship. It seems to be bent upon this legislation to appease the dug-outs of the Indo-British Association to secure passage for the Reform Bill through the Houses of Parliament. At a time when the whole world is going to have a new charter of liberty India's fate is that she should groan more and more under bureaucratic fetters and be denied the right of self-expression."

Comments on the proposed legislation on the lines recommended in the Rowlatt Committee's Report.
New Times (8), 19th Jan.

59. "A summary of the provisions of the proposed Bill based on the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee was wired by the Associated Press on Saturday. If the Bill is allowed to be placed on the statute book, the shame of it will not merely be on India but also on British statesmen, who having waged a war of freedom allowed the 'men on the spot' to strangle Indias's freedom at its birth. We trust the country and the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council will emphatically and vigorously oppose the measure. Meanwhile, it is instructive to contrast the expedition which characterises the efforts of the bureaucracy whenever the end in view is to restrict the freedom of the people, with the dilatory methods adopted by it in regard to questions affecting the removal of some of these restrictions. Thus though it is more than six months since a Committee of officials and non-officials was appointed to consider the modifications of the Arms Act, the public is still in the dark as to the doings of this Committee. We wonder if it has ever held any meeting."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th Jan.

60. The *Bombay Chronicle* writes under the heading "Repression in Excelsis":—"Following the recommendations of the Sedition Committee, the Governor-General has been pleased to order the publication in the *Gazette of India* of the draft of two Bills, which are proposed to be passed in the forthcoming session of the Imperial Legislative Council. They give effect to the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee, and aim at the amendment of the substantive and adjective Criminal Law of the country, so as to substitute certain provisions and add others to the existing law. In effect

Bombay Chronicle (1), 25th Jan.

they provide the authorities, and particularly the police, with a *carte blanche*, and effectively minimise the chances of the subject to safeguard his legitimate rights against the gratuitous and provoking attentions of a bureaucracy, avowedly pledged to active opposition to popular reforms. The two Bills put together are equal to any 'Defence of India Act' ever promulgated in this country, and it is sheer affectation to disguise that fact by changing the title of the proposed enactments. We propose to deal with these Bills in detail to shew that their embracing provisions have been wholly transferred from the Defence of India Act, and constitute a virtual breach of Government's promise that the Defence of India Act would not be extended beyond six months after the termination of the war, as well as an alarming menace to the liberty of the subject. The country does not need to be reminded how conscientiously the bureaucracy has administered the Defence of India Act; for the indiscriminate nature of the its misuse cannot be exaggerated..... This was when the Indian Civil Service had not declared war upon the Indian Reforms or in other words upon the authority that is proposed to be constituted in response to popular demands. Now, when the emergencies consequent upon war are, it is devoutly hoped, banished from the civilized world, and there is every reasonable expectation of things returning to their normal conditions—when political crimes and even political activity of strictly constitutional nature have been effectively controlled by the existing law of the country—nothing seems more strange than that Government should seek to assume unrestricted executive power to deal with the liberties of the people in the manner they deem advisable. We would be only too glad to see the Criminal Law of the country materially amended in the way of the Press, and the Seditious Meetings and other Acts of patently illiberal character being repealed. But if the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee as embodied in the two Bills under discussion are allowed to become law, they may safely repeal the Press or any other similar Act without mending matters in the least little degree; for all that can be and has been achieved by the bureaucracy under the provisions of the Defence of India Act can, and we venture to think, will be most easily accomplished by them under the provisions of the Bills proposed to be put into law before long..... Another section of the proposed Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Act runs thus :—'23. The Local Government, and every officer of Government to whom a copy of any order made under section 21 may be directed by, or under the general or special authority of the Local Government, may use *any and every means* to enforce compliance with same.' Suppose for instance that a person is ordered under section 21 (*d*) to abstain from public speaking in a specified area, then if the District Magistrate is the officer to whom the order is directed for enforcing compliance with the order, he, or if he delegates the authority to an officer of the police, the person acting in his vicarious capacity, may actually gag the person in respect of whom such order is made, or even permanently disable such person by, we shall take an extreme and absurd case falling within the expression *any and every means*, plucking his tongue from the very roots. We merely give this extreme illustration to exhibit the unheard-of character of the powers proposed to be conferred on officials, major and minor. If criminal law consisted of such unlimited and embracing expressions and its interpretation were left to the bureaucrats and their myrmidons, the obloquy with which the Star Chamber's proceedings are associated would become a pardonable irregularity of law as compared with the outrageous perpetrations of those, who equipped with the horrifying powers of Nero and Nadir, pretend to be Justice incarnate on earth."

*61. "The long-expected Rowlatt Bills have been notified in the *Government of India Gazette* and, in due course, assisted by the official bloc, they may be expected to be placed on the Statute Book..... .. Whatever the genesis of the Bills may be, we may take it as certain, that Government will leave no stone unturned to have them passed into law. Can Government justifiably say that the situation in India calls for any repressive legislation? The loyalist sentiment was never so strong as now. From one end of the country to the other India is imbued with the Imperial spirit. The whole country is filled with buoyant hope and looks forward with expectation to be treated as

Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th Jan.

an equal partner in the British Empire..... All classes are united in maintaining intact the British connection. The situation, if anything, has considerably improved and there can be no justification for the introduction of repressive measures, as intended by Government. The time is exceedingly favourable to further cementing the ties between England and India and, surely, repression pure and simple is not the way towards it..... Whoever has heard of anticipatory repressive legislation ? Laws are to be enacted and placed in the hands of Government and at their discretion and will they are to press a button and call into being particular measures. It is asking too much of India to consent to any such measures. The Governor-General of India has already got ample powers to take any emergent measures the situation may require. He can issue ordinances and, if necessary, he can then come before the Council asking their leave for the permanent enactment of the necessary measures. The country cannot be asked to will away all its control and permanently saddle itself with anticipatory measures of all sorts and conditions. For one thing, the bureaucracy is likely to be tempted to use a weapon simply because it possesses it and it should not be given any such opportunity. And when is all this happening ? On the eve of the introduction of reforms. Is it not the duty of Government to give to the reforms a fair opportunity without their being saddled beforehand with repressive measures ? Were they not bound to wait and watch the effect the reforms would have on the country ? To all intents and purposes there might be no need of any repressive measures at all. We cannot but unhesitatingly condemn, therefore, the exasperating policy, at present needlesely pursued by Government. It is bound to have a damaging effect on the success of the reforms, for the safety of which Government ought to be anxious..... No self-respecting nation can be called upon to accept such measures as victory gifts from the Suzerain Power. Moreover, the present Council is not the proper body to consider these questions. The Councils in India are on the eve of dissolution. They are to be replaced by bodies which will be more representative than the ones we possess. Why should not the Government of India hold their soul in patience and have their repressive measures judged by the new Councils ? It cannot be said that Government will till then be left powerless. The plenary powers they possess will be continued till peace is signed and six months after. By that time the new Councils will be months old. Meanwhile, if Government persist in their attitude, what is the country going to do ? We trust the Imperial Council will acquit itself better this time than it did while discussing the Honourable Mr. Khaparde's motion. All parties must sink their differences and unite in protesting against the Rowlatt Bills. We are perfectly aware what the ultimate result would be. We are not hopeful of any substantial amendments being carried against the determined wishes of Government. Let there be at least no split in the non-official party. Let no opportunity be given to the maligners of India to say that with their own consent the policy of repression before reform was resorted to. It would be nothing less than a disaster if the petty differences we have were to end in a cleavage even on the question of the Rowlatt Bills."

62. " The *Gazette of India* of 16th January contains the text of two bills relating to the Rowlatt Committee's recommendations. The statement of objects and reasons accompanying the bills does not go to strengthen a case now proposed to be made out for making more comprehensive and stringent an already over-stringent criminal legislation. The aim of this attempt is obvious enough and if these bills are ever passed into law, the one sure effect of it will be to put an end to all manner of agitation and propaganda—whether constitutional or otherwise—directed towards the substitution of democracy for bureaucracy. The appointment of the Rowlatt Committee was an ingenuous counterstroke to the Montagu mission and the synchronous publication of the reports was the certain outcome of an organised effort to nullify the good intentions of a temporizing Socretary of State. Repression has succeeded nowhere and it will not succeed in India."

Young India (15), 22nd Jan.

63. If as proposed in the Bill the Police and the Executive are invested with full powers, the liberties of the citizen will indeed go to the dogs. While on the one hand the Congress is asking for the natural rights of the citizens, the officials, though singing the praise of the principle of self-determination, are, on the other hand, actually at work forging new fetters of subjection. Some of our worthy elected members of council may come forward to support even this Bill, and to bring this about the *Times of India* has already begun to vociferate that the Moderate leaders are not against the suggestions of the Rowlatt Commission. At such a crisis it is the duty of every Indian member, and more so of an elected member, to oppose this Bill tooth and nail as it is calculated to destroy root and branch all principles of self-determination, justice and citizenship; and if any one does vote for it he should be considered as a destroyer of freedom and a traitor.

Kesari (114), 21st Jan.

*64. "A *Gazette of India*, dated the 18th instant, prints two draft Bills to give effect to the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee in their report on revolutionary conspiracies in India. We wish at the outset to deprecate most earnestly the introduction of these Bills in the Legislature at this juncture. An open-minded and dispassionate consideration shows that revolutionary crime in India as elsewhere is the outcome of political and administrative stagnation. As we wrote four months ago, by her contact with British rule, India has been drawn into the vortex of European politics and the new awakening of political life in the country has permeated and will continue to permeate our schools and colleges. 'As long, therefore, as the political advancement of the people is slow, and does not keep pace with the times by duly recognising and giving effect to the legitimate aspirations of the people in general and the educated classes in particular, revolutionary crime is bound to raise its head from time to time and disturb the peace of the country. It will not do to meet such situations by means of repressive laws. Remove in time the standing political grievances of the land and you remove the mischief which brings the secret conspiracies of revolutionary organisations into existence. Remove the mischief and you remove the causes which necessitate the passing of repressive laws for preventing revolutionary crime.' These words were written after a close study of the reports of the Rowlatt and Chandavarkar Committees. They embody convictions based on exceptional opportunities to know the true inwardness of revolutionary crime in this country. They are entitled to the serious consideration of Government which, unfortunately, does not seem to have been given to them. If Government had done so they would have realised that the right course is to introduce, first, the constitutional reforms in the direction of responsible government which have been promised, and, then, if after a sufficient interval it is found that revolutionary crime shows signs of recrudescence, to ask for extra powers to supplant the ordinary criminal law, as the principal Bill proposes to do. What the Government seek to do is to meet revolutionary crime by revolutionary legislation abrogating the elementary rights of citizenship in a civilized country..... There is now an almost total subsidence of political crime in the country. The Government of India have no excuse now to launch these Bills which were designed to meet an altogether different condition of affairs. We do not wish at present to go into the provisions of the two Bills. We object altogether to their being brought in at the present time. The excessive accumulation of penal powers by a Government is as provocative of mischief as the accumulation of excessive armaments by a State."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 26th Jan.

*65. "While the whole of India has been voicing forth her unanimous opinion, on keeping intact the inviolable rights of her sons, from the platform in the Congress, and even in the Moderates' Conference, the Government of India have been trying just in the opposite direction and attempting to forge the chains with which any British Indian subject may be deprived of his birthrights of liberty of speech and action without trial in an open court and in a regular form. We all know that there

Mahrátta (7), 26th Jan.

were, and perhaps are, revolutionary conspiracies in certain districts of Bengal, and we at once say that they must be crushed, and the perpetrators of those abominable crimes must be punished. We do not at all mince matters and we do not wish to be misunderstood on this point. But at the same time, we demand that the men should first be proved guilty of those crimes in an open and regular trial, allowing them full and every opportunity to meet the charges, and then be punished according to law..... But the contention of the authorities is that these wily conspirators and revolutionaries have made it almost impossible for the Government to successfully launch prosecutions against them, and it has, therefore, become extremely difficult for the Government to catch the delinquents in the meshes of law. They say that they have got sufficient but not legal (*i.e.*, real) evidence for the conviction of these men, and, therefore, some other means must be found, on the strength of such evidence, to deal an effective blow against those who want to subvert the State. They say that it is not only they who have come to such a conclusion, but even an impartial committee of men, with a strong judicial element on it, has also arrived at the same conclusion, and they are therefore justified in, so to say, proposing to transgress or suspend the ordinary law of the land in some cases, and providing a new procedure and creating new offences to deal with such criminals. And they maintain that it is therefore that the new Bills have become a necessity..... We must again remember here that the Committee offered no opportunity to the accused to subject such evidence to the test of cross-examination by a skilful counsel. The evidence, therefore, was all one-sided and untested and, therefore, thoroughly doubtful and entirely unreliable. The Government's contention that they have got *reliable* evidence against the accused thus falls to the ground. They admit that on such evidence 'the prosecution would fail'; they admit that much of the evidence consisted of statements made 'in police custody' and by those who were not disposed to make them; and they also admit that it was not tested by cross-examination. And yet they say that they were morally convinced of the guilt of many of the accused! We know not whether lack of commonsense can go any further. To legalise such sort of evidence, and to restrict the liberties of a man on the force of it, is one of the main objects in bringing these Bills before the Legislature, and Parts I, II, III and IV of Bill No. 2 of 1919 are mainly devoted to realise this object. Part I of it provides a machinery for a speedier and secret trial of certain scheduled offences by a tribunal of three High Court Judges, and thus infringes the ordinary law of the land to a less extent. Anyhow it does provide for a judicial, though speedier and secret, trial, and as such is less objectionable than the other parts. But Part II not only sets at naught the whole Indian Law of Evidence, which has been specially enacted to safeguard the interests of justice, but it begins with an astounding section which penalises all 'movements which are, in the opinion of the Governor-General-in-Council, likely to lead to the commission of offences against the state', and thus virtually institutes a Spanish Inquisition in the land. What these movements are is not defined, and the apologist of this section, the Rowlatt Committee, says that 'they cannot be reduced to definitions like crimes such as murder and so on'." [It further states:—] "If they could, no list that we can contemplate, would cover the ground. Under these circumstances we suggest the following solution: 'Let the Government propound to the Committee in plain language what they suggest the man has done, is doing, or is likely to do, and let the authority return in plain language what they find upon the subject.' Does this not empower the Governor-General-in-Council to penalise any movement, however innocent it may in the eyes of the people be, but which, they believe, is likely to lead to the commission of offences against the State? And who does not know how strong and sharp the difference of opinion between the people and the Government sometimes becomes on such innocent movements such as the Home Rule Leagues and their propaganda?..... The proposed powers given to the Governor-General and the Local Governments, therefore, sound something like the powers given to the Spanish Inquisition, a description of which can be found in Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic.* But in order to enable our readers to compare the proposed legislation with the Spanish edicts given

there we will first give here the summary of Parts I, II, III, IV and V of Bill No. 2 of 1919. [Here the summary is given.] From the foregoing summary it will be clear even to a layman as to how with one clean sweep of section 25 the whole Law of Evidence is set aside in the cases of those unfortunate persons whom the executive might consign to the tender mercies of the most irresponsible investigating authority, and how the doors will be flung open for the unscrupulous police to overwhelm that authority with all possible evidence, no matter howsoever irrelevant, inadmissible, tainted, suspicious, fabricated, extorted and untested it may be. Again while the poor man, whose case will be before the authority, will have no assistance of a skiful counsel, the prosecution case will be prepared with the aid of clever and trained prosecutors, and placed before that authority. The unfortunate victim of this law will thus be baffled in his endeavour to explain his case and prove his innocence. He will be doomed undefended and unaided. One may, however, say that 'the Local Government will first examine his case, and will not issue any orders before they are satisfied about his suspected connection with the forbidden movement. Moreover, the investigating authority will go through it, and, therefore, innocence will be sifted from crime, and only the latter will be punished.' The argument seems to be plausible. But the fact is that usually the big Local Government dwindles down to one man to whose discretion the whole thing is left, and that one man however clever he may be will, in ninety-nine cases out of hundred, not be able to extricate the truth from the jumble of evidence that will be placed before him, and his powers of discrimination will, therefore, surely fail to rescue innocence. The same will be the case of the investigating authority enveloped in a maze of evidence. The chances, therefore, of justice being done in such cases are so rare as to be almost negligible. The Bill, therefore, straightly cuts through the grain of the legal maxim 'Let ten guilty men escape rather than one innocet man should suffer.' According to the proposed legislation the principle will be just topsy-turvied, and will read, 'Let ten innocent men suffer lest one guilty man should escape!' In short, the proposed Bill seeks to legalise illegal evidence, and penalise innocence at the sweet will of the bureaucracy. The Spanish Inquisition did nothing more. Do the Government of India want to emulate the Spanish Inquisitors by passing this legislation? We hope they will not tread that path. It is neither to their advantage, nor to the advantage of the country."

EDUCATION.

66. The *Bombay Samáchár* notes with satisfaction that Government have begun to appreciate the services of dead and disabled soldiers by providing for the education of their children, but regrets that the programme of their education does not include any arrangement for military training and suggests that it is not yet too late to insert the same in the programme now before the public. It states that the sum of rupees six, allotted for the educational expenses of each child, is in no way sufficient for the purpose and insists on the necessity of having compulsory education for them since without compulsion this sum of Rs. 6 will hardly tempt the parents to send their children to school. It urges Government to provide for the free education of the children of all the soldiers and expects that Government will be liberal enough to grant scholarships and boarding expenses to all those who go up for higher education without making it conditional on their obtaining a particular percentage of marks.

Education of the children of disabled soldiers.
Bombay Samáchár (63), 20th Jan.

RAILWAYS.

67. "In these days of socialistic legislation it is superfluous to state the reasons for getting the railway nationalized. But if it is necessary to get English railways nationalized, the case for India is infinitely stronger. If people feel the injustice of the huge unearned profits of the native capitalists in England, the case against

Need of nationalizing the railways of India.
Home Ruler (5), 18th Jan.

the foreign capitalists in India is obviously much stronger. Besides, in India there is no native agency for entire private management, which at present employs chiefly foreigners, and so the case for a national system of railways is practically unanswerable. The railway system as it prevails in the country at present is an unmitigated disgrace. Public opinion is openly flouted and the railway bureaucracy is not a whit less autocratic than the heaven-born bureaucracy. Adding all these considerations to those purely economic we cannot resist the conclusion that our railways should be nationalized without any loss of time as the case is quite pressing."

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 31st January 1919.

*Reported in advance.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 1st February 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Indian Musalmans and the future of Turkey.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th Jan.

1. "Replying to the letter of protest by leading Moslems in London against irresponsible suggestions regarding the fate of Constantinople. Mr. Balfour gave the characteristic diplomatic reply that the question raised could only be decided by the Peace Conference. The ultimate decision, no doubt, depends upon the Peace Conference; that, however, is not the point at issue. The question is: What is going to be the attitude of Britain? What view will Britain urge the Peace Conference to adopt? Is it going to propose that Constantinople should be internationalised and handed over to X, Y or Z? Is it going to claim any portion of Turkish dominions in one capacity or other? Britain can stop all idea of partition of Turkey with a word. Did not the Italian Premier say that he did not want anyting in Turkey if France and Britain also did not want anything? Is it conceivable that France against the wishes of Britain would insist upon having Syria? Is it not the duty of Britain to interpret correctly the feelings of its own Moslem subjects? Were we not told that it was the idea of some Chauvinists in England to connect India and Egypt by a succession of Arabian States under British protection? Was it not in Britain again that the question of the internationalization of Constantinople was raised by Sir Valentine Chirol and others? Britain can do much to assist the Peace Conference in arriving at the right conclusion by allowing two Indian Moslems to form part of the British legation under the panel system. If Britain reserves any special claims in this connection, the other Powers also will follow suit. Other Powers with no interests may talk lightly of the partition of Turkey and the internationalisation of Constantinople. But Britain is in one sense a Moslem Power itself because it rules over the greatest body of Muhammadans. It is idle to talk of strategic necessities compelling the Allies to insist upon the internationalisation of Constantinople. Britain has now a splendid opportunity of reverting to its old policy of cultivating good relations with Turkey and, to judge from the interview Mr. Price had with the present Sultan of Turkey, the situation in Turkey also is quite favourable to such an idea. Britain can set an example of self-abnegation to the Allies and earn the goodwill of Moslems all the world over by adhering to the principle of nationality which is to be the ruling standard henceforth in every case."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Jan.

2. M. L. D. writes in the *Bombay Chronicle*:—"Along with the Moslem World which feels deeply for the fate of Turkey, there is a not inconsiderable body outside it who too desire to see the Ottoman Empire continue intact under the rule of the Sultan, extending, however, to the various peoples within the Empire the right of autonomy or, in the alternative, at least the introduction of far-reaching reforms into the administration, as a stepping stone to the attainment of the former. It cannot be denied that the autocracy of the Hamidian Regime lay buried with the deposition of Abdul Hamid at the time of the Turkish Revolution and that the administration showed distinct signs of improvement on the assumption of a constitutional Government. The one thorny problem lay particularly in the disaffection evinced by the various Balkan States, fanned by their traditional hatred for the Turks' dominion over their fellow nationals in Macedonia and adjacent territories in Europe which became embittered under the rule of the deposed Sultan. The victory of the Balkan States was followed by vast acquisitions of territory in European Turkey which brought within the sphere of the Governments of the Balkans their nationals formerly under Turkish rule. Once again Europe was satisfied with the rearrangement of the Turkish Empire in Europe, which, it is significant, in consideration of present day rumours to oust the Turk from Europe, left Thrace, the City and the Straits in Turkish hands. It may be, this decision was unavoidable because of the inability of the Balkan States to push on by force of arms their victory by the capture of Constantinople itself, rather than because the bulk of the population was predominantly Turkish in race and sentiment. In Europe, therefore, there should be no cause militating against the observance of the *status quo ante* in regard to Turkey. In the Asiatic provinces, too, it is difficult to see how anything more than the

grant of autonomy to the various peoples under the rule of the Sultan can be a better solution without an open policy of annexation clothed perhaps under the guise of a protectorate over this or that province by one or more alien powers. The idea of a protectorate over a province in itself implies that its peoples are not fitted for enjoying complete independence, else why a protectorate at all? It clashes, too, with the spirit of self-determination, since the protecting power must necessarily concern itself with the internal affairs of the country it seeks to protect. The ruler, too, of such a province would be a nominee of the protecting power, bereft of absolute discretionary powers in the administration of his province. Perhaps in the case of Armenia, alone among the Asiatic provinces in the Empire, could complete independence be granted its people, since they are a people totally distinct from the Turks in race and religion. Besides, assisted by cultured Armenians in Europe and America, there seems a hope of an independent Armenia being realised. In Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia, with their motley populations of Turks, Arabs, Jews, Christians, etc., their case could best be determined by acknowledging the suzerainty of the Sultan with full parliamentary administration accorded to their peoples. There remains the Hedjaz, the destiny of which is, for Europe, something to be considered very seriously. It is true, the Arabs are a distinct race from the Turks, but in customs and religion they are strictly one with the Turks and have everything else in common with the latter, so that the mere question of race loses much of its force especially when not backed by any capability for administrative affairs. Indeed, it has been said that Arab rule is no substitute for Turkish rule. Besides the Hedjaz being truly to the Moslems their Holy Land, the spiritual and temporal rule would seem to be inseparable. The best thing for Europe—nay the safest course—would be to let the question of the Hedjaz be exclusively one for the Moslem World to decide as to its future status in the New World. The seal of the Conference to such decision might *then* be attached. Europe must recognise at least this much—if it at all cannot comprehend why temporal and spiritual matters should be considered inseparable in this particular quarter of the world—that the Hedjaz is truly to the Moslem a Heaven on Earth—a land of pilgrimage to which Moslems from all parts of the world in thousands repair. Let not only the Indian Moslems have their say, but Moslems in all parts of the World—and let the Peace Conference then give careful attention and due weight to it and set its seal accordingly. The suzerainty, especially in the case of the Hedjaz, of the Sultan must be acknowledged by the dominant principle of religion introduced into it."

3. "It is impossible not to sympathise with the extremely grave problem which the Mussalmans of India have to face in regard to the world settlement which is being reached in the deliberations of the Peace Conference..... The reaction of the position of Islam in the world on Indian political thought has been one of the most remarkable landmarks in Indian politics in so far as it has made the Mussalmans, at one time almost hostile to the Congress creed, come out in the forefront of the political fight. The Mussalmans happen to be to-day the most advanced political sections of the Indian population because of these subtle influences from across the borders, and with characteristic frankness and in an outspoken manner, they have raised important issues in this connection in the press and on the platform. The speeches at the last Congress and League sessions of Hakim Ajmalkhan, Dr. Ansari and Mr. Fazlul Huq and many others gave a fleeting view of the real feeling which is surging in the minds of the rank and file and we cannot help feeling that for the statesmen of the United Kingdom at the present moment, there is perhaps no Imperial problem of such a far-reaching character as the pacification of Mussalman opinion in India by a tactful handling of the problem of Turkey at the Peace Conference..... We feel great sympathy with these Moslem critics in their embittered outbursts of this character. Even if based on solid facts, we, however, feel that these will not help them unless they organise public opinion throughout this country and fix it on this one question so that the cry of Indian Moslems might reach out to the world, so that the statesmen of England might feel that any small advantages in the direction of

Young India (15), 29th Jan.

Mesopotamia and the Bosphorus would be dearly purchased if they cause serious discontent in Moslem hearts in India. Protests have been already heard againt these impending disasters from Bengal and Madras. As a centre of Moslem opinion, Bombay was always regarded as somewhat backward, but we hope that, in view of the serious issues involved, the Mussalmans of Bombay will register their respectful and emphatic protests against irresponsible schemes for the disposal of Islamic countries and for the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire which are being mooted everywhere and which if not averted by timely action will soon materialise into hard and unpleasant facts." [Elsewhere the paper writes :—" The Aga Khan and other prominent Mussulmans in London have addressed a letter to Mr. Balfour, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, protesting against the irresponsible suggestions for handing over Constantinople to the keeping of a Christian State. These suggestions which have been welcomed among Junkers are not only irresponsible but also mischievous. It is the duty of the British Government to give a quietus to these mischievous suggestions by making at once an unequivocal declaration that it is not the aim or the objective of Great Britain to destroy Turkey as an integral power in Europe and that she will not allow any other European power to whet its appetite for territorial aggrandisement at the expense of Turkey. Without this declaration, the occupation of Constantinople by an allied British and French force under General Wilson is open to great misconstruction and resentment, especially among Indian Mussulmans. For it is too soon to forget the late Roosevelt's silly cry of driving the Turk out of Europe. At least to our thinking, the business of driving the Turk out of Europe is not so easy, and were it so, Great Britain, as a great Mussalman power, cannot countenance any such action without exposing herself to very serious consequences within her own dominions."]

4. The *Muslim Herald* says that the whole world and particularly the Musalmans are watching with great anxiety the proceedings of the Peace Conference, as the ultimate decision with regard to the holy places of Islam and the question of the *Khalifate* depends upon it. It remarks that the situation is disappointing as there is no Musalman representative in the Conference. It asks as to who will advocate the Muslim cause, and press upon the Conference the legitimacy of the aspirations of the Muhammadans. The paper says that Haziq-ul-Mulk Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari have already made clear the views of the Musalmans on the matter, and advises the people to wait and see how their representations affect Government. Referring to Mr. Balfour's reply to the letter published in the London *Times* by His Highness the Aga Khan and others, the paper asks how the aspirations of the Musalmans will be fulfilled when there is none on the Conference to represent their interests. The only way of hope, says the paper, lies in the expectation that the British Government will represent their cause, as it includes among its subjects some 70 millions of Muhammadans. In conclusion the paper warns Government that its apathy towards the questions affecting the Musalmans is causing a great deal of anxiety in the hearts of the Young Muslims and it is high time that Government should adopt means to pacify them.

Muslim Herald (151), 31st Jan.

5. His Highness the Aga Khan, Mr. Ameer Ali and other Moslem leaders have given their opinion that Constantinople and the territory to its north in Europe should remain in the hands of the Turks just like Asia Minor. Every one is placing his opinion on minor questions before President Wilson. The rule that one's own Government should be supported is not at all observed in England, Ireland and Europe. Labour questions are likely to be discussed in the Peace Conference. What is there to be laughed at in these circumstances if the Congress passes a resolution requesting that its own delegates should be admitted into the Peace Conference ? Those who like to make an exhibition of their teeth in this connection had better see what is going on in Ireland, England and France and also consider what men like the Aga Khan in the confidence of Government are doing.

All have a right to place their demands before the Peace Conference.

Kesari (114), 28th Jan.

6. The principle of 'No annexations and no indemnities' was accepted by almost all nations when the War was going in favour of Germany. But none of the Allies are now prepared to say that it will be strictly observed when they have won the war. It is almost settled that England should retain the German colonies purely for the benefit of the natives. British rule has become most popular in the German colonies in Africa and the natives declare that they do not now wish to return to German rule. If they are made wholly independent Germany might re-conquer them and that is not desirable. So England will be compelled to include the German colonies in her Empire for the benefit of the natives and because the natives insist upon it. Similarly the Arabs of Mecca, Medina and the other holy places of Islam are tired of the Turkish rule. England will have, therefore, to raise some Arab nobleman to the position of Sultan under her protection. In like manner as soon as Mesopotamia was conquered by the British the inhabitants thereof realised the immense benefits of British rule and, taking advantage of the principle of self-determination, are likely to ask to continue to remain under it. So although the principle of 'No annexations' had found favour at first it will now have to be abandoned out of sheer necessity.

England and the principle of no annexation.
Rájakáran (123), 26th Jan.

7. Commenting on the announcement regarding demobilisation of British troops, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"What about the Indian troops? The authorities are keeping the public of India in the dark as to the extent of demobilisation they propose to carry out in the Indian expeditionary forces. It may be that the demand from Indian soldiers for speedy release and return to their homes has not been so vocal as that of British soldiers and they will prove more tractable than the troops who marched to Whitehall and held up trains at Dover. But human nature being what it is, it will be folly to imagine that, the war being practically at an end, the Indian soldier, too, does not yearn as eagerly as his British comrade to be back among his relatives and friends with the least possible delay. What are the Indian Army authorities going to do to meet this natural yearning? As we have said, the demand may not be as vocal as among British soldiers, but it is bound to exist and the authorities will do well to anticipate it in advance. If it is true that the army of occupation in Mesopotamia will be preponderatingly Indian, it means that the day of release for a great number of Indian troops will be indefinitely put off. The army of occupation in Palestine and Trans-Caucasia will also be largely Indian. A large number of troops will be stationed in East Africa also. All this means that for all practical purposes demobilisation, so far as the Indian Army is concerned, will be hung up for many months. It is useless to disguise the fact that these extra burdens on the Indian soldiers will be imposed out of consideration for the increasing demand for release on the part of British troops. We trust that in fairness to the Indian soldier the Government of India will not allow undue advantage to be taken of the docility of our troops to keep them abroad for a longer period than is alsolutely warranted by military requirements and that no inequitable discrimination will be exercised in the matter of demobilisation in favour of British troops, imposing undue burdens on the Indian army. The public of India will be glad to have an assurance from responsible quarters that strict justice will be meted out to the Indian soldier in regard to his own claims to a speedy release from service. In connection with the arrangements for the army of occupation in Mesopotamia, Palestine, Turkarstan, etc., there is one other point that needs elucidating. If the Indian troops are henceforth to be kept abroad in distant countries to safeguard Imperial interests and to suit Imperial exigencies, the burden of their upkeep should not fall on India but on the Imperial Exchequer. The military burdens undertaken by India during the war have been overwhelming and to ask the Indian people to undergo further expenditure in the interests of the Empire would be unjust, especially when India continues to be treated like a Cinderella of the Empire when it is the question of sharing the fruits of victory." [The *Young India* also protests against India being made to pay for the Indian army of occupation in Mesopotamia.]

Indian troops must be demobilised without unnecessary delay.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th Jan.; *Young India* (15), 30th Jan.

8. A correspondent writes to the *Kesari*:—The famine conditions prevailing in the Sirur Taluka (district Poona) are so severe that they pass all imagination. With a few exceptions all villages in the taluka are famine stricken. The condition of cattle is very pitiable and unbearable to the sight. Many are sent to the Mavals, but unused to the fodder there some of them have already perished and the remaining are likely to be of no practical use in the future. Inspite of the liberal policy of Government in supplying fodder, one has still to go to the Taluka station to obtain a certificate. This grievance should be removed and arrangements should be made to supply ample fodder for all sorts of cattle. Some merchants are trying to relieve the situation by buying and sending cattle to Konkan. But this is done on a very small scale. The condition of men also has become unbearable past all description. All the people are extremely careworn. Bagait crops are about four annas. The Jirait crops have all been lost and ought to have been granted full remissions. But Patils and Talatis were still to be found preparing anna value reports and returns. Savkars and others also have taken this opportunity to enhance the rates of interest to three and four annas per rupee. It is high time that the Bagait cultivators and others should be granted Takavi. The plight of the labourer is all the more heart-rending. No famine works have yet been started. In Sirur Taluka about 1,650 labourers were found at work breaking metal; but nobody seems to have taken care about their daily wages and other arrangements. At first payments per head were of only five pice a day, and though this scale is said to have been now doubled it is still insufficient. Grain prices are exorbitant whether due to the Controller or not. Even the middle classes are feeling the hunger pinch; what then of the poor? [The paper also publishes reports of famine conditions from various other places:—Gaodhegule (district Ratnágiri).—Villagers have prepared anna valuation of crops which comes to four annas. Village officers and Talatis are pressing people for payment of assessment. Applications have been sent to the Commissioner and the Bombay Government for remissions. The condition of the people has become very wretched and people have not got food sufficient for one meal even in reserve. Sátára Road.—Famine is making people suffer terribly. Thousands of plough and other cattle are dying. At Koregaon there is a Government depôt of fodder but it is not available for one and all. Chandagad (district Belgaum).—Prices of foodstuffs are ruling very high. It is surprising that officials should not still realise the severe character of famine in our district. In this part famine has not been declared and the remission question does not seem to have been yet considered. Jamagaon (Nagar).—High prices are ruling. In Bagait lands fodder crops are being raised. Government have resolved to collect assessment from Bagait lands. If they do so because fodder crops have been raised, the condition of cattle will become terrible.]

Famine conditions in the Sirur Taluka (Poona) and other places.
Kesari (114), 28th Jan.

9. A correspondent from Khed (Poona) writes:—Government have not yet opened any relief works on this side, but their opening should not be postponed in the belief that the agriculturists are in a position to face the situation as they do not join such works on the low rates of wages fixed by the Famine Code. Unless these rates, which are inadequate in these days of high prices, are increased the situation cannot be improved. We request Government therefore to start forthwith famine works and also to issue orders in the matter of suspensions and remissions of land revenue.

Dnyán Prakásh (39), 30th Jan.

10. The *Bombay Samáchár* thanks the Government of India for their kindness in removing the inter-provincial restrictions on the transit of food-grains with certain exceptions and expresses the hope that such a step on the part of Government will go some way in checking the rise in the prices of food-stuffs. It tries to impress upon Government the necessity of using their good offices with the Admiralty to get the freights between Burma and India lowered so that Indians may be able to get Burma rice at cheaper rates than those at present prevailing. It also requests Government to adopt measures to keep the prices

High prices and famine in the Presidency.
Bombay Samáchár (63), 29th Jan.; *Hindusthán* (22), 29th Jan.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 29th Jan.; *Gujarát Mitra* (19), 26th Jan.; *Deshodaya* (68), 28th Jan.

of vegetables and other articles within reasonable limits and to take care to to see that the prices fixed by the Controller are adhered to by the shop-keepers. It further asks Government to standardise the living wage and insist upon the employers giving nothing less than that wage to their employees. [The *Hindusthán* also expresses gratification at the step taken by Government in removing the inter-provincial restrictions in the matter of certain food-grains, but protests against the Government control over rice, wheat and gram and strongly urges the removal of such control in the interests of the general public. A correspondent writes to the *Jám-e-Jamshed* complaining of the severity of famine in the Surat District and calls upon Government to declare famine in that district and to grant the necessary remissions and suspensions to the agriculturists. The *Gujarát Mitra* and *Deshodaya* dwell upon the distress prevailing in the Presidency due to famine and urge the necessity of removing Government control over the transit of food-stuffs.]

*11. "We do not think that a mere relaxation of the inter-provincial and inter-district restrictions will go far towards affording adequate relief to the people who have been hard hit by the abnormally high prices prevailing in the presidency. The pre-war freight from Rangoon to Bombay per ton was between Rs. 6 and 7, whilst the prevailing rate was Rs. 40 which was reduced this week to Rs. 30. Surely Government ought to make more shipping available and reduce the freight charges to about Rs. 20..... The relaxation of restrictions upon the movement of food-grains cannot of itself ease the situation to a substantial extent unless Government fully appreciate its gravity and the sufferings of the people and make up their mind without delay to import continuous supplies of rice and other food-stuffs even at special concession rates. Government will be deemed to have failed in their duty at this juncture if they will pay more regard to financial consideration than to the urgent wants of the people. What is the use of removing restrictions upon the movement of food-grains, if the requisite railway facilities for the transport of surplus stocks of grain at reduced rates are not available? Cold calculations and considerations of influential vested interests, whether in this Presidency or Rangoon, ought not to weigh with Government in the presence of acute distress. The usual circumlocution methods of officialdom are wholly unsuited to meet the present emergency affecting millions of men, women and children. Press communiques are issued at painfully and unconscionably long intervals and the public are wholly kept in the dark as regards the measures actually taken by Government to afford relief. That is unfair both to themselves and the anxious public. If their dilatory methods and reticence are misunderstood or adversely criticised, surely the critics are not to blame for it. Government ought to issue a press communique at least once a fortnight, explaining what measures, both private and official, have been organised to relieve distress and to what extent they have succeeded."

Gujaráti (18), 2nd Feb., Eng. cols.

12. We have already proved that the currency policy of Government is greatly responsible for the rise in prices. Transport difficulties and the restrictions of the Controller also are responsible. The shortage of waggons is due to the orders of the Controller. On some lines there is shortage of waggons and on some lines waggons run without any load. In the Nizam's Dominions, waggons are lying idle and in United Provinces and the Punjáb the need for more waggons is felt. The Shipping Controller says that by the end of February or beginning of March boats will be available as in pre-war days and that they may not have sufficient goods to convey. If this is true why should not Bengal coal be brought by sea and waggons released for foodstuffs? It is necessary that the Controller should be removed. There is no free movement of foodstuffs now and a sort of monopoly is created. It may be that cholera is to be found in Bombay because pure Rangoon rice is not digested in Bombay properly and because *juvari* and *bajri* to which the people are accustomed cannot be had. Some think that worthless rice sent to Mesopotamia was returned from there and that it was sold in Bombay and that it added to the disease. Government should make an inquiry into this. They should not look only to cheapness. They should issue permits to bring foodstuffs to which people are accustomed though they may sell dear.

Kesari (114), 28th Jan.

13. "The relaxation of control by the Government of India will undoubtedly remove considerable difficulties in the way of transmission of food-stuffs from different parts of the country to the worst affected areas. But the relief afforded is not at all adequate. In the first place, wheat, rice and gram have been excluded from the Government of India's orders because they are already under the control of the Foodstuffs Commissioner. Now, it is a matter of common knowledge that there is a great difference in the prices of wheat which prevail in the Punjáb markets and those that prevail in Bombay—a result due to inefficient control of wheat in the Punjáb. Again, rice in Burma is cheap and plentiful and as, in previous famine years, it should be imported in large quantities. To relieve the situation considerably the Food Commissioner has been able to do something in this direction, but whatever the quantity of rice that may be imported in Bombay or other ports in India, the price to the consumer is almost prohibitive. The principal cause of this is the excessively high freight charged. In the famine year of 1900 freight for rice from Rangoon to Bombay was between Rs. 6 and 7 per ton and approximately the same rate prevailed before the war. Now it is Rs. 40, with the result that the controlled price of rice to consumers in Bombay is doubled. Thus for every ton of rice the Government ship, or allow merchants to ship, to Bombay they make a profit of over Rs. 30, and that out of the miseries of the starving poor..... If rice can be had at cheaper rates than jowar and bajri—the staple food of the people, but now very dear—the prices of the latter will also fall. In this connection we must draw the attention of the authorities concerned to the absence of control, either in Rangoon or Bombay, over sixteen parts cargo rice. Large quantities of this rice have been shipped from Rangoon and will arrive in Bombay shortly. The control price of big mill special rice is Rs. 335 per 100 baskets in Rangoon. The price per one bag of six maunds of this rice was Rs. 13·3 in Bombay a day or two ago. This price may go down, when more supply of the new crop comes, to about Rs. 12-8. If 16 parts cargo rice (which is bought in Rangoon at Rs. 270 per 100 baskets) comes here it may be sold at Rs. 11-8 or Rs. 12 per bag. It will thus naturally be more profitable for the merchants to import this uncontrolled rice and for the millers and middlemen in Rangoon to deal in it. The result of this will be a continued diminution in the supply of controlled rice. The sufferer, ultimately, will, of course, be the consumers. Government should, therefore, intervene and control all rice both in Rangoon and Bombay. The cry that control is resented by the Burmese cultivator is a misleading and interested one. Control or no control, the latter remains practically unaffected. In fact, on account of control he has been able to secure more favourable rates for his paddy in comparison with previous years. Control affects the excessive profiteering of the millers—most of whom are Europeans—and the middlemen and speculators. Finally we hope, when it is decided to abolish shipping control, Government will not fail to make necessary arrangements to have rice imported from Burma to famine areas at special concession rates. Apart from the necessity of bringing the freight as near the pre-war level as possible, there is an equally urgent need for increased railway facilities for conveyance of foodstuffs from Indian ports into the interior at specially reduced rates and from one district to another in the various provinces. The Government of Bombay, in the communiqué issued yesterday, state that they are anixous that there should be free trade as far as possible in grain between the various districts of the Presidency. This is satisfactory so far as it goes. There is, however, a general belief that the high prices are also, to a considerable extent, due to the expenditure which has to be undergone in getting priority certificates and wagons. The whole situation requires to be promptly examined and the distress, which has manifested itself in recent strikes in Bombay which may conceivably lead to similar manifestation in other parts of the Presidency, demands an open discussion of the remedial steps that are called for. We have yet to pass through more trying times and the sooner the matter is handled the better. The best way would be to have an immediate session of the Legislative Council. Since the last meeting of the Council, the situation in the city and

Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Jan.; *Servant of India* (9), 30th Jan.

in the Presidency has grown worse..... A meeting of the Council will give Sir George Lloyd an insight into the realities of the situation and help his Government in concerting prompt and satisfactory measures of relief." [The *Servant of India* makes similar comments on the freight from Rangoon to Bombay and the control of Burma rice.]

*14. "The reduction of freight from Rs. 55 to Rs. 30 per ton, announced lately by the Shipping Controller, will prove the gross incompetency hitherto shown by that high authority, and will show us clearly how things are wantonly mismanaged by the bureaucracy to the grave prejudice of the famine-stricken people of India. We learn from a good authority that the Admiralty chartered ships for a few rupees a ton, and also the fact that the authorities pay only Rs. 20 a ton to the B. I. S. N. Company for bringing rice from Rangoon to Bombay. These facts planily prove that yet a great amount of profiteering is still going on in the Government circles. This must be peremptorily stopped at once, and the freight reduced to the actual payment made by Government for chartering the ships. Government may tax the excess profits, but must not tax the starving stomachs of the poverty-ridden Indians."

Mahrátta (7), 2nd Feb.

15. "There are some important lessons which the strike has taught, and from which, we hope, the capitalist and bureaucratic classes will benefit. One is that it has dispelled the notion that the Indian masses cannot combine in a common cause, because, forsooth, they are separated by caste and religions, and another is the shattering blow which it has dealt at the shibboleth of the bureaucracy that they and they alone are the friends of the masses. To take the last first, we cannot but notice the outstanding fact that the advice which the Governor gave at the instance of some bureaucratic members of his Government was futile because the men were in no mood to parley with their demands. It is a pity that the advisers of Sir George Lloyd could not read the situation properly. On the strength of unreliable reports as to the condition of the strikers and their determination to hold out, the Governor was advised to intervene in a great struggle between capital and labour in a characteristically bureaucratic fashion..... If the Governor was not personally acquainted with the state of shings, it was the business of his advisers to have acquainted him with it beforehand. Past experience in these matters is snch that any Governor with a sure instinct for statesmanship would have declined to follow the lines laid down by the bureaucrats of the Bombay Secretariat and the Police Commissioner. He should have also realised from the failure of the trusted leaders of the people in the first instance that it was no use for him to assume a grand-fatherly attitude with the men and give them unprofitable advice. For, it does not matter in the least whether such counsel was given by Mr. Carmichael or Mr. Curtis or even Mr. Vincent. These are the last persons to be trusted to know the working of the men's minds and it is certainly to be regretted that at the very outset of his career Sir George Lloyd should have been misled by his counsellors. It was an invidious position which the Governor was forced to take, but which he should not have taken. We hope Sir George Lloyd is now sufficiently convinced that there is not a shred of justification for the presumption of a Civilian bureaucracy that it is the friend, philosopher and guide of the masses in this country. If there was the slightest justification for such presumption, its failure in connection with the present strike has destroyed it, and shown up the bureaucracy as a dull, soulless machine, trusted neither by the intelligentzia nor by the masses. It is not astonishing either, that the forces of reaction should have arrayed themselves in an attempt to break the strike. The tactics to which they resorted in order to achieve this end are only too transparent to be mentioned. It has yet to be made out that the ordinary police were not sufficient for maintaining law and order or that there were just causes for apprehending danger to life and property on a scale which demanded the presence of large military forces. Police guards and military pickets were, we understand, voluntarily posted at all the mills and large reserves of the military and the police maintained at various points in the strike area. We do not complain

Some lessons of the Bombay mill-hands' strike.
Young India (15), 29th Jan.

if these were merely intended to protect lives or property. But it is obvious that they were intended to overawe and crush the spirit of the strikers. The strikers were, towards the close, prevented from coming together or holding peaceful meetings or organize demonstrations to obtain public sympathy for their demands. We have heard it said in reliable quarters that a Territorial unit refused to fire on the strikers when ordered to do so, and consequently it was replaced by large nembers of the I. D. F. men. It is indeed praiseworthy of the Territorials who did so. Most of these Territorials have been themselves labourers, before they donned their Khaki uniforms and they know what it means to fight out capitalism. That despite all the discouraging circumstances, the labourers should have have obtained liberal concessions to their demands is a happy sign of the awakening of the industrial proletariat in India."

Kesari (114), 28th Jan.

16. The *Kesari* is of opinion that the strike pay should be given to the mill-hands. In some mills, it says, the mill-owners closed the mills in order that they might not be subjected to loss and allowed the mill-hands to go out. It holds that in some mills at least it would be quite unjust to withhold the strike pay and it thinks that it is not desirable to allow this sore feeling to remain in the minds of mill-hands. The paper also refers to many other strikes following the strike of mill-hands and says:—Those who struck work and who were about to strike got some increase but it cannot be said that all the servants in various departments have had their grievances redressed. Teachers in Municipal schools have not got any increase. They are to get something but it should be considered whether the increment would be adequate. Unless the increase is in proportion to the high prices prevailing the servant-world will not be satisfied. Even the 35 per cent. increase is inadequate if we consider the fact that the prices have increased in some cases 114 per cent. and in others 300 per cent. That is why the mill-hands told plainly while the strike was on that they should be given foodstuffs, etc., at the rate prevailing in 1905 and that they did not want any increase in pay at all. The universal demand for increase of pay is not based on imaginary grievances or mere obstinacy, but it has some solid grounds at its back.

Gujaráti (18), 26th Jan.; *Bombay Samáchár* (63), 31st Jan.

17. The *Gujaráti* expresses gratification at the peaceful termination of the mill strike and is of opinion that the mill operatives would have resumed work earlier if the police had taken greater care to disperse the bands of rowdy mill-hands who had made it their business to annoy those who were willing to resume work. It cannot agree with the idea suggested by the *Bombay Chronicle* that the strike was prolonged because some of the public workers could not get in touch with the strikers as they were being followed by members of the C. I. D. It also scouts the insinuations made in certain quarters that the strikers were instigated to hold on by some secret agency and that they were even supplied with funds. It is inclined to believe that it was the inadequacy of the wages and the prevailing high prices that drove the mill-hands to make common cause and show an united front in the matter of organising the strike and considers it a hopeful sign of the times that the illiterate mill-hands should have of their own accord resorted to such a strike. It does not approve of the unwillingness of the mill-hands to bring the strike to an end even after the grant of the concessions demanded by them merely on the hollow plea of securing wages for the strike days. [The *Bombay Samáchár* thanks His Excellency the Governor for his kind intervention in the matter of putting an end to the strike in a manner favourable to the mill operatives and requests His Excellency to appoint a conciliation board to meet future contingencies and also dwells upon the necessity of taking measures to lower the prevailing high prices.]

Comments on Sir S. P. Sinha's elevation to the peerage.

Young India (15), 29th Jan.

18. "It is rather amusing to read the following in the *Mahrátta*:—'By his admission to this rank, the British Cabinet has once for all broken for Indians the hitherto impassable barriers to the entrance to the highest rank in the Empire, and has, so far as this honour is concerned, for the first time, during the last 150 years of British rule, fulfilled the promises given to us by

the Parliamentary statutes and proclamations.' A peerage for Sinha is a distinct diplomatic manœuvre on the part of the Lloyd George Ministry and we are grateful for all it implies; but to regard it as a fulfilment of past promises and pledges savours somewhat of mental degeneracy. From one point of view the appointment coupled with a peerage is a distinctly retrogressive step. Apart from the merits of its recipient, our reasons for condemning the action of the Prime Minister are twofold. In the first place, it tends to undermine and weaken the forces of nationalism in the country and, secondly, it conveys to ignorant outsiders an impression that Indians are placed on a footing of equality in the Empire—an impression which is altogether unjustified. It argues a lack of proper perspective among Indians to look upon the appointment in the light of the exuberant expressions of our Poona contemporary."

19. "At a time when Moslems all over the country are agitated by feelings of grave anxiety, it is both dangerous and outrageous that certain Anglo-Indian journals should be allowed license to indulge in provoking irresponsible attacks on their religion..... It was only the other day that the *Indian Daily News* published an article regarding the Prophet's tomb, which stirred the depths of Moslem feeling throughout the country and led the Government of Bengal to the commission of a blunder which culminated in the tragedy of the Calcutta riots. Now comes in its wake the letter in the missionary journal *Epiphany*..... Journals like the *Epiphany*—thanks to the immunity they enjoy under the existing dispensation—do not realise the danger of the path they tread in encouraging such reckless allegations which are calculated to cause the deepest pain and resentment among a numerous and sorely-tried section of His Majesty's subjects, not to speak of millions of their co-religionists all the world over. But what are the Government doing? How long will they continue to let the feeling grow among the Moslems that they cannot 'expect any protection from Goverment from the aggression of Christian writers and speakers'? Has the tragedy of the Calcutta riots had no lesson for them? On this question the Government of Bengal have now issued a communique explaining the policy of the *Epiphany* and reproving the Editor for his thoughtless publication. They, however, are advised not to take any action against the offending paper and say that the Editor will give his apology. We are not so sure aboubt the helplessness of the Government in matters of this kind; but we hope missionary papers will take it as a serious warning against the habit of libelling other religions for proselytising purposes."

Comments on the Bengal Government's communique on the attack by the *Epiphany* on the Musalman religion.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Feb.

***20.** "It seems that the warning given by Government to the *Indian Daily News* not to indulge in invective against the prophet of Islam has fallen flat upon some Anglo-Indian papers, and a missionary rag the *Epiphany* has now published a letter from some one who has beat even the *Indian Daily News* in levelling most revolting charges against the Muhammadan Prophet. Here is an extract from it.—' That such a custom (purdah) should endure so long in the world is not without reason. The Muhammadan world has seen no philosopher in the true sense of the word nor has any free thinker been born in them. Its founder Mahommad himself seems to have been a voluptuous man and as such he has established such a bad institution. It is indeed wonderful to notice, Mr. Editor, that so many of our learned men also range Mahommad in the same rank with Christ and Buddha. We find not any such attributes in him that were possessed by the two latter. He had no touch of philosophy and the Quran is but the translation of the Bible only something altered. It is, therefore, no wonder that he orginated such an evil custom. Lastly it is but the ignorance with which the intellect of my fellow-brethren is shrouded that does not allow them to understand the glaring unreasonableness of the custom.' The writing is simply rank heresy and is sure to inflame the passions and religious sentiments of our Musalman brothers. We are, however, amazed to see how it passes by unmolested by the Press Act and section 153-A of the Indian Penal Code. The Government of Bengal say that it does, but we are emphatically of opinion that it does not, and cannot, as long as the all-comprehensive word

Mahrátta (7), 2nd Feb.

'otherwise' remains in the first Act. The Bengal Government are surely wrongly advised on the point. The editor of the journal has, however, expressed his regret and it is for the Muhammadan community to see whether this would satisfy."

Alleged offence to Musalman sentiments in certain educational and law books.

Political Bhomiyo (76), 31st Jan.

21. The *Political Bhomiyo* publishes a letter wherein "certain Muhammadans of Gujarát" complain that Muhammadan sentiments are wounded by such epithets as "cunning", "ambitious" and "cruel" used in connection with Aurangzeb in Marsden's History of India recognised by the Educational Department and taught in schools. They also complain that a law book entitled "Police Patil" published by Mr. Govind Gopalji Desai, a retired Mamlátdar, uses, when illustrating crimes, names of men and women held sacred by Musalmans as those of persons who have committed those crimes.

Comments on the total prohibition of the drink traffic in the United States of America.

Home Ruler (5), 25th Jan.; *New Times* (8), 25th Jan.

22. Commenting on the total prohibition of the drink traffic in the United States of America the *Home Ruler* remarks:—"In this connection it is interesting to know what has been done in India. Though the other countries are not prepared to go as far as America, on account of the world war and the adverse effects of the use of alcohol on the national strength, they have taken steps to diminish its consumption as far as possible. But so far as the Bombay Presidency is concerned we find that the revenue from excise has actually increased, and to propitiate public opinion the Government allotted it to the use of the Educational Department. But we don't want any half measures or this trifling with principles. The fact is that India is by far the best fitted country for the operation of total prohibition against the use of alcohol. The climate does not necessitate its use; the people are too miserably poor to afford it; and above all its use offends the religious susceptibilities of the people. While everywhere else the Government is anxious for prohibition while the people will not sanction it, here we have the curious spectacle of the Government opposing prohibition while the people vehemently ask for it..... We admit that the prohibition will be hard on the Europeans and Anglo-Indians to whom the use of alcohol is the eleventh commandment but we believe no one is prepared to opine that the whole Indian nation should suffer untold misery in order to gratify the drinking propensities of these gentlemen. The example of America will have a tremendous influence all the world over and we trust that even the Indian bureaucracy will not prove unresponsive to it". [The *New Times* remarks:—"The Abkari Policy of our Government stands discredited in the eyes of the civilised world by the daring innovation of the United States. It will not be difficult to prohibit drink totally in India, whose people are amongst the most sober on earth. In spite of half-hearted restrictions on the sale of alcoholic beverages the drink revenue of India is going up by leaps and bounds year after year. Sometime ago Lord Willingdon had recourse to a novel way of disposing of the drink surplus. He gave it for the expansion of education. But no sensible Indian advocates that his son should receive education at the cost of the utter ruin of his brother."]

Kesari (114), 28th Jan.; *Subodh Patrika* (47), 26th Jan.

23. America has gone dry. We do not know when England will follow this example, but England should imitate, America immediately. England is spreading the consumption of liquor in India on the grounds that the poor must have something to drink, that it is not possible to give up the habit, that it does not matter if drinking is on moderate lines and that the profits made out of the trade need not be given up. But England can no longer justify this unpraiseworthy act after the laws America has passed. If the desire of England to remain sunk in the liquor cask is not destroyed by America's example, India requests the Indian bureaucracy that

England should not at least commit the sin of dragging India into the cask any longer. [The *Subodh Patrika* also calls upon Government to follow the example of America.]

Comments on the proscription by the Punjáb Government of the address of Dr. Ansari, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Delhi session of the Moslem League.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd Feb.

*24. "Sir Michael O'Dwyer has, after meditating for a month on the address of Dr. Ansari, discovered that it contains matter likely to incite people to acts of violence and half-a-dozen other evils, and declared all copies of the address forfeit to His Majesty. Among the many antics of repression for which he has been responsible, the present feat will hold pride of place. Alexander wept because there were no more worlds left to conquer. Sir Michael may, on the eve of his retirement and with the performance of his latest feat, well wonder if there is anything more left for him to do for ensuring his title to Prussian deportment. He has always exhibited a degree of convulsive swiftness in misusing his powers, and it is not easy to see how after a month, during which the address under interdict has been read and re-read by millions, it has occurred to him to anathematise it. He may be a month behind the rest of the world in newspaper reading or he might have left it to the spirit of his absent brother in Delhi to assert itself and gain the credit of automatically squirting out a dose of Haileyism. The address of Dr. Ansari was a firm and outspoken statement of the views of millions of Moslems concerning the future of the Khalifate and, incidentally, of the safety of the sanctuaries of Islam. There was in it not a trace of disloyalty to the King-Emperor, nor did it contain any incitement to treasonable conduct. Genuine statesmanship should welcome open pronouncements of this kind, but it is too much to expect swashbucklers of the type of Sir Michael O'Dwyer to benefit by the advice of caution. The speech of Dr. Ansari was, as befitted the man and the occasion, clear and unequivocating. It was a defensive argument about the indivisibility of the Khalifate and the guardianship of the holy places of Islam. Doctrinal exposition based on the Koran is absolutely legitimate, and no man will consent to the qualification of that right. We refer to the principle, because Dr. Ansari's address was really an interpretation or, more properly, a bare recital of textual injuncitions in the Koran, and it is sheer inanity to introduce charges of incitement about a speech which solemnly accepted the rule of political loyalty to the King and appealed for brotherliness towards all communities. The present time is one, it is well-known, of anxiety and prayer-fulness in all Moslem hearts. If Sir Michael O'Dwyer cannot sympathise with the attitude, he might at least realise it. In this issue, it is his act which is aggressive and provocative of evil and not the speech of Dr. Ansari. No Moslem will apologise for the speech; in fact it was a great relief that Dr. Ansari took the opporunity at Delhi of clearly defining the attitude of millions of people. In substance, the plea for Dr. Ansari is not, we believe, very different from the defence of the Aga Khan and others touching the safety of Constantinople and the future of Muslim territory, though, in the latter case, the predominance of population has been apparently more emphasised. We hope that, in a more sober and collected mood, Sir Michael will realise the futility of his vehement interdict after the lapse of a full month from the day of the speech. For the present we can only hope that this is the final display of unreason and panic which the people of the Punjáb have to see from the retiring satrap. So much for Sir Michael O'Dwyer. His action, however, raises an issue of tremendous importance affecting as it does the sentiments and rights of the entire Moslem community in India. It is not necessary, for the present, to dwell on the effect which the blunder of Sir Michael O'Dwyer is bound to have on Moslems all over the country and on all sections of their fellow-countrymen who fully sympathise with them in their anxieties regarding the fate of the Khalifate and Turkey. We earnestly trust the gravity of the situation that must arise, if the wrong done is not immediately rectified, is not lost upon the Government of India and hope that in this, his latest manifestation of Prussianism Sir Michael O'Dwyer has acted on his own initiative. At all

events, we urge upon the Government of India to intervene and secure the withdrawal of the uncalled-for, unjust and provoking order at once. We are living in critical times which do not admit of experiments of this character being made with the deepest sentiments of the people. The occasion demands on the part of Lord Chelmsford statesmanship of the stamp displayed by Lord Hardinge in settling the Cawnpore Mosque affair."

25. Referring to the Sinn Fein movement, the *Karnátak Vaibhav* writes:—We do not know where matters will end as Irishmen have taken the law into their own hands. It appears that they tried all methods and were tired of them and that they have resorted to this best remedy.

The Sinn Fein movement in Ireland.
Karnátak Vaibhav (88), 28th Jan.

26. "There is an immemorial tradition which has been steadily hammered into our heads that the government by the people is peculiarly of British origin, that the Britishers are by far the most liberal and politically advanced people on the surface of the earth and that their success in dealing with colonies and subject races is without precedent or parallel. But a little examination of this modest claim reveals results which will be hardly palatable to the same Britisher. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* gives details of the political conditions in Goa which are highly interesting in themselves and give rise to an uncomfortable suspicion that the claims of the Britisher cannot be made good. It seems that the native Goanese enjoys in every respect the same rights and liberties as his European fellow-subject..... This reveals in an unmistakable manner the attitude which Portugal, by no means in the front rank of liberal countries, has adopted towards her native Indian subjects. In India some of our responsible publicists have been growing hysterical because an Indian is appointed, not as a minister of the crown, but as his Parliamentary Under Secretary; but Portugal has been doing it long before and without any fuss. The conditions in Pondicherry and other French settlements are infinitely better than those prevailing in British India; and the classic example of the radical difference in outlook towards her dependency which the United States showed in its treatment of Philippine Island needs hardly to be mentioned. The fact is that in some bygone ages British statesmen used to practise as well as preach their liberal principles but of late the pernicious influences of a vicious imperialism have been in the ascendant and Britain has been content to rest on her past reputation as a liberal and politically advanced state."

Contrast between the treatment given by the British Government to its Indian subjects and that accorded by France and Portugal to their Indian subjects.
Home Ruler (5), 25th Jan.

27. Commenting on the Akola (district Ahmednagar) Case the *Kesari* says:—There are many debatable points worth consideration in the case. Government have realised what terrible catastrophes occur by disregarding the complaints of rayats however much Government officials tyrannise over them and by rewarding those sometimes against whom people raise a complaint. People were not seized with a sudden fit to murder the Mamlatdar of Akola. Some sufficient causes there must have been for such wrath and we cannot say that Government were not aware of anything while this fire of hatred was burning. Such things become possible because of the tendency of the bureaucracy to ignore public opinion and hold that the officials are right and that the grievances of the people are baseless. Government should bear in mind that such sudden outbursts will no longer occur if Government will pay sympathetic attention to the grievances of the rayats. When two to three thousand people were assembled we cannot say how the eighteen truly guilty were accurately found out and whether of these eighteen some cannot justly be given the benefit of doubt. We think justice reached its height of severity in sentencing one to transportation for life who was not proved to have hatched the conspiracy as was contended by the prosecution and to whom the charge was not held to have been brought home by one of the three judges. Taking into consideration the original causes that led to the crime, the sentences awarded in the case

Comments on the Akola Riots Case.
Kesari (114), 28th Jan.

of the other accused also are very severe. If an offence is committed in a fit of passion the Penal Code does not advise that it should be very severely dealt with. It is obvious that a good deal of time passed between the murder and the provocation felt by the people. But the excuse of popular wrath is not a lame one. It is desirable from many points of view that Government should now at least consider the case coolly and considerably reduce the sentences passed. It is also necessary for Government to explain how far the Kolis were connected with the crime and why the inquiry on this report was left unfinished. More important than all these questions is that of punitive police. Government made a reprehensible hurry and burdened some villages with punitive police. Now other accused have been held to be innocent and eighteen have been held to be guilty and Government have as it were given a general amnesty to the Kolis. Now the question is how far the eighteen guilty persons can be connected with the villages saddled with police? Is it that the eighteen persons are just the leaders of their villages? It is possible that some of the villages now under the punitive police have no connection with the convicted persons. If the Kolis have nothing to do with the murder why should their villages be burdened with police? And if some man or other from a village was involved in this cutrage, do all the inhabitants of his village become *budmashes* and are they to be held liable for the charges of the punitive police? The police should be removed entirely in order to free people from the injustice they have suffered on account of the unpardonable hurry of Government in imposing the burden. Will Government perform this just duty at least?

*28. " The stirring speech delivered by President Wilson in the Peace Conference at Paris the other day on the formation of the League of Nations cannot fail to rouse the drooping hearts and animate the hopes of the down-trodden races in Asia and Africa which are living under the subjection of the autocratic rulers, foreign or native. The ghastly spectacle of the mutilated bodies on the battlefields and the shrieks of the dying and their dependents have undoubtedly sharpened our feelings against autocracy, which was first responsible for driving millions of men into the furnace of this war and for desolating the once smiling lands into wildernesses; but the silent every-day pangs of the helpless millions, caused by the iron heels of the flourishing autocracies in Asia and Africa, were not less agonizing than the wounds caused by shrapnel and swords. But none cared for them before! Human nature is such that a stunning blow is always wanted to induce a violent reaction in man; and this war alone could supply it..... But coming nearer home, we must see now that India does realise the full advantage of this right. It has sat at the Peace Conference, and England and India both have accepted the momentous resolution of the League of Nations. We have thus become an integral part of that League and, according to the constitution of it, we can now choose our own masters, and govern our destinies as we wish. For better for worse, we have chosen to remain an integral part of the British Empire, and an equal partner in it, and subject to this condition, we can now choose any constitution we like. And a question here arises that, if we are a member of the League of Nations, and are an integral part of the British Empire, whose people are emphatically behind the proposal of the League of Nations, are we now expected to abide by the declaration of August 20, 1917, which was not made at our instance and with our consultation? Can even the British Government now say that we must abide by it? How can the British Government accept the resolution of the League of Nations and at the same time, against the very principle of self-determination, which is the key-stone of the arch of that League, decide and dictate to India, a member of the League itself, a constitution without its consent? Clearly both the things are irreconcilable. An altogether new situation has thus arisen by the establishment of the League of Nations, and by our being a member of it, and therefore it is now for us, and not for the British Government, to determine our future. Logically and constitutionally, therefore, we are not at all bound to respect that declaration, and our proposals of reforms

As India is represented at the Peace Conference it cannot be bound by the declaration of August 20.

Mahrátta (7), 2nd Feb.

need not lie within its four corners. India can, therefore, choose any constitution it likes and the British Parliament cannot set any limit to it in that respect. The leaders of India are, therefore, now free to make any demands they like with respect to their proposals of reform. The Moderates now need not frame their proposals according to the declaration of August 20, 1917. The bone of contention has thus now been automatically removed. Will they and the other Congress and Muslim League leaders now join in a Special Conference, or even Congress, if necessary, and calmly and dispassionately consider the whole situation and arrive at an unanimous conclusion regarding the Reform proposals? The split can now easily be bridged over, and we trust they will not miss this golden opportunity if they really desire unity between the two parties."

The Functions and Franchise Committees in Bombay.
Jágaruk (43), 25th Jan.

29. The Functions and Franchise Committees are on a visit to Bombay and as they are working in camera the public knows nothing about their doings. We fail to understand what calamity would have befallen the country if the evidence given before these Committees had been made public. Again, the Committees are not bound to record the whole of the evidence given by witnesses and are at perfect liberty to record only as much of it as would suit their purpose. While making appointments on these Committees Mr. Montagu took the precaution of choosing only those men who had supported his scheme. And as these Committees have the power to suppress any part of the evidence that is given before them, their inquiries have become nothing but a farce. Mr. Montagu should have included in the personnel of these Committees men of all shades of opinion if he really cared to get at the truth. But as he does not want the fate of his scheme to depend upon the uncertain findings of mixed Committees he chose his own men and is carrying on this farce of inquiry. As the report of the Committees would not differ from the views held by Mr. Montagu, the non-Brahmins of Madras have definitely decided not to give evidence before them. The Government of Bombay too is not wholly free from eccentricities in this matter. They have refused the request of the Maratha Conference held at Násik to allow its President, Rao Saheb Bhaskarrao Jadhav, to appear before the committees to give evidence. Unfortunately there are very few educated men among the backward classes and they too are not allowed to place their views before the committees. The Government of Bombay have declared against communal representation and, therefore, it would not be far wrong to say that they are purposely keeping those men in the background who are avowedly in favour of it. This will have the effect of creating an impression that Government do not hesitate to suppress the legitimate aspirations of loyal persons in deference to the wishes of agitators. As such a finding would be detrimental to the true interests of the Empire, Government will, we trust, give the leaders of the backward classes every opportunity to have their say.

The Reform Scheme and the I.C.S.
Jágaruk (43), 25th Jan.

30. The Civilians in the Madras Presidency have started an association to safeguard their rights. Every individual and every association has a right to protect its rights and no one would have taken exception to the movement of the Civilians if they had limited their activities to the protection of their legitimate interests. But claims that are not based on justice and thwart the progress of the rest of the people must be opposed. The Civilians contend that the introduction of reforms would have the effect of diminishing their prestige and affecting adversely their prospects of promotion. British statesmen have assured Indians on several occasions that the administration of India is carried on with a view to fitting the people for *swarájya* and not to maintain the prestige of these men. It is the sacred duty of the authorities in India to redeem the pledges given by British statesmen as early as possible. The Civilians would be swerving from the path of duty if they oppose the reforms on flimsy pretexts such as these. We do not know whether the introduction of the reforms will really diminish their prestige but we are positive that their

reputation for doing their duty will suffer if they persist in this interested agitation. It is open to them to resign their posts and go home if they think that their services are not sufficiently recompensed. If the Indian nation thinks that it cannot do without their services it will pay them whatever remuneration they may demand. Instead of showing their weakness by demanding more pay they should try to prove their claim to it by their worth.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Chiefs' Conference.
Servant of India (9), 30th Jan.

31. In a contributed article Mr. G. R. Abhyankar writes :—"The opening speech of His Excellency the Viceroy, at the Chiefs' Conference, will be read with profound disappointment by all lovers of Native States. His Excellency has abstained from making any reference to the ideal, which has been laid down in the joint report, for British India. It was expected that His Excellency would reiterate what he eloquently expressed at the Bharatpur Durbar. He reminded Their Highnesses very pertinently that the British Government is the Paramount Power in India. The illustrious authors have emphatically stated the serious limitations on the rights of the Native States in the shape of interference on the part of the British Government in their internal administration to prevent flagrant misgovernment. He concluded his speech by saying that the Princes and Chiefs have a joint heritage with the peoples of British India. Is it not, therefore, necessary to recommend to the Princes and Chiefs the policy which His Majesty's Government, after careful consideration and inquiry, have thought fit to adopt for British India? The Government of India have asked the opinions of the Native States about the reform proposals. It is a great pity that these opinions are not published. As a matter of fact, at the time of the Minto-Morley reforms the opinions of rulers of Native States were made available to the public. We do not see why this precedent should not be followed now, when the question involved is of such vital importance. We doubt whether even a single Chief has expressed his willingness to co-operate with Government in the immediate introduction of responsible government. It is, therefore, all the more necessary under the circumstances that Their Highnesses should be gently advised about the necessity of their adopting the ideal of responsible government. The Princes and Chiefs have shown nervous solicitude for the treaties and engagements being kept intact. No one has the remotest idea to violate, in any way, these sacred treaties and engagements, but we would respectfully question Their Highnesses what treaty rights entitle them to ask for a Council of Princes or for a Standing Committee or for direct relations with the Government of India or for a joint deliberation in matters of common interest. These are all generous concessions extended to the Ruling Princes by the Paramount Power. If the Princes are anxious for these privileges, is it not incumbent on them that they must with equal willingness and enthusiasum come forward and avow their intention to follow in the footsteps of His Majesty's Government? And if the Princes have not the grace or courtesy to adopt the policy so clearly enunciated in the Report, we think that it is the duty of the Paramount Power, in the interests of one-fourth of the vast population of this continent, to advise the Princes and Chiefs to adopt this ideal. His Excellency the Viceroy, in not making such a pronouncement, failed in his duty towards the subjects of Native States, who are guaranteed good government."

Hind Vijaya (70), 29th Jan.

32. Shyamswarup Bályogi, in the course of a letter under the heading "Self-determination of the subjects of Native States", writes :—The position of most of the present rulers of Native States is almost like that of military officers of the British Indian Government. Though the Allies and other progressive nations seem to be disgusted with military titles these rulers of Native States have to rest content with these titles. There is no reason to believe that even these educated rulers are not disgusted with the titles. Many of them must be anxious to be real kings, chosen by the people, instead of being military officers. Their subjects, too, would rather like to accept them as real kings, well-educated and statesmanlike, than to recognise these

unmilitary Chiefs by their military titles. His Excellency the Viceroy is now advocating the improvement of the connection of the Native States with the British Government in the Chiefs' Conference at Delhi. It would have been more desirable if the Viceroy had chosen to consult the representatives of the people of Native States in order to effect this improvement than to consult their rulers uusupported by the public of those States. As President Wilson has allowed the German subjects, and not their Military Emperor, to determine the future of Germany, in the same way it was necessary that the representatives of the people of Native States should have gone to the Viceroy rather than their rulers, who are the holders of merely military titles. Had this been done, the British would have got more support in the Peace Conference, and having seven-hundred friends in India alone the strength and dignity of the Empire would have been greatly enhanced by the self-determination of the peoples of Native States.

Mrs. Besant and the Congress.
New Times (8), 25th Jan.

33. "What are we to think of Mrs. Besant's somersault which takes the country by surprise just when repressive measures stare us in the face? Instead of strengthening the right forces in the Congress, for the first time since she entered the political arena, Mrs. Besant has adopted an attitude to the Congress which she tried her utmost to discredit only some time ago when she was at the height of her popularity and authority in the Congress. The Delhi Congress saw her fall from the high pedestal of 'chosen' leadership. She is no longer the unimpeachable, the sure, the omniscient *avatar* some of our immature and youthful Home Rule Leaguers imagined her to be. Like other mortals she can err; she has erred; she has had a somersault. She is in a minority, there is a majority against her; she is anxious to be in safe waters and is no longer in the front ranks to fight for India's liberty; she is now the apostle of 'compromise' and 'conciliation' when the country's urgent need is courage and faith in the leading of the Mother Immortal."

A complaint about obtaning extracts from Record of Rights.
Dnyán Prakásh (39), 30th Jan.

34. A correspondent from Khed (Poona) complains in the *Dnyán Prakásh* that the work of making orginal entries in the Register of Record of Rights is not very satisfactorily being done by the subordinate officers like the Kulkarnis and the Talatis and the poor agriculturists are being put to great hardships as the above officers are not very expeditious in furnishing copies to them of extracts from the Registers which have to be produced in the courts of law. He goes on:—In order to ensure efficiency I would suggest the transfer of this work to the Mamlatdar's office where it should be done under the orders of that officer. If this arrangement would throw additional work on his office, it should be directed that such extracts should be supplied through the Mamlatdar within ten days and there should be the option of addressing applications for them direct to the Mamlatdar. It should also be arranged to return, after the case is over, to the parties concerned, copies of the extracts produced in courts and that the production of them should, as far as possible, be done away with.

Court proceedings in India should be carried on in the vernaculars.
Hindusthán (22), 30th Jan.

35. When Bagdad and Basra were under the control of the Sultan of Turkey the proceedings of their courts were carried on in the Turkish language though the spoken language was Arabic. This caused much hardship to the inhabitants of these places. But since they came under the British control, the proceedings of their courts are allowed to be carried on in their mother-tongue, that is, in Arabic. Why is not the justice that is done to these recently-acquired dominions, extended to a loyal country like India, trained under the British rule for about 150 years? Is this change allowed to Arabs simply with a view to winning them over? Or is it introduced in order to avoid discontent or rebellion on their part? The system of carrying on court proceedings in English has already displeased the Indians and the Burmese as under that system their money is wasted in paying barristers and solicitors.

We hope that the British Power will be just to us and put an end to our hardships in this respect as it has done in the case of the Arabs; or else people will have to agitate strongly against it. If the court proceedings are carried on in the mother-tongue of the people much money and trouble would be saved.

The delay in sanctioning the proposed increase in the salaries of Presidency Magistrates (Bombay City.)
Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Feb.

36. "As an example of the dilatory procedure adopted by the Local Government in the execution of definite decisions involving the expenditure of money, we would once again refer to the delay in paying the increase in salaries for the Presidency Magistrates voted and sanctioned in last year's budget. The budget was finally passed and the matter settled in June last and it is now the 1st of February 1919, and all are awaiting the provisions of the next budget. The appropriation of money sanctioned for raising the salaries of the Presidency Magistrates has not, we learn, yet taken effect. Considering the responsible character of their offices, the Government decided on awarding them higher salaries, but the resolution seems to have been lost somewhere in red-tape procedure and it may yet take months for it to see the light of day. We would draw the attention of the Government to this abnormal delay, which, however, is only typical of the expedition with which the decisions of Government are carried into effect."

The I. C. S. and the post of Inspector-General of Police (Bombay Presidency).
Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th Jan.

37. "The I. C. S., though it thinks very highly of itself, is not exactly a favourite with other services in India. And naturally so, because the 'superior' service has a nasty habit of occupying the prize-posts of other services. Bitter is the complaint raised by a writer in the *Pioneer* in this connection. He pertinently asks: 'Why should the official in the case of education be so often a member of the I. C. S.? It is recognised that an engineer must control the Public Works and Irrigation, that a doctor must be in charge of medical affairs. Why then should an educationist be deemed incapable of managing his own particular work?' Why indeed, except that the I. C. S. is a close corporation and that it makes all the appointments in the end and that it wants, for one reason or the other, all the fat posts to go to members of its caste. In our own presidency an I. C. S. is to be appointed shortly as Inspector-General of Police. We trust, however, Government will think twice before perpetrating such a patent injustice on a department they are never tired of praising to the skies."

Alleged discontent in the ranks of the Bombay City Police.
Young India (15), 29th Jan.

38. Referring to the strike of London Policemen, *Young India* writes:—"In this connection reference may be made to the discontent among the Policemen in Bombay. The Commissioner of Police seems to resent any such insinuation. He seems to think that *his* men are saints, not sinners, so that there is no room for discontent among them. The Police Commissioner is welcome to hold any view he pleases. But it is nonsense to let one's feeling of resentment get the better of one's reason and then shut one's eyes to facts. We have made enquiries in various quarters and it may safely be said that there is discontent even among the Bombay Policemen. And if there was a rumour of these going on strike, no wonder. The men who are not provided with free quarters appear to be drawing Rs. 21-8-0, while those who are provided with quarters receive Rs. 17-8-0. The question of giving the men an extra allowance so as to bring up their maximum salary to Rs. 27-8-0 is, we are told, receiving the kind attention of the Commissioner for over six months! Enquiries as to how the policemen have been managing to make both ends meet have elicited the answer that outside Fort men get *Kamai*—perquisites—but in the Fort—from the Crawford Market to the R. I. M. Docks, the men can't get any perquisites latterly and their lot, they say, has therefore become hard to bear. In spite of the Commissioner's indignation, it is difficult to deny the truth of this complaint."

39. "Here is a sample of no distinction of caste, creed or colour according to which the public appointments in this country are filled. In the advertisement columns of our local Anglo-Indian contemporary we find that the Commissioners for the port of Rangoon invite applications for the appointment of Master, tug 'Blaing'. Among other qualifications the candidates are required to be of British birth. We should like to know on what grounds a public body like the Rangoon Port Commissioners can make such an invidious distinction. This is a characteristic Anglo-Indian commentary on the equality of treatment for all the subjects of His Majesty which has been proclaimed times out of number as the sole aim and object of British policy. The fact is that so long as Indians are not masters in their own house they must put up with these insulting distinctions. And so we are again and again forced to the conclusion that by political emancipation we can at one stroke remove the major portion of our difficulties. In the general course of things we do not get such indisputable evidence of differentiation, but it is all the same there though thinly disguised under the veil of British qualifications or some other camouflage."

Comments on an advertisement in respect of a post under the Rangoon Port Commissioners.
Home Ruler (5), 25th Jan.

40. "At long last, we understand the grievances of the elementary school teachers have been considered by the Bombay Government. It would appear that Government are thinking of giving these people a war allowance of Rs. 4 per mensem and that effect will be given to it from January 1918. We also understand that Government propose to raise the minimum pay of elementary teachers from Rs. 10 to Rs. 12, when the war allowance ceases. This is good so far as it goes. But we do not think that this can be considered as adequate in any sense. The elementary school teacher should get at least as much as, if not something more than, what an unskilled labourer obtains. It is common knowledge that the wages of such classes are at present not less than 8 to 10 annas *per diem*. In these circumstances, we should have thought that Government would see their way to give elementary school teachers a war allowance of Rs. 4 over and above the new scale of Rs. 12, thus making their pay Rs. 16 during these hard times. However that may be, if Government have really decided to take the steps indicated above, they should make a public announcement immediately. A lump amount of Rs. 48 would go a long way in alleviating the hard lot of the poor teachers."

Grievances of elementary school teachers in the Bombay Presidency.
Servant of India (9), 30th Jan.

41. "The Government still continues to observe ununderstandable silence regarding the release of Muslim internees. When Lord Ronaldshay could see his way to have some mercy on the Bengalees, what is there that is still tempting the Government to continue to deprive Musalman detenus of their liberty. Is the demand for their release less universal now? Even the Sind Muhammadan Association has ended its silent sufferings and given vent to the popular feeling, and appeals for the release of the Ali brothers and other Musalmans. We earnestly appeal to Sir George Lloyd to announce the release of Sind detenus when he comes here, and let us hope that Mr. Lawrence will represent to His Excellency their harmlessness."

Appeal to His Excellency the Governor to release Moslem detenus in Sind.
Sind Moslem (11), 25th Jan.

42. "The Sind Muhammadan Association has sent a petition to the Viceroy praying that Sind be constituted as a separate province with a Lieutenent Governor or Chief Commissioner. For our part we have all along advocated that the best interests of the province will be served only when it has a provincial government of its own. But it is doubtful if the constitution of Sind as a separate province is expedient at the present moment. In deciding the functions which should be alloted to each local Government the Functions Committee will take into consideration the general progress of each province. Now though we are as good Sindhis as anybody

Comments on the petition submitted to the Viceroy by the Sind Muhammadan Association praying for the constitution of Sind into a separate province.
Home Ruler (5), 25th Jan.; *New Times* (8), 26th Jan.

else we must frankly confess that by itself Sind will be considered one of the most backward provinces. But Bombay is considered to be the most advanced province and as part of the Bombay Presidency we obviously stand to gain something. Besides with a popular provincial legislature in which Sind has its fair share of representatives, it is likely that Sind will be accorded a fair treatment. But if Bombay persists in treating us as a step-child, we can then strongly and unitedly agitate for sepa ration. But under the present circumstances it appears to us to be expedient th at the *status quo* should be maintained. In concluding their petition the memorialists pray that due weight may be attached to the interests of Musalmans of Sind, forming four-fifths of the population. Now if Sind is to be constituted a separate province, the problem would be to ensure that due weight is attached to the interests of non-Musalmans who form only one-fifth of the population. All over India the Musalmans are in a great minority and so their interests require to be specially protected. But it would be a mistake to carry the analogy to Sind. Here, it is the business of the Muslims to conciliate the minority and to ensure that their interests will be duly considered. We repeat that we are as strongly as ever for constituting Sind as a separate province, but in that case our Muslim friends will have to give up all claims for preferential treatment and to accord the same to the minority." [The *New Times* on the other hand supports the petition and remarks:—"Sind as a limb in the organism must have full scope for its development and self-expression. This cannot be possible unless in politics, which is a most important department of human life, she is allowed to stand on her own legs. There are two rulers for Sind, the Governor and his Commissioner, and we have intermediary rulers coming from other parts of the vast presidency, Indians no doubt, but all the same people who have no stake in Sind. The political disabilities under which Sind is suffering by being yoked to the distant Bombay Presidency and the jealousy which Bombay feels for the rising city of Karáchi are well set forth in the Moslem memorial which should give much food for reflection to all thoughtful people and the Government."]

LEGISLATION.

43. Comments on the proposed legislation according to the Rowlatt Committee's recommendations.

Home Ruler (5), 25th Jan.

"At a time when the Peace Conference is sitting to decide upon the means to be adopted whereby even the weak nations of the world can live their own peaceful lives without fear of wrongful interference on the part of the more powerful countries, the Government in India is indulging in the pastime of forging new shackles with which to suppress effectively that liberty of speech and writing which is the primary right of every citizen. The Defence of India (Criminal Law Amendment) Act 1915, the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rule 1915, the Bengal State Prisoners Regulation, 1818, the Ingress into India Ordinance, 1914, the Emergency Legislation Continuance Act, 1915, the Foreigners Ordinance, 1914, all these measures which were intolerable and unnecessary even in war time are now to make room for a permanent piece of legislation which brings to mind the days of Czardom in Russia when unmitigated autocracy reigned supreme. Now it is the intention of the Allies, notwithstanding the low state of its present civilization and its chaotic condition, to help Russia to work out its own purposes. But India, poor India is to be asked to accept certain half measures of reform at the point of the bayonet; she has to keep herself content with the instalments which a foreign agency totally out of touch with her true culture and civilization and her aspirations, has been pleased to fix for her; and on the eve of the grant of the first instalment of the reforms it has to be subjected to repressive legislation of the pre-renaissance type..... As if the present vague terms of section 124A are not enough, it is sought to bring within reach of the law persons who are in possesssion of 'any seditious document,' whatever that may mean. [Here follows a summary of the provisions of the Bills.]..... It will be seen that the proposed measure is intended to make permanent the present emergency legislation which even war conditions had not made necessary, all the so-called revelations and

the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee notwithstanding. If any proof were needed for the inadequacy of the reforms contemplated by the Government it is this proposed measure. Under the pretext of checking anarchism, the Government of India is seeking to keep a whole nation quiet over its own inadequate and short-sighted measure of reform, on the point of the Rowlatt bayonet. It is not difficult to foresee that the policy which has dictated this course is foredoomed to failure. No language can be too strong for condemning a piece of legislation which is as unnecessary as it is unjust, and we trust therefore that when it comes up before the Imperial Council the elected representatives will all oppose it."

44. " While the reforms are still a problematic thing, while the Bill embodying the reforms will have to stand the scrutiny and wild attacks of the House of Lords and the Sydenhamites, the very first ominous step which the Unionist Government, who have come in power, are going to take in this country appears to be a measure of severe repression, a potential instrument of unmitigated tyranny and an insult alike to the services and loyalty of this country in the past as to the intelligence and aspirations of the Indian community for the future. With indecent haste, the Government of India are attempting to put through these bills. Is this why they extended the period of the old council at Delhi ?..... Are the Government of deliberate and set purpose utilising this time of political uncertainty both in England and in this country for forging new fetters and for eradicating practically all political life from Indian soil ?..... The experience of the working of the Defence of India Act and the rules thereunder has been altogether a disillusionment to the Indian public who would never submit to its continuance in any shape or form as the Rowlatt Committee proposes to do. Everywhere where action has been taken merely on the report of the Police, it has been as a rule hasty and mistaken and has launched the Government of India into discredit. Numerous judgments of British courts by British Magistrates and British Judges would endorse this allegation about the frequent fallibility of the Police and about the unreliability of their methods and their reports. To this may be added what is a notorious fact known very well to the Indian public, *viz.*, the frequent use of blackmail and torture and the wholesale corruption which are to be found in many provinces amongst the small and big officials of the Police. British rule is maintained in India by the willing allegiance of millions of men who, in spite of numerous untoward incidents here and there and in spite of broken promises, have confidence in the good faith and sense of justice of the people of the United Kingdom. It is not maintained by the efficiency of the police in putting down sedition. It must be humiliating for an Englishman to feel that his countrymen can hold India only by the sword, by the prison and by the subtle devices of the Indian Police..... Nothing is more abhorrent to an Englishman than the mention of the Star Chamber, but we apprehend that the passing of these Bills into law would bring about conditions similar to those prevailing when that instrument of iniquity was abused for the purpose of tyranny. Every section in the community is liable to be penalised with the exception of those who have demonstrated their loyalty effusively by their subservience and by their abject submission to the vanities and the other weaknesses of every individual official of every class. To the organisation of the Home-Rule League and such associations these laws may prove a direct and immediate menace. It is difficult to forecast the exact working of this legislation. But judging from what has happened so far, we have not the slightest hesitation in saying that had this legislation existed in the time of Lord Curzon, Gokhale might have been deported and Sir Phirozeshah Mehta gagged. The proposed legislation is divided into three parts, one of which is punitive, that is to say, dealing with the punishment of people who are charged with political offences. The other two parts deal with preventive measures. We have already mentioned the horrors of the Special Tribunals involving in many cases the miscarriage of justice and we are sure that no fair-minded man would want to perpetuate them. When, however, we come to the preventive measures, it is difficult to deal with the matter in a patient manner. What

Young India (15), 29th Jan.

the Government exactly want to prevent is not indicated anywhere clearly. It is, therefore, highly probable that the executive officials of the Government will try to prevent everything that they do not like and it is well known to the public that the one thing that they dislike is the growth and development of a healthy public opinion through the press and the platform, the growth of the sense of civic rights of all kinds, the demand of fiscal and financial control by the people through representative institutions and patriotism in every shape and form. We repeat that this is not an opportune moment for carrying this legislation through and that the creation of a reign of terror by the Police will inevitably bring into existence counter-terrorism leaving this country for generations to come with an evil tradition of hound and hare. When this Bill comes before the Council, it is our earnest hope that men of all sections of the community will clearly indicate their horror of the policy involved therein. We cannot imagine how any non-official can give countenance to such legislation in the face of all that has been said and done, particularly during the years of the war. At no time in the past did an occasion arise which so imperatively called forth common action as this, and we would suggest an informal conference of all non-official members to consider the situation. We hope that none of them will draw upon his own head the infamy of having had a hand in the confiscation of the elementary liberties of his countrymen and we hope that they will all leave the council in a body rather than form part of a machinery that can be so far abused."

45. "The Rowlatt Bills are intended to safeguard the country against revolutionary movements, but the proposed legislation proves, with closer study, to be utterly anarchic in conception. With the object of suppressing anarchy, the executive wants to arm itself with anarchic license at the top.... ..... It is narrow statesmanship to approach this question of political crime without reference to the curative remedies essential for its real disappearance and the causes which have produced it. It is arguable that in grave emergencies the Government should have special powers, but to make them part of the normal law of a country is a grievous wrong against the people, since the result will be the legalisation of official anarchism..... We must not judge the conditions after the war by the standard of danger to the State at the time of the war, especially in view of the fact that the policy of conciliation and trustfulness is supposed to be going, to some extent, to be given a trial. The Government have not established to the satisfaction of the public that the first piece of post-war legislation in India should be upon the proposals of the Rowlatt Committee, which gave the caution that circumstances might change..... The Select Committee may recommend the alteration of certain phrases, but let there be no mistake about the fact that these bills which exceed the suggestions of the Rowlatt Report will, in practice, be a terror in the land. The penalties and procedures in the Bills have been well compared to the practice of the Spanish Inquisition, whose foundation was that 'suspects' could be imprisoned and punished without regular trial for the sake of the stability of the Government."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 31st Jan.

46. "We do not propose, on this occasion, to examine the provisions of the new Coercion Bills in detail, as we are convinced, apart from their merits, that they are very inopportune in time. The Rowlatt Committee reported before the Secretary of State and the Viceroy had formulated their reform proposals and, therefore, had no means of judging of the ameliorative effect the proposals would produce upon popular feeling in India. The reform scheme, whatever criticisms it may have evoked in some particulars, has indubitably done much to produce a soothing effect, and will be rendered still more efficacious as a prophylactic against sedition if it is widened and liberalised in the way demanded by public opinion. Those who engage in seditious conspiracy may care nothing for reforms; indeed, they would rather hope for their miscarriage; but the general atmosphere of discontent which is indispensably necessary for the success of revolutionary movements will have given place, under the influence of the liberal policy

Servant of India (9), 30th Jan.

inaugurated by the reforms, to such a spirit of general contentment that anarchist conspiracies can have no chance of success in the altered conditions which will be brought into being by constitutional reforms..... After all it is on such conciliatory measures that Government must depend, and we deprecate most earnestly the frame of mind, exhibited by many officials, in which they come to regard coercion as their first resource to put down sedition. Now that reforms are to be introduced, let them be given a fair chance. If it is found that they do not produce the effect which in all probability they will, Government can, at any time, and even after the reformed councils come into being, pass legislation of a repressive nature. Moreover, Government must not be blind to the fact that the passage of the coercive bills, in advance of reforms, will in effect be very prejudicial to the reception of the reforms themselves. They will, therefore, be extremely ill-advised to persist with the bills. In any case, it is beyond doubt that the preventive measures outlined therein will arm the officials with powers which they can by no means be trusted to use with discretion. They are far too drastic and must prove an engine of oppression."

*47. In its second article on the subject the *Mahrátta* writes:—"Before concluding, something about Bill No. 1 must be said, and we will for a moment turn our attention to that. One of the sections of that Bill creates a new substantive offence, namely, the *possession* of seditious document with an *intention* to circulate or publish it. Hitherto *actual* publication or circulation of a seditious document or visible representation or speech, etc., *i. e.*, some active effort, was necessary to constitute an offence under section 124A. Mere possession and intention were not penalised. But the present section 124B does it. The onus of proving that the documont was kept in possession for a lawful purpose is thrown by this section on the accused, and this shows that the prosecution would presume that the man possessing a seditious document had the intention of publishing or circulating it. This is a grave burden upon the accused, and would seriously embarrass him. Let us take a case, for instance. Suppose that a mischief-monger—and there are many such in the Police force—purposely sends a seditious document to his victim, and gets him searched after a time. If perchance the victim comes to know of it and destroys it before search, well and good. But if he inadvertantly does not, then a *prima facie* case against him can certainly be made, and the poor man would be in a pitiable plight for no fault of his own. The section would thus arm with a dangerous weapon the unscrupulous mischief-mongers, with which they can drag any gentleman into a precarious position. The section, therefore, must not stand in the Penal Code, and every attempt must be made to resist its intrusion therein. Other sections are intended to be inserted into the Criminal Procedure Code; and the intention of the Government seems to be that a man accused of sedition or of any offence against the State should be *more* handicapped than the worst offender or even a hardened criminal. The Procedure Code, for instance, protects the habitual offender against prejudice by requiring the prosecution to prove his previous convictions after, and not before, his pleading guilty to or conviction for, the offence subsequently tried. The New Bill, however, goes against this dictum of commonsense and, it appears, allows the prosecution to prove it before conviction in cases under chapter VI of the Penal Code. Is this not a deliberate attempt to poison the minds of the judge and the jury, if any, against the accused in cases of sedition? But the more astounding provision is the next, and that is about penalising the association with a person who has been convicted of a seditious offence. That makes the position of those who have been once convicted of sedition simply intolerable. Hitherto in India, a man who has been convicted of sedition was, after his release, free to earn his livelihood by any private service or business, and his inevitable association with other men in such business or service was not looked upon as very dangerous to the interests of his employer or associates. The new section, however, stamps such association with criminality, and makes the lot of the political ex-convicts simply miserable. Is it the intention of the framers of the Bill to do so? Do they wish that those who have been once convicted of seditious offences, should be forced out of society and be without employment or service? We believe this cannot be the intention of Government. The section, how-

Mahrátta (7), 2nd Feb.

ever, goes against their wishes, and therefore should have no place in any statute. Similar comments can be made against other sections, but we do not wish to enter into that ugly task. The criticism made by us is sufficient to show the venomous nature of the Bills brought before the public and sought to be imposed upon it. There can, therefore, be only one attitude towards them, and that is of uncompromising, relentless, and unfailing opposition by all constitutional means within our power. Here we are glad to see in this respect that all the Moderate papers, such as the *Bengalee*, the *Servant of India*, the *Indian Social Reformer*, the *Dnyán Prakásh* and the *Leader*, have opposed the Bills on one ground or the other..... The Moderates and Nationalists, Hindus and Muhammadans, men and women, have thus made a common cause to oppose the Bills tooth and nail, and the whole country seems to be united to make an insistent and a persistent agitation against them. Let us see what attitude the Government take after learning the gravity of the situation caused by such a tremendous opposition. But despite their attitude our agitation must not end with mere protests. All the forms of agitation which we had accepted at the time of the Bengal Partition must be revived, and the whole country must be roused to action. The Legislative Council members should, in a body, leave the Council if their protests are unavailing. Let them show that a Council, which wholly disregards their opinion and the country's opinion, is not worth being graced by their presence. In short the country must show by all posssible means that it is not ready to compromise its opinion on the question of its inherent rights."

Kesari (114), 28th Jan.

48. There are signs that repression will rage hereafter more severely than before. The attempt is being made by the bureaucracy to forge new weapons of repression on the basis of the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee. After the Great War began Government passed hastily in 1915 the Defence of India Act and took absolute power into their hands. A promise was given that the powers were for war purposes only. But the special powers in the hands of Government were not used for the above purposes alone. Mrs. Besant was interned because she started the Home Rule movement and Mr. Tilak was prohibited from speaking. All these repressive steps were taken in the name of the Defence of India Act. Formerly the bureaucracy had to prefer charges, hold a regular inquiry and tender evidence, but all this trouble the bureaucracy did not want to take. It wanted to escape from it. The Defence of India Act placed in its hands easy methods. It was anxious to make these new powers permanent. Then the Rowlatt Committee came forward and suggested that English officials should assume all these *Moglai* powers in order to put a stop to outrages. What necessity is there for all these tyrannical powers now? In the statement of objects it is said that the powers are asked for because the Rowlatt Committee wanted Government to do so. But Government do not seem to have considered the circumstances under which the Rowlatt Committee was appointed. Do outrages in Bengal take place now as they did four years ago? Are revolutionary schemes set afoot in the Punjáb after the conclusion of the war just as they were hatched before the war? Nobody says that Bengali revolutionists should be supported. Everyone is of opinion that these men should be adequately punished. But there is no need of adopting the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee. What is the meaning of saying that the revolutionary movement should be uprooted? Where does it exist at all now? Do Government really feel that the time has arrived when people in India brood over revolutionary ideas? Though circumstances plainly show that such ideas do not revolve in the minds of the people, why should people be so obstinately distrusted? Granting that new times have come when revolutionary ideas alone will revolve in the minds of people, why should Government be so afraid as to assume autocratic powers in democratic days? This autocratic power is a stain on the pride Englishmen take in democracy. If these laws blackening the love of freedom of Englishmen are passed, the English bureaucracy in India will come to enjoy the bad reputation of possessing a cowardly mind. We say even granting that the days of revolution were near no one but timid officials would consent to such autocratic laws in the days of democracy.

Why should there be any fear of this imaginary revolution? By God's grace England has won such a great and unequalled victory in the Great War that even if a mutiny ten times greater than that of 1857 were to occur, it could quell it in no time and yet treat India generously. We do not understand why the officials should exhibit their little mind and seek the help of Rowlatt Bills when England enjoys tremendous power on account of the victory gained in the Great War.

49. The introduction of these Bills gives one the impression that Government have lost sight of the valuable services rendered by India during the war that has just come to an end and that they are therefore willing to enact legislation that is fit for a rebellious nation and that would reflect discredit upon themselves and the Indian people alike. Such Bills when passed into law will lead other nations to think that the Indians are unwilling to remain under the British sway and that the British want to force them into submission by sheer force. We would, therefore, ask Government to withdraw the Bills and to get the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms passed, which would place India on the way to self-government. This will convince Indians and other nations as well that India is connected with England by ties of love and friendship. [The *Sánj Vartamán* protests against the proposed legislation and warns Government of the evil consequences that might follow the policy of repression which the Bills threaten to introduce. It exhorts the Indian people to call public meetings to express their disapproval of the policy of Government. The *Shri Venkateshwar* also protests against the introduction of the Bills which, it fears, will inaugurate a policy of repression. The *Gujaráti* writes:—"There is no ground whatsoever for hastening such drastic measures and we feel convinced that the Government of India will commit a very grave political blunder, if they persist in their resolve at such a juncture. We can only raise our warning voice in time and it would be nothing less than a misfortune for the country if it were convulsed with widespread agitation at a moment when peace, harmony and good understanding are imperatively needed in the best interests of Government and of the people."]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 29th Jan.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 30th Jan.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (85), 23rd Jan.; **Gujáráti* (18), 2nd Feb., Eng. cols.

50. Government want the Defence of India Act which displayed its strength during war time to be permanently enacted. They have already curtailed most of the rights of Indian citizens in one way or another in the last 10 or 12 years. When repressive measures not fit for any civilised country were already existing, what need was there for the mild Indians to be saddled with the new measures? Though Sir S. A. T. Rowlatt and his assistants tried their best to go into the root causes of anarchism believing only the *ex-parte* police records, they had honestly to declare that the whole of the Indian public was not affected with anarchism. Then why should Government be ready to introduce wholesale repressive measures? Indians do not say that anarchists should not be punished, but they want an open trial. Indians cannot consent to new measures allowing secret trials. We are hearing for a long time that the Imperial Government pleased with our loyal help during war was going to raise us to an equal status with the Dominions. But such laws find no place in the Dominions. It is a mystery to us how our status is to be equalised by applying to us laws which are not applicable to these countries. The measures are not desirable in any way and we suggest to the members of the Council to oppose them with all their strength.

Indu Prakásh (42), 27th Jan.

51. Indians proved their loyalty by their splendid services in the war. British statesmen have repeatedly declared that the credit for arresting the first rush of the Germans in France belonged to Indian soldiers. Unlike the Irish and the South Africans, Indians did not take advantage of the difficulties created by the war and disturb the internal peace of the country. They pinned their faith to the British sense of justice to redress their legitimate grievances. It is most

Dnyán Prakásh (39), 28th Jan.; *Rájakáran* (123), 26th Jan.; *Sudhákar* (132), 26th Jan.; *Sanjaya* (125), 30th Jan.; *Karnátak Vaibhav* (88), 28th Jan.

painful, therefore, to find the Government of India now devising measures to assail the rights of the people. The two Bills now introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council will provide Government with an unfailing weapon to put an end to the liberties of anyone they like. Government had given an assurance that the Defence of India Act would remain in force only during the course of the war and six months after. The passing of the two Bills, however, would practically amount to the continuance of the Defence of India Act on the Statute Book. We are afraid these measures will mar the beneficial effect which the introduction of reforms will produce on the public mind. [The *Rdjakdran* says that it is unwise and unstatesmanlike to saddle the country with such repressive measures on the recommendation of the wiseacres of the Rowlatt Committee who relied solely on the information supplied to them by the police. The *Sudhdkar* says that the proposed measures would be a disgrace to any system of civilized administration and urges the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council to oppose them strenuously. The *Sanjaya* thinks that the only hope of securing the withdrawal of the Bills or of getting them amended substantially lies in the people carrying on sustained agitation against them. The *Karndtak Vaibhav* writes:—India is immersed in the joy of victory celebrations and all the world over the principle of self-determination has been welcomed. It is disgraceful that in one part of the British territories in the vanguard of civilisation, measures should be introduced in the Council putting even the German Kaiser to shame. Not only that, it is a stain on the British administration. It cannot be said whom the scorpion now being hatched will sting. Government rely on the Rowlatt report. But the special Congress and the Delhi Congress have shown how strongly public opinion was against it. Laws are like fire. It cannot be said that all officials will use them wisely.]

52. "We have been receiving messages now and then intimating that Bolshevists are organising elaborate propaganda for revolutions in China, India and Persia. If this is true the Bolshevist agents will not receive any countenance in India. But the fear is also expressed that this is part of a plan to strengthen the hands of Government to pass the repressive Rowlatt legislation by raising the nightmare of Bolshevist plots. In face of this threatening danger, it is suggested, Government will impress the Council as to the necessity of passing the contemplated legislation without delay!"

The rumours about Bolshevist propaganda for revolutions in China, India and Persia are part of a plan to strengthen Government's hands to pass the Rowlatt Bill.

New Times (8), 26th Jan.

53. "We have little doubt that, constituted as the Imperial Legislative Council is at present, Government, with their plain majority of officials and non-official nominated 'johukums', can carry through any legislation they like. But the real representatives of the people—a mere handful though they are—have a duty to discharge. They ought unmistakably to show to Government in what light they and the vast mass of the people whom they represent hold the measure. So far as the Select Committee to whom the Bill will be referred is concerned, it is notable for the absence of the name of one important member of the Council who ought to have been in it—we mean the Honourable Pandit Malaviya. We note that for some time past a deliberate attempt, as it were, is being made to keep him out of important committees of the Council. We can very well understand why he is not a *presona grata* with the Simla bureaucracy, and especially with the Home Department. He is the inconvenient fly in the ointment as his work on the Industrial Commission and other committees and commissions has shown. As to the other non-official members of the Committee, it was to be expected, of course, that Messrs. Sastri and Banerjee, two pillars of the 'Moderate' party, would be there. There is an apprehension in some quarters that, as in the case of some 'Moderate' stalwarts of the days of the Seditious Meetings Act and Press Act, they might play into the hands of the bureaucracy by faint-hearted

Comments on the personnel of the Select Committees to whom the New Bills on the lines of the Rowlatt Committee's report will be referred.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Jan.

admission of the expediency of the measure. We hope Messrs. Sastri and Banerjee will rise above such faint-heartedness and face the situation like statesmen who look ahead as well as behind."

54. Reuter informs us that the European Bolsheviks intend to spread Bolshevism in China, India and Persia. This is not manufactured news. We have to be very careful in so far as this information concerns us. At present the poverty-stricken labouring class is in a state of frenzy on account of famine and high prices while a certain class is harassed by the attentions of officials. At the same time a particular class, being unable to bear the pressure of the rich, is puzzled. Under these circumstances even the slightest spark from the West may immediately cause a blaze in this country. We wish and hope that wise counsels will prevail with the class concerned in India, and there will be no chance for the introduction of Bolshevism in this country. The policy of extreme repression needs must cease, or at any rate it should not commence, at this juncture. Such undue repression needlessly gives rise to secret movements.

The policy of repression must cease if Bolshevism is to be kept out of India.
Hindusthán (22), 27th Jan.

55. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* recognises the necessity of maintaining the fighting strength of the British Army on the various fronts and incurring the expenditure consequent thereon till the signing of the final peace, but in view of the financial position of India it suggests that the Bill to impose a tax on Excess Profits should be kept in suspense and that a loan be raised instead, provided the various Chambers of Commerce and commercial associations among themselves undertake to raise the loan in full. [The *Sánj Vartamán* is of opinion that it would be unjust on the part of Government to impose a 50 per cent. Excess Profits Tax and urges the necessity of withdrawing the Bill for imposing the tax. It asks Government to reduce the tax to 25 per cent. if they deem it absolutely necessary to proceed with the proposed legislation.]

The Excess Profits Tax Bill.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 27th Jan.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 28th Jan.

EDUCATION.

56. "Of the few blue books awaited with genuine and great interest by the public, one is the annual report of the Director of Public Instruction and it is to be regretted that Government are not more expeditious in issuing it.... ..... The establishment of the Karnatak College has been hailed by Government as one of the prominent features and we are glad to note that they consider that it supplies a long-felt want in the Karnatak and that it has already shown the promise of a bright and successful future. It need not be taken amiss, however, if we urge Government to raise it to the status of a First Grade College without any delay. Government recognise that the demand for higher education is in excess of the available accommodation, and the measures they propose to supply the accommodation will be awaited with interest. The new fad of the seminar system sought to be introduced in the colleges has been condemned by Principal Bain in scathing terms..... Moreover, the seminar requires colleges with extremely modest numbers and it is futile to introduce anything like it in the present mammoth colleges. If strictly adhered to, the number of students seeking admission will have to be rigorously limited. We are in agreement with the desire of Government to bring together students and professors, but there are better ways of attaining the object they have in view than farcical imitation of the tutorial system. The number of trained teachers in secondary schools is woefully inadequate, and we are extremely sorry to observe that there are no early prospects of a separate training college for undergraduate teachers. It was one of the pet schemes of the present Member for Education, and we do not understand why it should be held back. The sudden death of Mr. Fraser may have handicapped Government, but, surely, the idea of having a college on an adequate scale should not be delayed because of the demise of Mr. Fraser. There are any number of duly qualified men to undertake the work, and we hope Government will

Comments on the last annual report of the Director of Public Instruction.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th Jan.

seriously try to recruit the necessary staff and start ithe college. If they are under the idea that they will have to incur heavy expenditure in the form of stipends we suggest a way out of the difficulty. They should guarantee service after training and any number of students would be forthcoming to train themselves at their own cost. Fifteen per cent. of the students might be provided with scholarships. Instead of concentrating all the students in a costly place like Bombay four divisional training classes might be started. Government should do all they can to encourage the idea of establishing a provident fund for the benefit of teachers in aided and recognised schools. ..... The Director of Public Instruction deserves warm recommendation for bravely advocating the rightful claims of primary teachers for better pay and prospects. The root cause of the strike of primary teachers at Surat, as remarked by the Collector of Surat, was economic. It is absolutely necessary to give the teachers a living wage that will secure their self-respect. ..... The special measures taken by Government for encouraging Muhammadan education in Sind have had gratifying results. The strengthening of Mulla schools and the wise provision of linked scholarships all the course through have increased the number of Muhammadan students by 90 per cent. within the last two years. The Presidency proper also may be similarly treated. In certain parts of the Presidency, Muhammadans are extremely poor and special ameliorative measures are necessary for dispensing education amongst them. Education of girls is making satisfactory progress so far as big cities are concerned, but there is urgent need of Anglo-vernacular schools in the mofussil centres for girls. It does not much matter whether Inspectresses are appointed on the territorial or linguistic basis, but it may be pointed out that the appointments should not form the monopoly of European women. They cannot advance beyond the fringe of Indian society and, moreover, as qualified Indian women are forthcoming, their services may be requisitioned. For many coming years the Inspectresses, over and above doing their legitimate duties, will have to act as missionaries and spread education in the land. It is eminently desirable, therefore, that Indian women should be appointed as Inspectresses in the various divisions in the Presidency."

Indu Prakásh (42), 1st Feb.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (39), 31st Jan.; *Sanjaya* (125), 31st Jan.

57. Education in the Bombay Presidency seems to have made satisfactory progress during the year 1917-18, as shown by the Administration Report of the Educational Department lately issued. It is also satisfactory to note that Government have undertaken reforms in several directions in the matter of education. The prospects of teachers in primary schools, however, are not sufficiently improved. Are not Government aware that a man cannot devote all his energy to his task unless he is fed properly? It is very strange indeed that Government should not sufficiently raise the pay of the teachers when there is a universal complaint that even the day labourers get better remuneration than these men. Again, it is the duty of Government to utilize properly and with the least possible delay the large amounts donated by wealthy persons. Government have a strange habit of deliberating for ages when they receive an amount to be devoted to some specific object. This has the effect of keeping the donor waiting for an unconscionably long time to see his wishes materialized. A long time has elapsed since Sir Mahomed Yusuf placed a large amount at the disposal of Government to meet certain educational needs and nothing is known about its disposal up to this time. The same is the case with the donation given by Sir Fazalbhoy to open separate schools for Muhammadan boys. We hope Government will give up this dilatoriness. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* writes:—Hitherto candidates for the School Final examination had the option of answering the questions in History, Geography, etc., in their own vernaculars. The newly appointed Joint Board, however, has withdrawn this concession. This is rightly considered a retrograde measure and we urge the Board, therefore, to restore the concession. The revised scale of pay of teachers in primary schools will, we trust, give satisfaction. It was a disgrace that men engaged in the sacred cause of education should be paid less than even ordinary coolies and it is gratifying that Government redressed, at least to a certain extent, the real grievance of the teachers. On the whole education made satisfactory progress during the year and Government considered

sympathetically some of the demands of the people. The *Sanjaya* on the other hand writes:—If anyone wishes to read a pathetic story he need not necessarily have recourse to a novel. If he turns to the administration reports of the Educational Department of any of the provinces in India his craving will be satisfied. The present Report is a long tale emphasising the need for economy, pleading want of funds, and giving frequent expression to lofty aims which continue to remain unfulfilled. Government recognise that the Boy Scout movement is having a salutary effect on the discipline of the boys but are chary of extending it owing to indifference and suspicion. They had a mind also to appoint a Director for physical culture, but as ill-luck would have it, an American expert could not be had owing to the entry of America into the war and experts are not to be had anywhere else. It need not, however, be supposed that there is nothing in the Report which would give us pleasure and encouragement. Female education is spreading, education among the Muhammadan community is making satisfactory progress, and there is an increase of 8½ lakhs of rupees in the expenditure on education and, in addition to this, the Supreme Government have given an annual grant of 2½ lakhs.]

58. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* considers the Government Resolution on the Report of the Director of Public Instruction for the year 1917-18 as both encouraging and enlightening. It congratulates the Muhammadans on the progress they have made in education and hopes that they will continue their progress and outstrip other communities in a few years. It cannot express satisfaction with the programme for primary education as outlined by Government and suggests that they should open a primary school in every village with a population of 500 souls. It congratulates Government on the steps they have taken to further the cause of collegiate education and tries to impress upon them the immediate necessity of doubling the number of primary, secondary and collegiate institutions to meet the requirements of the Presidency. [The *Hindusthán* does not consider the the Director's Report as unsatisfactory on the whole, but deplores the paucity of night schools, industrial institutions and music classes in the Presidency. It expresses gratification at the opening of the Karnatak College and suggests that it should be soon raised to a first grade college and that similiar colleges should be opened in other parts of the Presidency. The *Bombay Samáchár* urges the necessity of increasing the number of high schools for girls and of collegiate institutions with a view to meet the demand for liberal and professional education in the Presidency. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* considers the progress of education among the Muhammadans, as recorded in the Report, to be highly gratifying and hopes that the Muhammadans will soon be looked upon as the most progressive community.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 31st Jan.; *Hindusthán* (22), 31st Jan.; *Bombay Samáchár* (63), 1st Feb.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 1st Feb.

59. The *Political Bhomiyo* publishes a letter from a Muhammadan who complains that not a single Muhammadan applicant was admitted to the Vernacular Training Class recently opened at Nadiád and prays that such injustice should not be done to the Muhammadans in the Education Department.

Complaint that Musalmans are excluded from the Vernacular Training Class at Nadiád.

Political Bhomiyo (76), 31st Jan.

MUNICIPALITIES.

60. "The Corporation will assemble actuated partially at least with a spirit foreign to its wonted lethargic deliberations. Extremism in politics is as repugnant to us as revolutionary and sudden catastrophical changes in the fabric of ordered social organizations and we wish that the remarkable parts and the generous coffers of Mr. Jammadas Dwarkadas and his compeers were devoted to the cause of greater moderation in the political progress of India. However, as he along with a

Comments on the result of the Bombay Municipal elections.

Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 30th Jan., Eng. and vernacular cols.

number of his co-adjutors have fought for and won their way into the civic council, we extend our congratulations to them and would not conceal the pride and the pleasure that all Indians must experience at the success of Hindu and Mussalman public men of youthful enthusiasm and unusual talents who have successfully knocked at the door of civic eminence shut so far against them. Mr. M. M. Kamdar, Mr. Ratansi D. Morarji, Mr. Fazul Ibrahim Rahimtoola, Mr. Jayakar and Mr. Umar Sobani are expected to prove fresh acquisitions to our town council. With this new blood and invigorated vitality Bombay civic life will assume a remodelled aspect of hopeful potentialities." [In its Gujarati columns the paper declares that the first thing the new Corporation should take in hand is the question of broadening the Municipal franchise which, at present, is confined mainly only to the landlord class.]

61. "The Municipal election this year was remarkable in several respects. For the thirty-six seats there were fifty-five candidates, and the keenness of competition was enhanced by the fact that several new candidates offered themselves for election in some of the strongholds of conservatism. The results have on the whole justified the anticipations of the public. Some of the returns are, of course, disappointing but we have to judge of results with due regard to the fact that the electorates are narrow and voters have been till now accustomed to see the return of familiar figures. The candidature of so many fresh men was a new venture and some of them have come out very well..... The progressive school of publicists have, generally speaking, done well, and, regard being had to their hurried preparations, the occasion is one of general congratulation. But they carry with them great responsibilities, and just as we are happy they have won, we shall be exacting as to what they do. The public expect them to be strenuous and vigilant, and they have to work up to their reputation among the people."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Jan.

62. "On the whole, the success of the Home Rule candidates in spite of their late entry into the field is eminently satisfactory and speaks for the high standard of patriotism and civic spirit which have actuated the voters. Out of the 14 candidates who sought election, twelve have been returned from Wards where competition was at its keenest and it is an extremely significant event in the history of the Corporation. It marks in our opinion the closing of the era of sycophancy and toadyism. We are now entering upon spacious days of bold reform and reconstruction and we hail the entry into the Corporation of the Home Rule candidates with a sense of great relief and rejoicing; for in their presence on the Corporation, we have an assurance that the cause of reform and reconstruction will find constant championship and advancement." [The *Sánj Vartamán* expresses its great satisfaction at the election results and declares that the days are past when men got themselves elected simply with the object of getting a J. P.-ship or a title. It hopes that in future half a dozen Home Rule candidates will stand for the Fort ward instead of two as at the last elections.]

Young India (15), 29th Jan.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 29th Jan.

*63. "It was given out some time ago that the Home Rulers were going to capture the Corporation, even as they had captured the Congress..... As a matter of fact, no very determined attempt seems to have been made, by the Young India party, to capture the Corporation. But an effort has been made to infuse some new blood into a rather orthodox and obsolete body, which should be regarded as very welcome. The new corporation will be remarkable for the presence of certain fresh and vigorous elements. It will be also marked out by the disappearance of one or two old and outstanding figures..... It will be no easy matter for the young enthusiasts, who have thus come forward to serve the public, with all their public spirit and patriotic fervour, to fill worthily the place of men like Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Sir Dinsha Wacha, or Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla. But, from the character of some of the newcomers, we shall be justified in hoping that such an effort will be made."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 29th Jan.; Eng. cols.

64. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* notes with pleasure the fact that His Excellency the Governor has personally visited various localities of Bombay City and has declared that sanitary dwellings are the most urgent need of the city. It remarks that as the present Governor evinces personal interest in this question it is not likely that it will be shelved any longer as it was done in the time of his predecessors in spite of big promises. The paper considers the question of relieving the present congestion and improving the insanitary localities as the most important one, and for this purpose it suggests that arrangements for building temporary residences on a large scale should be immediately made and that steps should be taken to extend the present limits of Bombay City by amalgamating the Island of Salsette with it. It expects the Bombay Government to help the Municipality in this matter as the latter alone cannot undertake such a huge adventure and hopes that this question will receive due consideration at the time of His Excellency's proposed consultation with the representatives of the Corporation in connection with the question of handing over the management of the City Improvement Trust to the Municipality. It concludes by saying that further sources of income should be assigned to the Municipality in order to enable it to meet the increasing needs of the city.

Extension and improvement of Bombay City.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 1st Feb.

65. Referring to the prevalence of cholera in the city, the *Rást Goftár* and *Praja Mitra* says that the Health Officer attributes this outbreak to the strike of the mill-hands and their insanitary houses; but merely stating this fact would not do as it was his duty to insist on providing sanitary residences for the labouring class, or at least on having some temporary arrangement for the purpose before anything permanent could be done in the matter. The Municipal Commissioner and the Corporation, it adds, have remained quite indifferent in the matter of concerting measures to meet this grave situation and Government, too, are responsible to a certain extent as the grievances of bad food-stuffs and high prices are not redressed by them. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—From the report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the causes of the influenza epidemic, it is quite apparent that if the Port Health Officer had informed the Health Department of the city of this epidemic betimes, it would have been possible to check its spread in the city. It has been argued that as this influenza is not included in the list of contagious and infectious diseases, the Port Health Officer cannot be held responsible for it. It is strange that even in the case of a dangerous epidemic such a legal subtlety should be raised and that too by a responsible man like the Health Officer. This is now a matter of the past, but it is hoped that Government, the public and the Corporation of Bombay will not fail to have the rules amended in this respect for our future safety. It is stated that the Port Health Officer has no connection with war-ships and so any information regarding what is happening in them is not fully available to him. This is an irregularity and in the interests of the health of the city, should be immediately set right.]

Epidemics in Bombay and the Health Department of the Municipality.
Rást Goftár and Praja Mitra (31), 26th Jan.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 30th Jan.

66. "In the Dhárwár Municipality the non-Brahmins are not only in the majority, but they have succeeded in getting two non-Brahmins, Messrs. Mensinkai and Hulkotti, elected to the Presidentship and Vice-Presidentship. The opposition of the Brahmin members to the election of Mr. Mensinkai to the Presidentship was both bitter and subtle. When the Brahmin members saw that there was not the least chance of the chair being occupied by one from among themselves, they determined to get Mr. Maxwell, a nominated European official, elected as the President. Rao Bahadur Rodda, at one time an additional member of the Bombay Legislative Council, audaciously moved the proposal on the ground that an European would be more impartial than either a Brahmin or a non-Brahmin! Unfortunately this impartiality of the European had never

Comments on the recent elections of the President and the Vice-President of the Dhárwár Municipality.
Deccan Ryot (4), 23rd Jan.

appealed to the Brahmin Rodda when his caste-men used to occupy the chair! The above incident gives us a fair idea of the double-faced policy of the Brahmins. Whenever the non-Brahmins declare that they would prefer the rule of the British to Home Rule without communal representation, they are denounced by the Brahmins as traitors and anti-nationalists! Motives of all sorts are attributed to them and they are described as being put up by the interested Anglo-Indians. Now what have they to say against this Brahmin Rodda who openly preferred an European official to a non-Brahmin and defended his position on the ground of the impartial character of the British administrators? Does it not clearly show that the extremist Brahmins, who are pledged to the maintenance of the Brahmin supremacy, would rather welcome the perpetuation of the British bureaucracy than live under a Home Rule in which the non-Brahmins possessed their due share of power?"

M. K. SHAIKH,

Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 7th February 1919.

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*Reported in advance.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 8th February 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. "Every day the economic situation in the City and the Presidency is growing from bad to worse..... The abnormally high prices of foodstuffs have not remained an isolated factor. They have had tragic reaction in the continued virulence of epidemics especially in this dreadful city afflicted as it is with profiteering, indifferent Municipal administration, inefficient 'control' not untainted by favouritism and jobbery..... We are glad to find that the Bombay Municipal Corporation has, at last though late, moved in the matter and reinforced the considerations urged by us..... A drastic action that is called for is the reorganisation of the 'control' system. At present, it is at once perfunctory, obstructive—and, in short, not as satisfactory as it should be. A feature of the debate in the Corporation was the emphatic manner in which speaker after speaker dwelt on the failure of this system. To those who are in touch with the people, this is no matter of surprise. Ever since the inception of the Control Department, the impression in the public mind regarding the 'honest' methods resorted to by some members of the Department, to which Mr. Jehangir Petit referred, has been current in business circles. We hope the impression is not justified. But it is there, and it is the duty of Government to see that it is removed. Apart from this, it is a matter of common knowledge and experience that the control system has not been characterised by that beneficent activity and efficiency, which were expected of it. Neither has it been fruitful in preventing profiteering—which has flourished unrestrained and unchecked. The remedy lies in making the Control Department really amenable to public opinion. At present it is guided by a Government officer. A Government official, however able, has his own ways of controlling things. He can seldom avoid red tape, and cannot come in real touch with the people who suffer most. Besides, the public have no control over him. If, therefore, the control system is to fulfil the object which it is intended to subserve, it must be entrusted to an independent body of men who should guide and control the 'Controller'. This body should be composed of men who are conversant with the needs of the poorest sections of the community as well as of disinterested businessmen who may be expected to keep a vigilant eye on the movements of all markets; and, above all, its composition should be such as to inspire confidence among the public. If the Government are really in earnest they should rise above 'red tape,' discard their traditional dilatory method and pay urgent attention to this matter which involves the sufferings of thousands."

The defects of the food control system.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th Feb.

2. Commenting on the debate in the Bombay Corporation regarding high prices and scarcity, the *Gujaráti* writes:— "There was one more point which seems to have escaped the notice of the Corporators and that is the system, which has come into vogue, of selling grass at higher than the control prices by not passing any receipts at all and thus escaping the penal provisions of law or by holding back stocks on the false pretence that they had already been sold to other constituents and thus coercing buyers to buy at the rates dictated by the holders of large quantities of grass. The effects of these high prices on the owners of milk cattle are obvious and the supply of milk in Bombay and outside has undergone unheard-of deterioration. It is unnecessary to dilate upon the consequence of this awful state of things upon the health of the people in general and children in particular. We invite the urgent attention of the Controller to this lamentable condition of affairs and press upon his attention the urgent necessity of controlling the price of grass in a more effective manner at the centres where pressed bales of grass are being sold every day in defiance of the control rate. We cannot congratulate Government on the fact that salt is being sold in various places at prohibitive rates. The salt tax is an indefensible, nay, an opressive impost. It has told upon the health of the poor population and cattle, led to agricultural

**Gujaráti* (18), 9th Feb., Eng. cols.

deterioration and lowered its power of resisting plague, fever and cholera epidemics. Government are in duty bound to see that salt is made accessible to all at a reasonable price. Elementary considerations of humanity demand that Government should move in the matter with the utmost promptitude and not remain deaf to the pressing appeals that are being made to them from many quarters. The suggestion that the number of shops for the sale of food grains should be reduced does not commend itself to us..... What is urgently required is the opening of a number of well-supplied shops where unadulterated grains would be sold at lower rates and not the rotten stuffs that are now being sold at various shops at exorbitant prices. This scandalous, cruel and shameful state of things ought to cease and the sufferings of the poor relieved without any further delay."

Wafáddr (34), 31st Jan.; *Deshodaya* (68), 4th Feb.; *Deshi Mitra* (67), 6th Feb.

3. It is a pity that the very India whose heroic sons gladly sacrificed their lives and money for upholding the prestige of the Empire is at present caught in the grip of famine and is undergoing torments for lack of food and clothing. One cannot but be filled with surprise mixed with pity on seeing the Indian people longing in vain for stale pieces of bread when large quantities of grain are available in various parts of the country. Foodstuffs are being supplied to the country through the agency of the Food Controller, but it can scarcely be said that the grain supplied through that agency is conducive to the health of the general public. The frequent attacks of influenza and cholera are more due to the stringency of the Food Controller than to the spread of infection. We hope that Government will put an end to their own trading in food-stuffs under the guise of restrictions on inter-provincial transit and food control and at the same time afford facilities for the free movement of food-stuffs over the railways. May God come to the help of dying India! [The *Deshodaya* and *Deshi Mitra* also complain of the distress caused in the Surat District owing to the measures adopted by Government for controlling food-stuffs and earnestly pray that Government may be pleased to remove the control and allow food-stuffs to move freely in the country.]

Necessity of a further reduction of the freight on rice from Burma to Bombay.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 4th Feb.

4. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* considers it wise on the part of Government to have reduced the freight on rice from Burma to Bombay to Rs. 30 a ton but regrets that still Government aim at making a profit of Rs. 10 per ton in these hard times as they themselves have engaged the ships at Rs. 20 a ton. The paper ascribes the rapid spread of epidemics to the scarcity of food-supply among the poorer classes and urges Government to grant concession rates of freight on rice from Burma to Bombay in the interests of these classes. It is strange, the paper adds, that the freight between Burma and Bombay is Rs. 30 a ton while that between Karáchi and Liverpool—a distance almost ten times as great as the former—is only Rs. 20 a ton. It thinks it unfortunate that India does not possess a mercantile marine of her own and that the authorities concerned are as yet taking no action in this respect even in this age of industrial regeneration.

Comments on the communique issued by the Controller of Cotton Cloth regarding standard cloth.

Hindusthán (22), 1st Feb.; *Bombay Samáchar* (63), 3rd Feb.

5. Referring to the press communique regarding standard cloth issued by the Controller of Cotton Cloth, Bombay, the *Hindusthán* declares that in view of the scarcity of cloth all over the country, the output of only five per cent. of the looms will hardly be sufficient to meet the demand of the poor, and it apprehends that this control of cotton cloth may have a contrary effect as has happened in the case of the control of foodstuffs. The paper attributes the high prices of cloth to the high prices of cotton and states that Government had better control the export of cotton than the output of cotton cloth. It urges Government to control cotton speculation which unnecessarily tends to raise the prices of cotton, as also to consider other ways of bringing down the same as cloth cannot be available at cheap rates unless cotton is made available at relatively cheaper rates. It is of opinion

that the standard cloth, being of a very low quality and not durable, will not prove a blessing to the poor; and it deplores that the officials are not able to find a proper solution of this question as the advice they get from the mill-owners and cotton-merchants in this respect is not altogether disinterested. [The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses its gratification at the communique and asks that its benefit should not be confined to particular provinces but must be extended to the whole country. For this purpose, it suggests that if the output of all the looms that the law permits is controlled it will go a great way in relieving the distress of the poor.]

Some lessons of the Bombay strike of mill-hands.
Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 3rd Feb.

6. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* asks Government to appoint an influential committee or commission for preparing a scheme for the settling of disputes between capital and labour either by arbitration or through an industrial court, in order to avoid strikes and to make the relations between capital and labour more satisfactory in future. For this purpose it recommends the help of the "Whitley Scheme", recently submitted to the British Government by the Whitley Committee, as, in the opinion of the paper, it is likely to prove very useful in preparing a similar scheme for this country. The paper at the same time suggests that as the strength of the present Police Force is not sufficient to meet the requirements of the city in view of its ever increasing population, as was proved at the time of the last strike, prompt action should be taken to increase it adequately.

Passive resistance at Pandharpur (district Sholápur) against the new income-tax rules.
**Mahrátta* (7), 9th Feb.; *Sanjaya* (125), 6th Feb.

7. "The Pandharpur people in Sholápur District are at last driven to adopt passive resistance as a protest against the new and revised rules of income-tax. They petitioned to the Government of Bombay and the Government of India, but could get no redress. The income-tax collectors on the other hand issued notices for the realisation of the taxes and the people have been left no remedy but to adopt passive resistance. They refused to pay and the officers have commenced to attach the properties. Mrs. Anasuyabai Digichkar, a widow, was the first victim. Will not Government look into the question and interfere in due time? On the other hand we urge the people to continue the passive resistance if they believe their grievances to be true. Let no man buy the property attached." [The *Sanjaya* also reports resort to passive resistance at Pandharpur in the matter of Income tax payment.]

Comments on the proscription by the Punjáb Government of Dr. Ansari's Moslem League address.
Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 4th Feb., Eng. cols.

8. "There is something more than the mere Home Rulers' ebullition in the protest which is being made against Sir Michael O'Dwyer's inhibition of the address of Dr. Ansari on the Khaliphate and the future of the Musalman principalities. The autocratic action of the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjáb in prohibiting the admission of the speech in English or in a vernacular translation is open to serious question on two grounds. The first seems to us to be the more important as alone among the subordinate rulers of Indian provinces the satrap of the Punjáb has scented peril in the propagation of the verdict of the Musalmans as incorporated in Dr. Ansari's manifesto. It is a fresh and an egregious instance of what we have been complaining of as reprehensible flaccidity in the Government of India which invests the ruling powers with a false aspect of instability. It would seem that provincial autonomy in its most absolute and objectionable form has already commenced to be exercised..... It would make the masses believe that there is no central control and that the imperial authority at Delhi is somnolent or non-existent. For if Dr. Ansari's manifesto is bad for the Punjáb it cannot be good for Bombay nor for Bengal nor for any other part of British India. To permit it admittance into Madras and deny it admittance into the Punjáb is to demonstrate that India is ruled not by the will of the Viceroy in Council but by a number of self-governing bodies over which the Governor General has no power. Our second objection is to the unconscionable delay which the

Punjáb Government has permitted itself in pronouncing judgment upon the Moslem manifesto..... However much one may be tempted to combat what appear to be historical fallacies in Dr. Ansari's statement, one must recognise the force of religious feelings and desist from academic speculations more suitable to a quieter age and less perturbed times. No one knows precisely the grounds on which Sir Michael has condemned the statement of Dr. Ansari. Sir Michael O'Dwyer's government has not cited what to neutrals would appear to be weighty objections to the continuance of the Khaliphate in an Imperial house which does not derive its sanction from the tribe of the Quraish. Nor has it been suggested that the *hadises* cited by Dr. Ansari belong in many cases to the technical category of 'weak'. Above all Sir Michael's Government appear to be ignorant of a powerful plea against the perpetuation of the Khalifate in the line of the Oshmanli Sultans, namely, the reasons furnished by the greatest of modern Musalmans, the late Sir Syed Ahmed. In the absence of an emphasis on reasons based on the opinion of Sir Syed Ahmed and his school the action of the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjáb is a capricious piece of autocracy calculated to raise most unnecessary opposition to the policy of the Government of the Punjáb."

9. Commenting on the proscription by the Government of the Punjáb of Dr. Ansari's speech delivered as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Muslim League, the *Muslim Herald* asserts that the speech has been published by all the Urdu papers throughout the length and breadth of India either in whole or in part. It is, adds the paper, also published in the form of a pamphlet. It remarks that in the face of such wide circulation it is quite futile to forfeit it. The paper thinks that the action now taken in respect of it is not calculated to do any good; on the contrary, it will go a great way in hurting the feelings of the Musalmans. It admits that in some places the tone of the speech has become aggressive and holds that certain expressions are possibly improper. Nevertheless the paper maintains that there is nothing in it which can give rise to feelings of disaffection and hatred towards Government. Dealing with the dissatisfaction felt by the Musalmans of India in regard to the future of Turkey, the Hejaz, Syria and Mesopotamia, the paper says that the anxiety is real and justifiable. It agrees with the opinion of the *Al-Bashir* (Etawah) which considers that Dr. Ansari's speech voices Muslim feelings correctly. The paper remarks that the speech can be proscribed only if it is held that the expression of the feelings of a certain community is unlawful. In conclusion the paper denounces the present disquieting policy of Government in relation to the Musalmans which is, in its opinion, harmful both to the rulers and the ruled. [The *Sanjaya* writes:—Dr. Ansari's speech was delivered publicly, and it would have been better if the objectionable portions had been pointed out and a suggestion conveyed to him. It is a question whether good will ensue by giving importance to such matters or by maintaining a neutral attitude. There are many other ways of developing the common interests of Government and the people than by paying such minute attention to matters like this speech.]

Muslim Herald (151), 7th Feb.; *Sanjaya* (125), 7th Feb.

10. The *Kesari* condemns strongly Sir Michael O'Dwyer's policy and says that he has outdone himself by declaring Dr. Ansari's speech to be objectionable. It adds:—A month has passed since the League meeting at Delhi. The Delhi officials themselves or even the Imperial Government did not find it objectionable then, and though the speech has been read for a month it has not caused any disturbance anywhere and now Sir Michael is boycotting it. But why should high-handed officials withhold their hand when no reason need be assigned for any repressive order and no evidence need be produced for it? The Bombay Government declared objectionable one of the best essays in the 'Nibandhamala' after 32 years and destroyed it! What wonder is there that Sir Michael considered Dr. Ansari's speech to be objectionable after 32 days? But the question is, what object do the officials want to achieve by such orders and how do they think that it will be fulfilled? Did Dr. Ansari's speech create discontent in Muhammadan society, or would

Kesari (114), 4th Feb.

Government's prohibition excite it more? The Bengal Government committed a similar blunder and caused the Calcutta riot. It was the idea of the Russian bureaucracy that discontent could be rooted out by mere repression. It is the misfortune of the country that the Indian bureaucrats have not shed the idea though Lord Morley very often condemned it.

Condemnation of an attack on Prophet Muhammad by the *Epiphany* of Calcutta.
Akhbár-e-Islám (59), 3rd Feb.

11. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* expresses indignation at what it considers to be a wanton attack on the Prophet Muhammad by the *Epiphany* and is surprised that the Government of Bengal should have allowed it to go scotfree instead of bringing it to book for wounding the religious susceptibilities of the Muhammadans and fomenting racial hatred.

The days of the bureaucracy in India are numbered.
Anavil Sevak (60), 31st Jan.

12. Commenting on the last session of the Indian National Congress the *Anavil Sevak* writes:—As the people of America cannot tolerate any insult to their President, in the same way our own country cannot tolerate any insult to the President of our National Congress. The bureaucracy knows that it is impossible to keep the people of this country under subjection any longer, but it is not willing to part with the power and authority irresponsibly enjoyed by it up to now. These trustees of our country (as the bureaucracy claim to be), when they first came here, saw the necessity of keeping the people pleased in order to get a firm footing in this country; but now, as they have got a firm footing here, it is natural that they should not care for the people. At first they confided in us as they were sure that we would not come in their way, but now they look upon even our innocent acts with a suspicious eye; otherwise they would not have objected to the route of the procession of the President. There was no fear of a revolt in the procession of the President, but the Lieutenant-Governor (*sic*) of Delhi must have thought that seeing the great pomp of the procession, people would perhaps think that a new king was coming to the throne. Moreover, as even the Viceroy himself does not interfere with the authority of the Lieutenant-Governor (*sic*) of Delhi it is the latter who must receive the highest honour; then who is the President of the Congress to receive the same in his stead? But the Lieutenant-Governor and the bureaucracy must know that they themselves are the servants of this country while the President of the National Congress is the uncrowned king of this country and people are prepared to sacrifice everything for him. And, therefore, thus coming in the way of the popular sentiments regarding him embitters the relations between the people and the bureaucracy, as a result of which the days of the bureaucracy are drawing to a close. The special session of the Congress had passed a resolution to the effect that India should be granted complete self-government within 15 years and that the Police, Military and Judicial Departments may remain in the hands of the bureaucracy for six years, but in view of what has happened in connection with the Willingdon memorial and the Calcutta, Madura and Madras disturbances, people are convinced that power should not remain in the hands of the bureaucracy even for six days, let alone six years.

Comments on the trial and conviction of Dr. Varada Rajalu of Madura.
Anavil Sevak (60), 31st Jan.

13. Commenting on the sentence passed on Dr. Varada Rajalu in the Madura riot case, the *Anavil Sevak* says:—By thus punishing a person here and a person there the public feeling instead of being in favour of Government goes against them, as the officials must have experienced in the past in connection with the trials of Mr. Tilak. The officials' belief that a man can disseminate sedition by his writings or speeches seems erroneous to us. If people do not like a particular thing they do not at all read or hear it; that is, people like that writing or speech the most which tallies with their own sentiments, and, so unless all those who like such speeches or writings are imprisoned, the result desired by the officials cannot be had merely by punish-

ing a person here or a person there. Dr. Varada Rajalu is a true patriot and nothing that the people can sacrifice for him can be too much. Fearing that with regard to this case there will be various protest meetings, officials are said to have taken the help of the military in order to maintain order. This fear on the part of the officials shows that there is a strong public opinion in favour of this patriot and that he must be a true patriot. It is a misfortune of this country that such a patriot should have to suffer rigorous imprisonment for serving his own country; and the people cannot be discharged from the debt they owe to him by merely showing their sympathy for him. At the time of the internment of Mrs. Besant, Mahatma Gandhi is said to have suggested in private that mere protest meetings would not avail to release Mrs. Besant and that if they earnestly wanted her release they should go with him to Lord Pentland and ask him either to release Mrs. Besant or to intern them all. As the people of free countries are prepared to sacrifice their all for the sake of truth, in the same way the people of this country also should participate in the sufferings of their leaders, if they are convinced of their innocence. That India is getting poorer day by day is an acknowledged fact; and so, if Dr. Varada Rajalu attributes it to the present policy of the Government, he may be perhaps erring in his diagnosis of the cause of poverty, but he cannot be said to have committed a crime in doing so. How can there be a crime in demanding *swaráj*? It would be a crime if the people of this country demanded and tried to have the kingdom of England; but, here, too, if anybody should ask to have returned all the wealth that has been carried away to England from this country and to rule over England for as many years as England has done over this country, it would not be a crime in the eyes of justice and morality. But nobody demands anything like this. Here what is demanded is the management of our own country, and so one who asks for possession cannot be guilty but the one who hesitates in deliveringit is guilty. If it is a crime on the part of Germany to keep Alsace and Lorraine, then it can also be a crime for England to keep India under her control. So judges in this country should for the sake of jsutice punish such criminals, and not Dr. Varada Rajalu who merely voices the opinion of the public.

14. "Mrs. Besant has given a direct challenge to Home Rulers. To those of them who are either in the Congress majority or support its views she says in effect:—'If you do not agree in the decision of the officers of the Home Rule League in following a policy which is opposed to that of the Congress, then there is the exit for you. Please go and join Mr. Tilak's League.' We must say that we are shocked at this. Does Mrs. Besant, with the few men who are with her in this, constitute the All-India Home Rule League? If, as she rightly says, the men inspired by the All-India Home Rule League are now in a majority in the Congress, then in setting at defiance the wishes of that very Congress majority, is not Mrs. Besant in reality also defying the majority of the League? Does she and the friends who are supporting her constitute the Home Rule League? When the League was being started it was Mrs. Besant who, if we remember rightly, told Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji that thereby the Congress would not be destroyed. Now what is direct and outright condemnation and opposition to the policy of the Congress but a virtual attempt to stab it in open day-light?..... We for our part emphatically refuse to resign membership of the League at anybody's bidding. We will remain and work in the League as Mrs. Besant is remaining in the Congress in spite of her differences; but we will pay due deference to the will of the majority. We also assert that it is the body of members and not a few individuals who can decide matters of policy on which the very existence of the League depends..... With the passing of the Rowlatt legislation Mrs. Besant's policy of moderatism may become popular with some, but it is unimaginable, despite the help which the bureaucracy and Anglo-India will give to it, and we must note that they are already showering their blessings on it, that the old days will return when the Moderate element held the destinies of the Congress in its hand. The Nation is now wide awake, and it has to thank Mrs. Besant ever so much for that."

Mrs. Besant's challenge to Home Rulers.
Home Ruler (5), 1st Feb.

15. The *Bombay Chronicle* welcomes such new Home Rule papers as the *Independent*, the *Inqilâb*, etc., and writes:—"What with epidemics which are in a manner the outcome of famines which themselves are directly due to faulty agrarian methods, the resisting forces of Indian humanity against the ravages of maladies are dwindling. An impoverished country has not the sufficiency of the wherewithal to meet urgent sanitary requirements. It is a vicious circle this—physical debility, disease, famine, and appalling mortality. The root cause of the pauperisation of the populace of India is the non-conservation of national wealth. This cause cannot be removed until the Indian people become masters in their own house. It is this missionary task which Home Rulers are ready to shoulder. They are prepared to run risks and remove the economic darkness of the country. Vernacular newspapers especially will prove a potent instrument in the achievement of their undertaking. If Government cherish the delusion that the Rowlatt Bills and further reactionary legislation will effectually counter the gospel of Home Rule we can offer nothing but commiseration for their myopic vision."

The missionary task of the Home Ruler.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th Jan.

16. In the course of an article dealing with the Delhi Congress and Moslem League sittings, Mr. Damodar Vishwanath Gokhale writes in the *Chitramaya Jagat*:—What can be more unfortunate than to be governed by a handful of men coming from an island thousands of miles away? To what abject condition are the Chiefs and Princes of India reduced whom we are accustomed to regard as deities incarnate! The political destinies of the people of this country from the prince to the pauper being in the hands of the House of Commons, we examine the results of British elections with feelings of fear and expectation. This dependence is no doubt deplorable but the only way to escape from it is to attain *swarâjaya*. We must ask the same blacksmith to snap our chains who forged them. At the last election the Irish created a most embarrassing situation for England. Ireland's past history is one long tale of suffering and persecution. The Irish have been struggling in vain for independence for centuries past. Almost all the members they have now elected are Sinn Feiners who are openly hostile to the British connection. This is a clear indication of the bankruptcy of British statesmanship. When individuals and nations lose faith in constitutional agitation, revolts and revolutions are bound to follow and there have been several instances of this in the history of the world. The example of Ireland is before India and if the Imperial Government desire that this example should not be followed by the other units of the Empire that are struggling for independence they should give the rights of *swarâjya* to Ireland, Egypt and India without any further delay.

Reflections on the British elections.
Chitramaya Jagat (102) (Marathi), Dec., 1918.

17. The *Hindusthân* dwells at great length on the alleged grievances of Indians in British East Africa and, while commenting upon the sentence of death pronounced on Keshavlal and Savle, at a court martial, which was subsequently commuted to imprisonment for twenty years, it writes:—The inhabitants of Zanzibar believe that these two Indians are innocent of the charge brought against them and that false evidence has been got up against them. No one has paid any heed to the resolutions of the Congress of that place. This case affords a specimen of British Colonial government, and gives us a faint idea of the plight of Indians in that country. We should sympathise with the woes of our brethren in that country. Should not Britain attend to the grievances of the subjects of its Colonies? Will no British newspaper publish an account of the oppression practised by its own kith and kin on British subjects? The attention of the Indian Government should be drawn towards the plight of Indians in British East Africa. A commission should be appointed to inquire into the matter.

Alleged oppression of Indians by the British authorities of East Africa.
Hindusthân (22), 6th Feb.

18. "While questions affecting the lives of millions, such as famine, epidemics and illiteracy, were disposed of, as it were, by a gesture, the future of vested interests, official and non-official, was argued at great length. 'We regard it as a libel on the Indian Civil Service as a body to say that they have resisted or will resist the policy announced last August', said Lord Chelmsford in the Reform Report, adding that 'they have welcomed it because no one knew better than they knew how badly a declaration was needed and *they will carry out with determination the policy laid down for them.*' The long apology delivered in the Council is, however, proof of the implacable opposition of the I. C. S. both as regards the declaration and the policy. There was not a word in deprecation of the various Civil Service Soviets in the country and their demonstration to intimidate the promoters of reform. It was a step secretly manipulated but happily disclosed, and was against the etiquette and discipline of their Service. If the course resulted in apologetic explanation from the Viceroy and not public censure, it must prove refreshing to the mutinous signatories of the disgraceful manifesto. After praising the sacrifices and altruistic spirit of the various services and sympathising with their distress on account of 'high prices,' the Viceroy gave to them certain assurances about their tenure and emoluments. 'The Services were sent to India by Parliament, not as the executive agents of a popular Government in India, but to administer the country under the official Government of India,' said His Excellency, before laying down two doubtful propositions about them. If by the term '*official* Government of India,' the Viceroy meant the bureaucratic structure of the Government, and so derived his assurances, there is nothing more than a polemical play of words. The Services are sent to India to obey, not a Government of India 'official' in composition, but merely Government established by law. Their sole duty is to satisfy themselves that the Government they serve is constitutionally established by Parliament. If Parliament chooses to remodel the government of the country, it does not affect the duty or the business or the loyalty of the paid services in the least. His Excellency is making a mistake in interpreting the grievance of the services as primarily a thing of salary and larger remuneration. The Madras memorial says: 'One important factor in the position and influence hitherto held by the Civilian will disappear and his role will be merely to execute a policy.' Beside this complaint we shall place Lord Chelmsford's dictum, 'Ministers must administer and the permanent services must execute.' The claim of the Civilian does not accord with the maxim of Lord Chelmsford and hence it is going the wrong way about to 'protect' him against 'inexperienced and possibly hostile Ministers.' To dictate and to rule is their simple aim, in spite of all the polite periphrasis of their language. However, Lord Chelmsford's peace-offering to the Civilian gods emphasises the degradation in office meant for the unfortunate Minister in the Report. The Minister is to be part of the Executive Government but not of the Executive Council, and has to hold his departments on unequal terms and with the residue of money left for him. The incongruity of thus duplicating Government to the disadvantage of the Minister has been brought into greater relief by Lord Chelmsford when he says that the services could always depend upon the triple defence of the Governor, the Government of India and the Secretary of State. The Minister is expected to control departments, but is to have no authority over the Civilian officers under him—rather a puerile status. If the Minister is not in status and authority equal to the members of the Executive Council, he will be helpless against the truculence of his subordinates. Very few will have faith in the success of such a constitution. European business concerns, it would seem, are to be guaranteed against provincial taxation, though they are to have representation. A rigid rule granting such immunity is wrong and unheard of, and marks the surrender by the Viceroy of a great principle. The pretence that the Government of India will control such taxation amounts to nothing, when we remember the autocracy of the Government of India even as proposed in the Reform Report. The consent of Europeans to the reforms is on the whole sought to be obtained at too great a price, but

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's opening speech at the sessions of the Imperial Legislative Council.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th Feb.

these material concessions, so anomalous in their character, show the labyrinth of fantastic compromises which the reforms, according to Lord Chelmsford, threatens to be."

The Indian Civil Service and the Reforms.
Jágriti (44), 1st Feb.

19. Of late we hear a good deal of the I.C.S. revolt. These men are perturbed lest the introduction of reforms may injuriously affect their interests. The prospect of losing uncontrolled power which they have been accustomed to wield is worrying them. One of their grievances is that their wives feel very lonely while they are touring in the district. We suppose the advice given by the authors of the Reforms Report that the I.C.S. officers should mix freely with educated Indians must have sent the *Mem Sahebs* into hysterics. These ladies are said to have the greatest aversion to be treated by an Indian doctor, whatever his qualifications may be, even when they have a slight attack of cold. Do the Civil Servants imagine that India is to be governed solely with an eye to the convenience of their wives?

Shubhodaya (94), 31st Jan.

20. Mr. Montagu writes to the overseas Club that it lies with Englishmen in India to lead the Indians to their proper position. Do you see? Mr. Montagu has handed over the work of bringing about the good of the people of India to the I. C. S., just as Madhavarao made Raghoba Dada the trustee of Narayanrao Peishwa, the minor. Amen!

Bombay Government scheme for the Bombay Legislative Council.
Jágaruk (43), 1st Feb.

21. The Government of Bombay gave it as their opinion before the Franchise Committee that the number of members of the proposed Bombay Legislative Council under the Rerforms Scheme should be 125. In our opinion this figure is too small and unless it is much larger, the backward and the untouchable classes cannot be adequately represented in the Council. Again, Government are of opinion, like the Congress, that the number of Muhammadan representatives should be one-third of the total. This suggestion is wholly unjust as the Muhammadans are less than 20 per cent. of the total population of this Presidency. Government have thus ignored the claims of the backward and the untouchable classes by proposing a smaller number of members for the Legislative Councils, and by conceding to the Muhammadans a larger number of representatives than they are legitimately entitled to.

The sittings of the Franchise Committee in Bombay.
Deccan Ryot (4), 30th Jan.

22. "The Committee of Lord Southborough has been sitting in Bombay since Saturday last and will finish its enquiries in a couple of days more. Of course the evidence which the committee has collected is not exactly known to the public. But we have ample materials before us to give us a general idea of how things are moving on in the Committee. In the first place, we have the memoranda of several of the witnesses called by the Franchise Committee published by some of our newspapers. More important, however, than these is the material supplied to the witnesses themselves by the Officer on Special Duty, Constitutional Reforms, in the Bombay Secretariat. We recognise that the opinions expressed by the Bombay Government in connection with the topics submitted for consideration by the committee are of a more or less tentative nature and they must, therefore, be treated as suggestions thrown out for discussion rather than as deliberate opinions. But this renders a criticism of the proposals embodied in Mr. Crump's Notes all the more necessary. There is every reason, therefore, why we should try to present to our readers an idea of how matters stand at present especially with reference to the vexed question of the constitution of our Legislature under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. Before we proceed, however, we ought to mention one fact. Reading between the lines of the summary of evidence submitted by some of the Bombay and Poona witnesses, submitted *long before* the summary of Government proposals was available to all the witnesses, it is obvious that the general outlines of the Bombay Government's proposals were fully known to some gentlemen in these two cities many weeks before

the witnesses from other places. We know neither how nor why this should be so. Not that there should have been anything secret about these proposals. But the only question is how they came within the knowledge of a certain class of politicians in Bombay and Poona, while others were allowed to have no inkling into the matter. Were the Government responsible for this? Did they consult the leaders of any section of our politicians in the framing of their proposals? If they did, why were not the other schools of thought also consulted? Does this lead to the conclusion which has been drawn by some that the whole scheme of constitutional reforms conceived by Mr. Montagu is to be the sole child of Mr. Montagu and his friends in India? The composition of the Committee itself, together with the nature of the proposals of the Bombay Government, support the conclusion suggested by the fact that the Government proposals in Bombay were known to a certain class of gentlemen while they were withheld from others who were equally interested in them and who had a right to an equal treatment. We are emphasising this point not for its own sake but for the inferences it leads to. Is it after all true that Mr. Montagu and his Indian friends are in league to impose their own ideas on the masses of this country? We hope this is not so, although we confess that there are grounds to fear that it is so. Long before the Montagu-Chelmsford Report was published, we were told that the Report would decisively oppose the creation of communal electorates. Even before the Franchise Committee began its enquiries, we were told that the Committee is sure to oppose communal electorates. Then again the facts we have referred to above. They warn us at least to beware of the fact that a fight in England would be necessary before the claims of minorities and the Non-Brahman Hindus are properly safeguarded." [Here follow criticisms of the notes above referred to. The article concludes:—] "Nobody appears to have considered the important problem in a scientific manner. All that is done is to see who shouts the loudest. And the only proposition that seems to have been accepted is to concede all that the strong demand and refuse to consider what the weak pray for. Justice indeed!"

Mr. B. C. Pal's views on the Indianization of the public services of India. *Home Ruler* (5), 1st Feb.

23. In the course of an article contributed to the *Home Ruler* Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal writes:—"Articulate Indian opinion is absolutely united in its desire to get rid of the present alien Bureaucracy as quickly as possible. Both the 'Moderates' and the Extremists' are equally of this opinion. Indeed so great is the impatience of a large, and by no means uninfluential, section of the community, with this alien Bureaucracy, that they would prefer almost any administrative arrangement to it. I have heard prominent and influential Hindu leaders say that they would not object to a purely Moslem administration and I have also heard some very influential Moslem leaders say that they would welcome a purely Hindu administration, if only they could get rid of the present alien Bureaucracy by this means. It would, however, be unfair to conclude from this that these people are not sincerely loyal to the Imperial connection. They are conscious of the advantages of this connection and do not desire to disturb or terminate it. All that they want is that while the British connection should continue, the present servitude must end. The administration of the country by an alien Bureaucracy, who owe and own no manner of constitutional responsibility to those whom they govern, is the badge and proof, not of our Imperial rights and status, but of our bondage, and, as such, this Bureaucracy must go, as the very first and fundamental condition of the recognition of our Imperial citizenship. This is an almost universal feeling in the country. But all those who are so eager to get rid of the present alien Bureaucracy, have not equally seized, I am afraid, the meaning and significance of the democratic ideal. I have found as little appreciation of this democratic ideal among prominent Moderates, as, I am sorry to have to confess, I have found among prominent Nationalists..... There is still a very large section of the community who hold to the exploded belief that larger appointments of Indians to higher administrative posts will help us on to our goal. These amiable people, and they include both Moderates and Nationalists, do not seem to realise that the most complete replacement of the present alien Bureaucracy in this country by an

indigenous Indian official hierarchy, created by and responsible to the British Cabinet and the British Parliament in London, will not, and can never, alter the *character* of the present rule, or advance the country in ever so small a measure, towards the democratic ideal..... The so-called nationalisation of the existing services in the Government of India will not, and cannot, democratise the Indian Government. A good many people seem to overlook or ignore this simple fact..... I have no doubt that the policy indicated in this appointment (of Sir S. P. Sinha) will be steadily pursued for some time to come, and a very serious attempt will be made to weaken, if not kill, the Home Rule Movement in India, by this 'increasing association of Indians in every branch of the Administration.' The *Times* rightly characterises Sir S. P. Sinha's appointment as a 'stroke of imagination.' They hope to capture popular imagination by these high appointments. Already there are signs of demoralisation around us. The Montagu-Chelmsford proposals started the process, and many people have been moved to lend their support to these proposals—'modifications or no modifications'—by the prospects of office and emolument which the proposed offices of 'Ministers' and 'Under Secretaries' have held out. But the question that the real lover of freedom must ask himself every time these temptations come before him, is—Do these make for real democracy? For it is in the light of this true democratic ideal, that the faithful Home Ruler must always judge every act and policy of the Government."

Complaint that revenue officers have begun collecting land revenue in the Surat District.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th Feb.

24. The Ahmedabad Correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* writes :—"The sacrosanctity which surrounds the pronouncements of the 'man on the spot' and the incredible credulity with which they are swallowed by the Government are often productive of irreparable mischief. Gujarat has furnished two instances which, with their proverbial short memories, the Government of Bombay have not seriously taken to heart. The ruthlessness with which land revenue was exacted was painfully borne in upon the Maconochie Commission of 1900-1901 and the relentless energy of attachments which precipitated the Kaira struggle ought to have taught the authorities to keep a sharpish eye on the recrudescence of officiousness on the part of the men on the spot whose reports on the agricultural outlook ought to have been taken *cum grano salis*. It is notorious how in the great famine of 1899-1900, the Mamlatdar of the Chikhli Taluka in the Surat District assured the then Deputy Collector at Khergam that the jowari crop was exceedingly promising. When asked to substantiate his statement, the Mamlatdar was constrained to admit that his opinion was based on the condition of the standing crop in *one* field! Despite these instances, the Government of Bombay have thought fit to order the collection of land revenue in the Surat District where the existence of famine is not declared for some occult reasons. What are the facts? The whole district has been in the grip of famine for the last two years. In 1917, the heavy showers at the fag-end of the year damaged the crops beyond repair, with the result that the net yield shrank to only four annas in the rupee. In 1918, the failure of the crops was more or less total, the outturn ranging from two to four annas in the rupee—which, too, remained unharvested because the epidemic of influenza laid the farmers low when the fields where white unto harvest. The prospects of the *rabi* crops were no less blunt, because of the lack of moisture in the soil. Rice, pulses and grasses failed to yield any perceptible returns, and even the sugar-cane crop on which the farmers spent eleven months' hard labour and a good deal of money borrowed at a high rate of interest from the sowcars sorely disappointed their hopes. A sympathetic Government ought to grant total exemptions from land revenue in appreciation of the chronic distress among the cultivator classes. Relying, however, on the reports submitted by the talatis, circle inspectors and mamlatdars, who are past masters in the art of pleasing, the Government of Bombay have ordered the collection of land revenue, with small remissions made here and there. Will they somewhat relent before ruin seizes the inarticulate peasantry ?"

25. In many of the villages in the district of Thána remissions and suspensions of revenue have been reported to be granted without the people having agitated. But in the case of the Kolába District, though the Assistant Collector and the Collector have been on circuit from village to village and have actually witnessed the severe famine prevailing in them nobody utters a word about the grant of remissions and suspensions in that district. In an interview with the Collector at Karjat, the members of the district Conference represented to him the state of famine prevailing, but it is a matter of great regret that owing to the absence of the Collector's approval alone the Kolába District is not yet considered as famine affected. Those that depend on agriculture as the only means of subsistence are at a loss to know how to pay their assessment this year and some of them in these circumstances have not as yet paid their revenue dues. The Mamlatdar of Bhivandi has been issuing orders to levy fines from such people, equal to one-fourth of the amount of assessment! The rayats of Dighasi (taluka Bhivandi) presented applications for suspension personally to the Collector. But he said there was an 8-anna crop and that suspensions could not be given. Will some Honourable Member take notice of this?

Need of suspension and remission of assessment in the Kolába District.
Kesari (114), 4th Feb.

26. We have received numerous complaints about the indifference shown by the subordinate officers in the matter of the distribution of *dole* to the poor people. In one case it is complained that Mr. Nizamuddin, Circle Inspector, Tasgaon, (Ahmednagar), who has several villages in his charge for the purposes of distributing dole, chooses a certain village as his distribution centre where he calls people from the surrounding villages to come and receive the *dole*. This arrangement may be convenient to the officer himself but the poor aged people find it otherwise, inasmuch as they are unnecessarily detained at the village for a whole night which puts them to great trouble as they do not possess clothing sufficient to protect them against the cold in their weakened condition owing to famine. We request the authorities concerned to look into the matter and remedy it.

Complaint about the method of *dole* distribution in a part of the Ahmednagar District.
Din Mitra (105), 5th Feb.

27. "Not the least interesting of the many interesting papers that were read at the Indian Science Congress was that of Mr. G. F. Keatinge, I. C. S., in which he made a passionate protest against the antiquated conventions and traditions which were destroying agriculture in India. Mr. Keatinge justly observed that the very basis for the regeneration of agriculture was that a minimum amount of land must be fixed as a permanent unit for farms, and that the farmer should be the man best suited for the job and determined by the free action of the principle of the survival of the fittest. Commonplace and platitudinous as all this sounds it is unfortunately necessary that it should be dinned into our ears in season and out of season. The attitude of the Government in this matter is more or less of benevolent neutrality, but in the absence of any strong, broad-based and intelligent public opinion, with those in power determined not to go ahead of the most reactionary elements in the country, the situation is almost hopeless. In spite of all its efficiency and its authority and its great force and prestige, the bureaucratic Government is unable to carry out a measure of reform which a popular Government could immediately do without much ado. If we are to wait till the masses are sufficiently educated to outgrow the influence of the ancient traditions which are so out of place now, we shall have to wait till eternity. The present administration is frankly not equal to meeting the situation; we cannot possibly afford to wait till public opinion in rural areas is sufficiently advanced to force the hands of the Government; and so the only solution is that we must have a popular administration which will dare to face popular disapprobation in carrying out reforms which are so indisputably necessary. It is rather a curious phenomenon that a Government which does not care two straws for the united public opinion which has

How the present bureaucratic Government stands in the way of the agricultural development of India.
Home Ruler (5), 1st Feb.

expressed its disapprobation of repressive legislation in unmistakable terms is so highly sensitive about carrying out reforms on which there is no division of opinion among educated and intelligent people because it might excite some discontent among the masses."

Responsibility of the Port Health Officer (Bombay) for the recent outbreaks of epidemics in the City.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd Feb.

28. "Sir Dinsha Petit has done well to call attention to the amazing lack of co-operation that has been found to exist—with most disastrous consequence—between the Bombay Municipal Health Department and the Port Health Officer in the matter of measures to be taken to safeguard the City from infection from dangerous diseases likely to be introduced by sea. The City, and, through it, the whole of India, have paid dearly for the neglect on the part of the Port Health Officer to keep the Municipal Health Department properly informed of the existence of influenza fever in an epidemic form on board certain military vessels that arrived in the harbour in June last..... The Committee tell us that neither influenza nor sand fly fever figure among the ten diseases which are specified in the regulations laid down for the information of the Port Health Officer and as to which he is bound to take certain action. If that is so, the sooner these astounding regulations are amended the better. But this defect in the regulations cannot exculpate—at least morally—a medical officer of the standing of Major Houston and invested with the duties and responsibilities of the post he occupies, of serious neglect of duty, in sticking to Red Tape and failing to take prompt action when he was aware that 'over 50 per cent.' of those on board the hospitalship were suffering from an epidemic type of fever. Did or did not Major Houston realise, both as a Medical Officer and as a Port Officer, that preventive measures should be promptly taken against the infection spreading in the City? If he did not—in the face of the very large number of cases on board the hospitalship—then he is not the person to discharge the responsibilities of so important a charge as the port of Bombay—the gateway of India. The 'error of judgment', of which the Committee reluctantly convict him, is a serious one, as serious as the one of which the military medical authorities were guilty in connection with the transport of the wounded in the early stages of the Mesopotamia campaign, if not more so. We cannot acquiesce in the opinion of the Committee that 'it is not possible to connect the outbreak of the epidemic in the city with the hospitalship 'D' or with the action of the Port Health Officer in connection with that ship or any other ship.' The Committee have not produced a shred of evidence to justify this amazing statement and we are glad that Sir Dinsha Petit, one of the members of the Committee, has refused to subscribe to this conclusion. May we ask what attempt did the Committee make to find out whether the outbreak in the city could or could not be connected with the hospitalship 'D'? We may remark finally that it is imperative, in the interests of the health of the city and of the country as a whole that immediate steps should be taken both by the Municipality and Government to ensure perfect co-operation and co-ordination between the Municipal Executive and the Port Health Officer in any case of emergency both in and out of Red Tape. As a necessary item of reform, we would suggest that the Municipality should insist on a Deputy Health Officer, or some other representative of the Health Department, being attached to the office of the Port Health Officer."

The pay of Public Works Department employees should be increased.

Kesari (114), 4th Feb.

29. When our provincial Government have increased the pay of their servants in almost all their departments we are at a loss to understand what should have led them to observe strictest economy in the case of the Public Works Department only. This question has been before them ever since 1913 and we wonder that it should not have been solved till now. Several of the Honourable members on three occasions have interpellated in this matter in the Bombay Legislative Council; but the question has been deferred from time to time. The employees in this Department also have made representations to Government on several occasions; but the last place still continues to be of Rs. 20 only. The war

excuse does not much support Government in this respect, because they have already during the same period increased the pay of the last posts in other Departments. When the mill-hands and Dock employees in Bombay ceased to work and went on strike the Governor even cancelled his Delhi tour and tried his best to secure increase of wages for them. That the same Governor and his predecessor, though approached by the faithful employees in the Public Works Department, should keep the question pending for over six years and starve them, looks strange indeed. May good sense dawn on Government now at least to settle the question finally and grant their servants in this Department some increase in their pay.

30. M. O. Walli recounts the grievances of the subordinates of the Royal Indian Marine as follows :—" (*a*) Refusal of the heads of the Departments to entertain applications from permanent men for temporary posts on higher salaries. (*b*) Refusal of the heads of the Departments to recommend to the Director applications for high posts in other Government Departments for endorsement and transmission. (*c*) Refusal to allow them to resign. (*d*) Refusal to submit to the Director their representations of grievances. (*e*) Extraordinary powers exercised unauthorised by the Chief Clerk to the Director who has the audacity to hold over submission to the Director of any representations that may have been forwarded by the Heads of the Department or to delay them. (*f*) The Chief Clerk even delays acting arrangements for months together when any permanent man goes on leave. (*g*) The Indians are prohibited from holding the posts of Conductors of the Store Department and those of Warrant Officers on board the R.I.M. Ships, the former going to Anglo-Indians and the latter both to the Anglo-Indians and the Indian Christians. (*h*) Appointment of Anglo-Indian girls and boys on higher salaries in preference to Indians who are decidedly better qualified. These are some of the numerous grievances of the Government Dockyard clerks, from which it will be noticed that the relations between the Heads and the subordinates are not at all satisfactory and it is high time that Commodore Wilson redresses grievances and sets matters right by bringing pressure on his subordinate officers to look upon their subordinates with a sympathetic eye."

Grievances of the subordinates of the Royal Indian Marine (Bombay).

Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th Feb.

31. " Now we understand an order has been issued by the Collector of Sukkur, Mr. Rothfeld, to the Deputy Educational Inspector requiring every teacher of the Government and the aided school to resign the membership of these unregistered libraries ! We could hardly make ourselves believe that Mr. Rothfeld known otherwise to be of liberal views could be a party to such a measure. But as it is, it is so..... It will not be long when Mr. Rothfeld and other members of the bureaucracy would find to their amazement a number of teachers resenting their present attitude. Can Mr. Rothfeld or any other member of the bureaucracy make us believe that they can be successful in keeping the teachers of schools from reading these banned newspapers ?..... We are of opinion that such orders of repression and coercion go only to strengthen the fears that are apt to be entertained of the bureaucrat and are the direct result of such measures. Apart from the above consideration we welcome such measures. To us they would afford in their success a step yet further in the fight for freedom for India and the bureaucracy is welcome to gauge the true feeling of Indian teachers towards their country, their cause and their freedom of action—the freedom which is and will be the birthright of every nation, every human being, whether he be an Englishman or an Indian, and for every bird and beast. It can not be withheld from Indians. His Excellency the Governor of Bombay is expected to visit our province in the first week of the next month. He is also expected in Sukkur and Shikárpur. Let us hope if he can do anything in the matter, coming as he does fresh from the shores of England, where individual liberty cannot be so restricted as in India."

Comments on an order of the Collector of Sukkur requiring school teachers to resign membership of libraries which take in the banned papers.

Sind Advocate (10), 23rd Jan.

32. "The ominous clouds continue to thicken on the Muslim lands, and we might well say, in the words of Hafiz 'how can those safe and sound on the shore know of our plight'. The vast Muslim population of the British Empire is denied the right to have any representative on the Peace Conference, but Sir Valentine Chirol who cannot bear the sight of Islambol being the city of Islam that it is, sits in Paris as an adviser on the Eastern question; Feisal, the son of the infant-Ally, is also there but the old and tried Allies—the Indian Musalmans—remain conspicuous by their absence; in spite of our prayers and protests England is to press for the linking up of her African and Asian possessions by establishing protectorates over 'the consenting Arab States'; England and France—and not Turkey—are to give free institutions themselves to the indigenous populations of Syria, Palestine and the Hedjaz, while in the case of Mesopotamia the Powers would force Britain, as we are told by an Anglo-Indian journal, to assume the direct control of it or it may even go, as suggested by another daily of the same fraternity, to the Aga Khan who would of course have British experts by his side. Involved in it all is the question of the Khalifate. Will Britain pause and think what she is after? Having already an empire over which the sun never sets, does it want, as Seth Yakub Hassan put it, a place in the sun itself? All these ambitions of the British Imperialists are at once inconsistent with the war aims of the Allies. That is not what India bled itself for and that is not what made the Indian Musalmans draw their sword in active antagonism to a people every particle their own. Little babies know that if Turkey comes to be partitioned, it would necessarily be with some sort of decree of the Peace Conference. Hence Mr. Balfour's hesitation to show his hand only serves to strengthen our alarms. Musalmans, therefore, expect that in her hour of triumph she would do her duty to her Muslims in the same ungrudging spirit, as they have done theirs. Britain should, therefore, so steer herself in the Peace Conference as to secure the good will of her subjects. Feisal should be made to realize that Indian Musalmans will never tolerate his father's interference with the Khalifate. Gagged though we are, leaderless and unrepresented though we happen to be, we have our feelings and every official in this country knows how we are praying to God to avert this greatest of great calamities on the house of Islam. We trust England is kept informed of our sadness. In the contentment of the countless Musalmans is the strength of the Empire and, therefore, for Heaven's sake let our House be as bad or as good as it is. If the Government of India has a heart, we demand that it should come out to us in sympathy in this critical period of our history and should enable us to make our voice reach the Peace Conference."

The duty of England towards her Moslem subjects in connection with the future of Turkey and the question of the Khaliphate.

Sind Moslem (11), 1st Feb.

33. "At a time when the future of Constantinople is exercising the minds of the Musalman subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor, we cannot but view with great apprehension the mischievous talk in which Sir Valentine Chirol and others of the Junker type are indulging in this regard. We have already referred to the firm and dignified protest of the Aga Khan and other leading Musalmans in London and we think it necessary to reiterate once again the absolute need for caution in this matter. It is futile to disguise the fact that Moslem feeling and sentiment in India have been considerably perturbed over the proposal of driving Turkey out of European soil. It is not likely that acts of the executive such as the forfeiture of Dr. Ansari's address by the Punjáb Government will restore confidence among the Musalman population that fairplay is intended in regard to this matter. We cannot help thinking that the action of the Punjáb Government is a needlessly harsh and provocative one besides being altogether futile coming as it does several weeks after the speech was delivered. The act amounts to this that while writings and speeches in favour of the proposal to wrest Constantinople from Turkey are allowed an amount of latitude bordering on dangerous license, Indian opinion, especially Musalman opinion, must be fettered and circumscribed. Such procedure, however convenient it may seem from an immediate point of view, is both illogical and immoral,

Young India (15), 5th Feb.

and we hope the Government of India will not countenance it. On the Government of India and on the Secretary of State in England rests a heavy responsibility—the responsibility of acquainting His Majesty's Government with the real state of Musalman feeling in this country on this most important question."

34. "Frederick the Great used to consider himself a wit, and it was a weakness of his to feel flattered when some joke propounded by him was voted classical by courtly admirers. After his decision to gobble up Poland or as much of it as was possible then, he cracked a joke which on account of its coarseness and profanity has become unhappily memorable. He said that Poland was not wantonly despoiled, but it was a solemn function of dividing the eucharistic body of Poland among the communion of Christian emperors. From the solemn keeness with which the Christian countries of Europe are putting forward their 'claims' for gaining a slice of Turkey, it would seem that the joke of Frederick the Great can bear repetition; though the vigilance of America and the goodwill of Britain may still defeat intentions of atrocious brigandage. Italy has something to say about the frontiers of Tripoli, a province she once annexed without any pretensions of right. Greece has put forward her 'claims' for a share in Turkey proper. On the whole, the countries of Europe are eager for a marauding scramble and it will be well if the disinterested parties in the Peace Conference insist that mere covetousness is no justification for filching territory."

The Peace Conference and the future of Turkey.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th Feb.

35. At present the Peace Conference is composed of the representatives of the five Great Powers and, before other nations are admitted to it, conquered or controlled territories are being disposed of by it. Of these Arabia and Mesopotamia were formerly under Turkey. Indian Moslems have given their opinion that that these provinces should be dealt with in such a way as not to interfere with the Turkish sovereignty. If British statesmen will heed it and if Great Britain helps Turkey selflessly to bring about reforms, it will be more advantageous than by becoming a mandatory of these provinces. The responsibilities of India should not be extended. The world desires that the work of the Peace Conference should be a permanent one and it is better that our nation should as far as possible devote its attention to its internal affairs.

Sanjaya (125), 7th Feb.

36. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* deplores the land-grabbing tendencies shown by some of the European nations at the Peace Conference and the reluctance shown at the Conference to apply the principle of self-determination to countries other than European. It is afraid that the proposed League of Nations will remain only a dream and that the decisions of the Peace Conference will give rise to another war in the near future. The determination of the United States of America to increase its navy and to introduce conscription in the country leads the paper to think that that nation itself does not have much faith in the Peace Conference. [In a subsequent issue the paper expresses surprise at the claim advanced at the Peace Conference in the name of India for territorial acquisition and hopes that light will be thrown on the question at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council.]

The Peace Conference and the League of Nations.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 3rd and 5th Feb.

37. "Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan, a member of the Franchise Committee, delivered a speech at Madras last week which deserves careful consideration by Indians. He pointed out three difficulties in the way of any real reforms in India. The first was the Hindu-Moslem problem. The second difficulty was the existence of the Depressed Classes in this country. The third of the three fundamental difficulties of the Indian situation was the Brahman-Non-Brahman question. Mr. Aftab did a distinct service to his audience by calling their attention to these difficulties and we trust that the call will not go in vain. The first

Indian Musalmans and the future of Turkey.
Deccan Ryot (4), 30th Jan.

problem arising out of the Hindu-Moslem relations is fairly on its way to a satisfactory settlement. If anything, the only need of advice from Mr. Aftab in this respect was in the direction of the Mussalmans themselves who seem to be losing a sense of the true proportion which their interests ought to bear to those of India. The danger which may be reasonably apprehended is, not that the Hindus will do anything encroaching upon the Muhammadan rights, but that the Mhaummadans will go rather too far in the way of pan-Islamism and in their anxiety to develop their own pan-Islamic instincts, they will commit themselves to a course of action which will create new and ever-increasing complications. Mr. Aftab did, therefore, well in asking his own co-religionists to remember that they were Indians first and Mussalmans afterwards. Are the Muhammadan leaders steadily keeping this ideal before themselves in all their recent activities? Take for instance the advice which some of the Musalman politicians are giving to Government with reference to the disposal of Mesopotamia. If pan-Muhammadanism was the only object of consideration for our Islamic countrymen, it would be very well to say that the Turkish Empire should not be dismembered. But is that justice to India? Would it be in the interests of India's safety? In their infatuation of the early war days, they involved the British Empire, and more particularly, this country into a serious war and threatened the peace and interests of India. We had to bear heavy burdens as a reasult of this war. Instead of demanding that India should be compensated for all the sacrifices she had to make in this war, instead of insisting upon such measures as would reduce the possibility of a repetition of the events of 1915-16 on the frontiers and trans-frontiers of India, the Musalman leaders of the League party are lecturing upon the integrity and inviolability of the Turkish Empire which has unfortunately proved to be a great menace to this country and the Empire to which she is proud to belong. We have nothing but appreciation for the Muhammadan sentiments which are deeply affected by the misfortunes of Islamites beyond the frontiers of India. We can to a certain extent understand their respect for the Turkish Sultan who is their Caliph. But is it not now time that the religious institution of the Caliphate may be considered by our Musalman countrymen as apart from the Power which has threatened our interests so recenly? Is it placing India first in your thoughts that you should do nothing or raise a cry against doing anything to prevent the recurrence of what happened in this War? The dangers which our Mussalman countrymen incur and involve India in by making too much of their pan-Islamic concerns re-act to a great extent upon Indian politics. It was, therefore, a wise thing that Mr. Aftab should remind his community of the duty they owe to India more than to anything else."

LEGISLATION.

38. "The bureaucracy cannot be so dunce as to misread the warnings of the country against the introduction of the Bills and the consequences of their procedure. They cannot, however, be given leave to assume anarchic powers, as excess of powers will result in their misuse even when they are handled by angels. If sections 21, 22 and 23 of the second Bill happen to be severely criticised, it is not because other clauses in the Bills are in any degree less repressive. 'The local Government and any officer of Government' are to be raised to the standard of tyranny, and they may, if the Bills are passed, henceforth decide that they must not take the hazards of ordinary law against individuals who prove themselves obnoxious. The Government of Bombay recently launched proceedings against Mr. Tilak under the ordinary law and the High Court dismissed the action brought by the Government. Under the new dispensation, which, it is intended, should be permanent, the Local Government can, in a similar case, take the lesson of the defeat, penalise a man and use *any and every means* to enforce compliance with their order. Let there be no mistake about the probabilities of such events and the rising of a new tradition of action under the Emergency Powers Bill. The possession of a seditious document penalises a man under the proposed law and puts it on him to prove that he had it for a lawful purpose. The provision is monstrous, destroying as it does the pre-

The Rowlatt Bills.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th Feb.

sumption of innocence, which is due to every accused. Any public worker or 'pestilential agitator' can be secured in jail for two years if evidence is established that a seditious document was found in his possession. His persecutors can at any time adroitly fasten on him some such document—may be on his person or by alleged possession in his house—and establish the case against him. For a public worker, with the rancour of the police against him, the provision will be a Damocles' sword. Similarly, association is to be a taint of guilt! These are ideal ways for hounding out 'suspects' and in time paralysing public life. We cannot trust the bureaucracy to administer emergency laws of a monstrous character like this; it is to expect too much of human nature, let alone bureaucratic nature. The procedure contemplated in the second Bill is calculated to deprive the rights of the accused under the Law of Evidence..... The procedure, we protest, is against all accepted canons of evidence, especially in view of the fact that the decision of the court of first instance is to be final. The jurisdiction of established courts—the High Court and the Privy Council included—is to be destroyed, the Law of Evidence, as it stands, is to be superseded, trial by jury or assessors is to be denied, and, last but not least, there is to be no publicity for the so-called judicial proceedings."

*39. "The situation at Delhi is now clear. The hope that the bureaucracy might prove at least to some extent amenable to the will of the Indian members in the Council has been utterly falsified. Sir George Lowndes, after a speech of amazing effrontery, said that against the will of the non-official representatives of the people 'the Government had made their choice and they had made a right choice—the only choice possible'. The people of India, too, have made their choice, and the crushing of the opposition in Council by the brutal overweight of numbers is not going to seal the fate of the people. Of course, the cynical record that the motion was put to the Council and carried, will remain, but the country has witnessed the fight in the Council and will accept the responsibility of opposing the iniquitous law which was resisted by their representatives. If laws and constitutions have moral foundations, there will be no doubt about the ultimate fate of the barbarous inquisition which is now being ordained in the land. The Indian members have fought with staunchness and solidarity, but none of them, we believe, will shirk their responsibilities outside the Council or prove craven enough to accept the trial of strength in the Council as final. Every device, whether of cursing or cajolery or intimidation, was used on the official side, and the anticipations of the Home Member of a defection of 'moderate' opinion have proved futile in the end. Of the moral victory of the fight there is no doubt; even the official phalanx can have no illusions about it....." The Home Member affected anxiety for 'the purification of politics', imagining that powers of arbitrary arrest and imprisonment on the part of the executive will have a prospering effect on public life. Public life in other countries happens to flourish without the purificatory processes of imprisoning anyone without trial and hence this particular result cannot prove to be a great recommendation, especially in view of the probability that the revolutionary authority of Goverument will eventually suppress politics. The Home Member protested that the Bills were 'in no sense aimed at a political movement properly so called'. Who is to judge that a particular phase of politics is or is not 'politics properly so called'?..... Predictions are dangerous, but one prediction can be safely made and it is that these drastic laws will be misused, and that painful certainty we owe to our experiences in the past. In winding up the debate, he said, 'for abnormal times, we must have abnormal laws'. But then all times are evidently not abnormal. Are abnormal laws required for normal times? The whole sentence is self-contradictory and, to say the least, destroys the case for permanent legislation and is a confession that abnormal laws cannot be an everlasting feature. ..... The defence of Sir Verney Lovett, who was probably put forward as the Rowlatt expert, was exceedingly bellicose and quixotic. He made a statement which was really an impeachment of Government or quite untrue in fact. 'Even now', said he, 'the revolutionaries were *invited* and *encouraged* by newspaper articles and sympathetic speeches which are unfortunately too

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common'. This bureaucrat and student of the revolutionary movement thus says that speeches and newspapers are positively inviting and encouraging criminals. Why do not the Government prosecute and convict those who are thus alleged to incite criminals? Government have powers enough to suppress such alleged incitement. Is it not rather that the typical bureaucratic psychology of Sir Verney Lovett finds public incitements which cannot be so called, but which merely raise his wrath? These random and unproved accusations about abetments that are 'too common' show the worthlessness of his judicial sense and is an indication of the way in which the bureaucrats will espy sedition and 'purify' politics. Sir George Lowndes has once more demonstrated his excitability and denseness in defending the conduct of the Government..... Sir William at least attempted to speak with some dignity in defence of an indefensible position, but Sir George Lowndes seems to possess a gift of losing himself in a style of intellectual poltroonery as the subjects under consideration grow more and more serious. We confess we cannot imagine what can be done in the Select Committee by gentlemen who have hotly denounced the principles and the necessity of the Bills. Mr. Sastri said that if the Bills become law he could not abstain from agitation to get them reversed and that he would not be content till they were repealed. What can he be doing in the Select Committee?..... We cannot understand the meaning of co-operating for the fruition of a measure which a person absolutely abhors. The position of the Government is now clear and it is that they must have these Bourbon powers of repression. The position of the people is that the Bills are dangerous to public safety, subversive of the rights of citizenship, improper for the subdual of revolution, and a badge of crime and helotry on the people. India cannot and will not accept the mark of Cain on the forehead and be shamed among the nations of the earth."

*40. "We have in these columns sufficiently exposed the veritably anarchical character of the new legislation which the bureaucracy is proposing with frantic haste to rush through a Council already packed with an official majority. That it is repugnant and contrary to all known laws of civilised countries has been amply demonstrated. For the benefit of those apologists of the bureaucracy who believe that the bureaucracy is not adequately equipped to cope with seditious crime in the country and that the present-day conditions require recourse to extra-judicial procedure, such as has been recommended by the Rowlatt Committee, we give below in parallel columns the charter of individual and communal freedom and the badge of helotry which the respective Governments of the Philippines and India hold up before their peoples. We are indebted to the *Modern Review* for the terms of the Philippine legislation, which is known as the Jones Law, and portions of section 3 of which are reproduced below. [The section is here given along with section 21 of Bill No. 2.] It will be noted that the extreme length to which the Philippine law goes is only in the event of actual rebellion or invasion and even then there is only a suspension of the normal law and no permarent abrogation of the rights guaranteed as above. In the present Bills before the Imperial Council the conditions which constitute an emergency are not specified at all. The contrast is equally glaring as regards the ascertainment of evidence. Thus the Jones Law provides: 'That in criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to be heard by himself and counsel, to demand the nature and cause of the accusation against him, to have a speedy and *public trial, to meet the witnesses face to face*, and to have compulsory process to compel the attendance of witnesses in his behalf.' The difference in these provisions will be best instanced by the fact that in the Philippines the trial has to be public and the witnesses have to face the accused, whereas in India the executive is to have the option of ordering secret trials and the alleged testimony of absent witnesses is protected against cross-examination by the accused. What is there in the conditions of India which makes it as it were a 'non-regulation' country, requiring the suspension of all the elementary rights enjoyed by civilised human beings? Is British statesmanship in India or in the world-wide Empire so bankrupt at this stage of its history and after the incalculable sacrifices it made in its glorious fight for human freedom, that all accepted

Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th Feb.

ideas and ideals of human progress must be subverted to make secure the foundations of England's control of India? Within seventeen years of the American occupation of the Philippines, the people have been granted autonomous Government and the charter of civic libertis from which we have quoted. Are British statesmen proud of what they are meting out to India after more than a century of British rule?"

41. It is needless to say that the present Bills are vitiated at their very source as they owe their origin to the recommendations of a Committee which based its conclusions on the information supplied to it by the Police. No one will attribute the appointment of the Committee during the course of the war, and the haste with which it submitted its report to Government, to mere accident. The Sydenhamites have raised a cry that the reforms in India must be considered side by side with the findings of the Rowlatt Committee and their activities were immediately supplemented by those of the Civil Service here. We do not think any one would now be found to say that these events are entirely unconnected with each other. The avowed object of these Bills is to deal with sedition and anarchy. But as the executive is to determine what constitues sedition it is possible that even honest men will suffer from the operation of these measures. Only a popular government is competent to decide where patriotism ends and sedition begins. We have already had several examples of the evil consequences which ensue when this power is wielded by an alien bureaucracy. When these Bills are passed into law no man would be able to guarantee his immunity from the charge of sedition. This sword of Damocles would be hanging over the heads of all and it is, therefore, the duty of every one to endeavour to get it removed. [The *Indu Prakash* points out that the provisions of the Bills have alarmed both the Extremists and the Moderates. The *Rájakáran* says that the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy alone is capable of foisting upon the millions of India laws which owe their origin to information of a questionable character supplied by the police. The *Suddhkar* says that on the passing of these measures the liberty of an upright and independent man will not be worth a moment's purchase. The *Prakásh* writes:—At a time the Peace Conference at Paris is occupied in liberating the subject nationalities of the world, our Government is busy devising means to circumscribe the liberties of the people. The *Jágaruk* on the other hand writes:—It is natural that Government should seek to arm themselves with additional powers in view of the known existence of conspiracies and the avowed intention of the Bolsheviks to carry on their propaganda in Persia, China and India. They should, however, provide proper safeguards for the protection of innocent persons and see that no one is made to suffer either through mistake or misunderstanding. The *Din Mitra* writes:—Although the motives of Government are pure the measures are no doubt objectionable. The backward classes, however, have hardly any reason to grumble. The load of social tyranny that they have to carry on their backs is so heavy that an extra weight of a few ounces more, such as would be imposed if these Bills are passed, scarcely counts. The opposition engineered by our Shankaracharya against the Patel Bill and other measures that would elevate our condition is so virulent that the repressive policy of the Rowlatt Bills pales into insignificance before it.]

Dnyán Prakásh (39), 4th Feb.; *Indu Prakásh* (42), 6th Feb.; *Rájakáran* (123), 2nd Feb.; *Sudhákar* (132), 2nd Feb.; *Prakásh* (122), 5th Feb.; *Jágaruk* (43), 1st Feb.; *Din Mitra* (105), 5th Feb.

42. The *Hindusthán* protests against the introduction of the Rowlatt Bills and particularly condemns the Bill to amend the Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code as a measure that would encroach upon the birthright of Indians as citizens and urges the need of a strong agitation in the country to support the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council in their opposition to the Bills. [In another article the paper refers to the alleged high-handedness of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb in proscribing Dr. Ansari's Moslem League speech and shudders to

Hindusthán (22), 3rd and 5th Feb.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 5th and 7th Feb.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 6th, 7th and 8th Feb.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (85), 6th Feb.; *Bombay Samáchár* (63), 8th Feb.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 6th and 7th Feb.

think what the Lieutenant-Governor would do when he receives additional powers under the Rowlatt Bills. In a subsequent issue the paper dwells upon the disaffection caused throughout India by the introduction of the Bills and urges upon Government the necessity of postponing their consideration. The *Sánj Vartamán* also calls upon Government to take into consideration the popular feeling against the Bills and to postpone their consideration. In a further issue it refuses to be convinced by the arguments advanced by Sir W. Vincent in favour of the Bills. The *Prája Mitra and Pársi* expresses disapproval of the Bills in strong language and asks the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council to leave the Council Hall if the Bills are passed in spite of their protests and opposition. In a subsequent issue the paper dwells on the hardships which the Indian people will have to bear if the Executive are empowered with the authority that would be vested in them by the Bills and strongly urges their postponement as in its opinion their passing would greatly prejudice the interests of India and come in the way of the passing of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms in Parliament. In a further issue the paper expresses surprise at the reasons adduced by His Excellency the Viceroy in favour of the Bills in his speech before the Imperial Legislative Council and again urges upon Government the need of dropping them. It reminds Government that they can pass Ordinances to the same effect if the need for them arises in future. The *Shri Venkateshwar* also asks Government to drop the Bills. The *Bombay Samáchár* is of opinion that such repressive legislation as is contemplated by the Bills in question does not deserve to be placed on the Statute Book. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* endorses the suggestion made by Sir D. E. Wacha for adjourning consideration of the Bills until the Reform Bill comes into operation. In the subsequent issue the paper refuses to be convinced by the arguments advanced by His Excellency the Viceroy for getting the Bills passed and urges upon Government the necessity of respecting the wishes of the people by postponing their consideration.]

43. The war is not yet formally over. Peace is not likely to be signed before the end of April and the Defence of India Act will remain in force till October next. In these circumstances there is no necessity for getting the Bills passed. We do not think that Government are right in their supposition that those who are now interned will not lead peaceful lives. Government should give these people a chance and then prove the necessity of such legislation in times of peace. Moreover, the Imperial Legislative Council has no right to over-ride the privileges conferred upon the people of India by the British Parliament. Should the necessity for such legislation as is proposed by the Bills arise then the Parliament of Great Britain alone can enact it. This is a very important question and the Indian people will have to carry the agitation to England if the Bills are passed into law. It is to be seen whether the Government of India will hasten to get the Bills passed in spite of the considerations above referred to. [The *Praja Bandhu*, the *Gujaráti Punch* and the *Hind Vijaya* urge the necessity of postponing the consideration of the Bills and join in condemning them.]

Gujaráti (18), 2nd Feb.; *Praja Bandhu* (29), 2nd Feb.; *Gujaráti Punch* (20), 2nd Feb.; *Hind Vijaya* (70), 5th Feb.

44. The *Kesari* declares that the evil spirit of repression should be buried deep in the earth and that not even the minutest part of the Rowlatt Bills should be allowed to survive. It is against any compromise and says that it is a good sign that all party differences have been sunk and that the unity has destroyed the idea that Moderates could be rallied and used to destroy the other party. India is learning to circumscribe its differences, continues the paper, and uniting in face of national danger. It refers to the protest meetings and hopes that thousands of meetings would be held throughout February and Government informed that the people are against the Bills. The paper goes on:—There are many statesmen in the bureaucracy who know that the good of the country is not achieved by repression. But they are engaged in the discussion of the reforms. They are hard-pressed in controlling the civil servants who have become possessed by the demon of

Kesari (114), 4th Feb.

autocracy at the sight of *swardjya*. Lord Chelmsford and Sir George Lloyd can exclude the Bills from the Council Chamber. But they are more afraid of the fury of the bureaucracy than of the popular clamour. Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Montagu should have prohibited the introduction of the Bills but they are engaged fully in the work of the Peace Conference. The prominent statesmen and Parliamentary leaders of England are against repression. The advocates of the bureaucracy know it full well and they have chosen the present time to get the Bills passed by misleading them. While the English statesmen are gazing at the stars in a way immersed in the discussion of the question of the Peace Conference, clever knaves are engaged in picking their pockets. England is being threatened that if the Bills do not receive sanction just as Lord Morley did against his will ten years ago, the bureaucracy would openly oppose *swardjya*. The Unionists also are likely to support the obstinate bureaucracy. If the complete independence of Turkey and Muhammadan countries is destroyed at the end of the war it will be poignantly felt by the Muhammadans always. The bureaucracy will not fail to argue that the spirit of Rowlatt must be empowered to pull the Hindus who have united with Muhammadans in political matters by their tuft of hair and set the beards of Muhammadans on fire, with a view to keep Muhammadan sentiment in order. The sum and substance of their argument is that the Legislative Council must fan the fire of the Rowlatt recommendations in order that Bengal dacoities may be put a stop to, or, if such dacoities do not occur at present, in order that Muhamm adan wrath may be burnt up in the fire of repression. People should agitate on such a large scale as to attract the notice of the big statesmen engaged in the work of the Peace Conference. Calcutta suggests the adoption of passive resistance and Madras thinks that agitation in England should be made and that a declaration should be obtained that the Bills are illegal. Time may come even for the adoption of passive resistance and the use of all constitutional methods. People should note the fact beforehand and make preparations with a united effort to bury the new demons of repression.

45. In the factory of the Government of India two ropes are being twisted for the neck of the freedom of Indian public opinion. We are told on the one hand that responsible government would be given to the people of India in instalments and on the other laws throttling the people are being forged. It is all strange! Let it be so. We hope that the members of the Imperial Legislative Council—those who desire to conduct responsible government hereafter—will show their grit and independence and deal with the Bills as they deserve.

Shubhodaya (94), 31st Jan.

46. "As was only to be expected, the Bills introduced by Government in the Imperial Legislative Council to amend the Penal Law have met with a determined opposition from the political classes in this country. There is nothing strange in this. Those who sympathise with the revolutionary movements, those who believe that the Governnent's only object in proposing the present legislation is to persecute agitators of all kinds, those who consciensciously think that the progress of India depends on extra-constitutional activities which will be checked by the proposed amendments and even those who believe that the powers conferred by these Bills on the Government, the High Courts or the Police are excessive, may criticise the Bills with more or less severity. But we cannot understand the mental attitude of those who complain that they are very 'inopportune in time'. The reason is that the Bills do not take into account the 'ameliorative effect' of the reform proposals! It seems that Mr. Sastri, from whose *Servant of India* we are quoting these curious opinions, has not yet himself realised the effects of the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals. Was not the experience of the Delhi Congress enough to bring home to him what soothing effect the proposals have produced on the minds of our political classes? His paper goes on to say that anarchist conspiracies can have no chance of success in the altered conditions which will be brought

Deccan Ryot (4), 6th Feb.

into being by constitutional reforms. Does the writer know what the philosophy of the Indian anarchist is? Does he not believe that the British connection with India must entirely cease? No reforms, we hope, will accomplish that purpose. How then is it to be expected that the reforms will make the anarchist scarce among us? Supposing for an argument that the reforms will ultimately accomplish the result expected by Mr. Sastri, it is obvious that the expectations will take some time before they are realised. Are we to let loose upon society the hundreds of anarchists who are at present in places where they are serving their country much better than by leaving them, in the mere hope that the reforms, when introduced, will produce an atmosphere which will check the growth of anarchism in India? The powers claimed by Government through these Bills are being already used under the Defence of India ordinances. If they have been hitherto used with care and judiciousness—and we believe Mr. Sastri himself will admit this—we see no reason to suppose that anything else will follow the passing of these Bills into Law. The success of the reforms depends largely on the stamping out of anarchism from the country, and it is, we think, the duty of patriotic sons of India like Mr. Sastri to explain the need of such legislation to the public instead of avoiding the main question about the merits of the Bills by calling them inopportune."

New Times (8), 2nd and 6th Feb.

47. "The time has now come when from every town and village of the country protests must be sent to the Government of India and the Secretary of State against the repression bills. The non-official members of the Imperial Legistative Council must be compelled by the force of public opinion to voice the real opinion of the country. A manly course on the part of the non-official members is now absolutely necessary. The country must back them up with one voice by showing its strong opposition to the proposed legislation. We must arrange meetings of protest in all parts of Sind. Let Karáchi take the lead." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—"One is now reminded of the days of the partition of Bengal when the whole country was convulsed on account of the high-handed action of Lord Curzon. Sedition which then appeared in Bengal, and against which Government now proposes to arm itself with irresponsible powers, is directly traceable to the ill-conceived measures of Government and to their unwillingness to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people..... Is it the intention of Lord Chelmsford and his advisers, when we are on the eve of consititutional reforms calculated to sooth and assuage public feeling and thus act as a check against revolutionary and seditious purposes, to remind the younger generation once again of the inefficacy and uselessness of constitutional agitation? Otherwise, what is the purpose of rushing through the Council legislation which has evoked the utmost repugnance throughout the country?"]

Hindusthán (22), 2nd Feb., Eng. cols.

48. "Though India at pesent trembles beneath the Rowlatt hoof, 'accursed is the march of that glory, that treads o'er the hearts of the free.' O India! so long and so sorely tried, not undisfigured by marks and scars of a cruel penal chain, yet cherishing above sordid gains greatness of soul and a love of liberty—look up, and in the firmament illumined with Hope, read the answer which a God of Justice gives, teaching through your history to those who would tempt you to ignoble barter or surrender of immutable truth..... The birth-day of a new world is at hand; but the bureaucracy in India is the same as before. It is the nature of repression never to learn moderation from the ill success of first operation; on the contrary all oppressors, like all men thinking too highly of the methods dictated by their nature, attribute frustration of their desires to the want of sufficient rigour. Then they redouble the efforts of their impotent cruelty; which producing, as they must ever produce new disappointments, they grow irritated against the objects of their repression; and then rage, fury and malice (implacable because unprovoked) recruiting and reinforcing their best of power, their vices are no longer human. But, their very extreme methods defeat their ends and repression always fails most signally. On the contrary, it rouses the dormant spirits of the

nation and the spirit of universal opposition nerves the popular advocacy of the people's natural rights, which are above any Government grants, which no Government can lawfully deprive."

Servant of India (9), 6th Feb.

49. "At a moment of crisis in Irish history Sheil asked: 'Do you wish to rule Ireland by putting yourselves in contact or in collision with the people?' The people of this country will be impelled to address a similar question to the rulers at this time, and what with the dilatory process of another inquiry into the reform scheme through a Select Committee of both houses of Parliament, on the one hand, and what with the indecent hurry in which permanent legislation of a restrictive character is being pushed through, on the other, the Indians at any rate will strongly suspect that the rulers have adopted the latter alternative. Nor will this be far removed from the truth, so far as the Civilian bureaucrats are concerned, if the signs of the day are to be believed. When the Defence of India Act will probably remain in operation for a year more and can be further called into exercise for another six months by the issue of an ordinance; when thus ample provision of extraordinary powers is made so as to satisfy even the most exacting demands of the officials, it is difficult to understand why the authorities should take coercion in hand in advance of the conciliatory measures, unless they hope by this means to turn down reforms. It is true that when the joint report on reforms was drawn up, the Secretary of State and the Viceroy had all the fact sabout anarchy before them; and the Rowlatt report should really make no difference whatever to the scheme of reforms. But the official perhaps counts, and counts rightly, that the sedition report will create an amount of prejudice against Indian politicians generally, and sees in this his best chance of obstruction. In the name of killing sedition, he would kill reforms. On no other hypothesis is this insensate folly of saddling the country with coercive legislation on the eve of reforms even intelligible..... The higher authorities must beware and prevent this conspiracy (for so it will be understood) on the part of the Civilians to bring the reforms to nought. [Elsewhere Mr. N. M. Samarth contributes a long article on the Bills with the following conclusion:—"This will serve to give an idea of the highly contentious character of the present Bills purely from a legal point of view. I ask whether it is right and proper that the Government of India should proceed with these Bills. No useful purpose will be served by doing so. The proposed legislation is neither necessary nor desirable nor expedient at the present juncture. On the other hand, it is positively calculated to make the forthcoming constitutional reforms fall flat on a deeply discontented people."]

Mahrâttta (7), 9th Feb.

***50.** "In spite of unanimous protests from one and all articulate sections of the Indian people the Government thought it urgently necessary to launch the new Repressive Bills in the waters of the Imperial Legislative Council. All prayers, all logic of arguments, and even all threats were of no avail. The resolutions passed at innumerable meetings throughout the country were put down as 'scraps of paper'. The Viceroy in his opening speech blessed the Bills and Sir William Vincent, the god-father of the Bills, was allowed to introduce the same with a speech, overflowing with insolence of power and supremely indifferent to the popular will..... We must congratulate the representatives of the people who are putting a valiant fight in the Council against these bills. We know that they would not make any impression against the official block with whose votes the legislation will be carried through. They have one solace, that they would have the unanimous opinion of the whole country behind them. Even Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and Sir Dinshaw Wacha, whom the Government consider as bulwarks of their Empire, have strongly protested against these bills. In spite of all this, if the Government persist in carrying out the bills, the country would know no peace. India is already ablaze with indignation at this attempt and the relations of the people and the Government would be embittered to an alarming extent..... We believe, if this legislation is passed, all honest political life in the country would end and the era of sycophants, flatterers, office-hunters will be ushered in, to the great detriment of political progress

and to the lasting shame of our rulers. We urge our countrymen to spare nothing that is constitutional in fighting these Bills, and if they are passed we must show by clear indications that the nation will not take the insult lying down. The representatives of the people should withdraw from the Council and should have no hand in the passing of this legislation, and the country should observe the day as a day of humiliation."

*51. "The most striking feature of the situation is that the Moderates are quite as emphatic in their opposition as the Radicals..... The Honourable Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee holds that persistence with the Bills means the extinction of the Moderate party in Indian politics. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar has written three weighty articles in the *Times of India* pointing out the danger of pushing forward the two Bills without waiting to see what effect the introduction of constitutional reforms has upon the political situation. The Defence of India Act extends to the duration of the War and six months thereafter. The reports of the progress of the Peace Conference do not promise an early end to the labours of that body. The world will have good reason to congratulate itself if the war is formally and officially declared to be at an end by July next. Six months thereafter will bring us to the beginning of 1920. If the Government of India's nervousness is not dispelled by that time, the Governor General can promulgate an ordinance which will have the force of law for six months. We have every reason to expect that the reforms will be in train before July of next year. If they are not, the enactment of these Bills will avail little in the face of the general disappointment and discontent which will be caused thereby. If they are, we have very good grounds for the belief that these Bills will not be needed to put down revolutionary crime which, deprived of its sustenance in political disaffection, will have died a natural death. We cannot think that, in the face of the weighty and unanimous protest from Indians of all shades of opinion, it is wise on the part of Government to persist in forcing these Bills through the Indian Legislative Council with the support of their solid official majority. Sir George Lowndes speaking on behalf of Government admitted that they had practically the whole opinion of the non-official members against the Bills. But, he maintained, it would be impossible for Government to surrender their judgment even to the unanimous opinion of the non-official members. It is not a question of surrendering Government's judgment but of disregarding responsible Indian opinion. The Bills have been referred to a Select Committee by the official majority which has got to do the bidding of the Executive Government. A measure passed in this manner may for purposes of administration be as valid as any other measure, but it will have little moral force behind it. We have been told that the fitness of the country for responsible government should be proved by its acceptance of these measures. We should like the fitness of the United Kingdom to be put to such a test before it is applied to India..... If constitutional reforms cannot be had but at such a price, we do not want them. What will it profit India to have the beginnings of responsible government if the liberties of the Indian people are carefully consigned beforehand to the keeping of the irresponsible part of the Executive?"

Indian Social Reformer (6), 9th Feb.

52. "The first of the two Rent Restriction Acts passed by the Legislature came into force in April last, but, as yet, no rules appear to have been framed or notified by the High Court for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of the Act, as required by section 15. No special rules have been laid down for regulating the practice and procedure to be followed in proceedings under this Act; nor has any provision been made for the charging and remission of fees in matters governed by it. The result is that at present the only alternative left open to landlords, for having an adjudication of the rent to be properly charged, is to file an ordinary rent suit at an excessive rate of rental and then invite the decision of the court. The tenants, on the other hand, have to wait indefinitely until the landlord chooses to sue them in a court of law and meanwhile to run into heavy arrears which they can ill discharge when

Defects of the Bombay Rent Acts.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th Feb.

the day of reckoning comes at the sweet will of the all-powerful landlord. The hardship of this, alike to landlords and tenants, is obvious in all suits, whether for recovery of possession or of rent..... The supplementary Act, which was meant to restrict the increase of rent of 'small premises,' is at present, for all practical purposes, a dead letter, even though it is supposed to have come into force as far back as November last. The Act was passed through the local Council, as an urgent measure, in September but did not receive the Viceregal assent till the very end of October. It took yet another fortnight to publish the Act in the local Gazette. As if this delay in the case of emergency legislation was not enough, until very recently no Controller had been appointed under the Act. Now that one has been appointed, he finds it difficult to enter upon his duties immediately. The list of persons, from whom the Committee which is to hear appeals from the Controller's order is to be selected, has not been published by the Governor in Council. As under the parent Act no rules have, as yet, been framed under section 13 of the subsidiary Act, for the selection of the committee, service of processes, production of documents, attendance of witnesses, etc. Meanwhile owners of 'small premises' have not been slow to take advantage of the dilatoriness of the authorities and they are doing their level best to expedite suits in the Small Causes Court as they seem to expect that the ordeal of the Controller's scrutiny will be all the harder to pass through than that of the judges who have not the requisite information available to them for checking figures of 1916 rent. This state of affairs has, we hear, given rise to a deplorable conflict of opinions, not only between the judges, but also between the judges and the Controller. In several pending suits, in which the Controller has been appealed to by the parties for relief, some of the judges have refused to stay their hands, on the ground that there is no provision in the second Act by which they are ousted of their jurisdiction to determine standard rent under the provisions of the principal Act. For this conflict, we are thankful to the obscure and confused drafting of the Act, to which we had drawn attention at the time the draft bill was under consideration and even after the Act was passed."

EDUCATION.

53. Commenting upon the report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, for the year 1917-18, the *New Times* remarks :—" The system of hostels attached to Government High Schools has proved very satisfactory and Government take guardians and parents to task for not taking full advantage of the hostels, while they admit that residence in hostels is more costly..... A great majority of Indian parents sending their sons to high schools are very poor. They forego the very necessaries of life that they might educate their children. Even a rupee saved under such circumstances is something gained for the upkeep of the family. Therefore, if the hostel system has come to stay, the charges for boarding and lodging must be within the reach of even poor parents..... On the whole the Director's report is not a very bright document. Unless primary education is made compulsory and free there can be no substantial progress in this respect. The question of better pay for teachers is a very pressing one. More secondary schools and colleges and less of inspecting staff on high salaries is also a necessity. And above all there is the most pressing need of all, the Indianisation of the whole of educational service except only when experts, with special qualifications not procurable in India, are necessary."

Comments on the report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, for the year 1917-18.
New Times (8), 4th Feb.

NATIVE STATES.

54. " A hundred years ago, it was decidedly in the interests of British rule, and probably also in the interests of the people of India generally, that the small, ill-governed, and eternally fighting states of India should come under the suzerainty of a single powerful power. It may be regarded as an historical misfortune that this power

The Delhi Chiefs' Conference.
Servant of India (9), 6th Feb.

happened then to be foreign, though many regard this contact with a virile civilisation as the making of India. This suzerainty could then be established duly by entering into treaties with these states and guaranteeing them certain rights and privileges. But these treaties have now assumed in the eyes of the descendants of the original princes an air of inspiration ; they have become a kind of perpetuity. They always come in the way of any improvement. When any new policy is proposed to them, they are always prepared to say, 'This is not in the bond'. One may be allowed to speculate as to how many of these Highnesses would have survived to this day to put forward this claim in the absence of the suzerain power. Thrones in ancient days were very unstable as they have become again in Europe. It is hardly possible that the present popular wave in Europe would not have touched our Native States. The subjects of the states whould have clamoured for a recognition of their rights, and they would have had their way. But now the princes feel quite secure. Have they not got their treaties? As a result there is no political life at all in the Native States. The most ardent advocate of Home Rule would be most violently against migration to a Native State. The real problem of the Native States is how to get over the treaties when they conflict with the interests of their subjects. The questions discussed at the Chiefs' Conference leave us comparatively cold as they entirely neglect the people most concerned. The questions of the rights of the chiefs and their salutes or precedence are in our opinion of a very secondary importance. A renowned statesman in Europe gave at the utmost a life of a dozen years to the most solemn treaty between two countries, for in that period circumstances alter and the solid foundation for the treaty cracks. Is it not high time that the treaties with the chiefs should be revised after over a hundred years? It would indeed redound to their credit if the chiefs themselves come forward to submit to such readjustment. Perhaps their autocratic and irresponsible power may have to suffer some diminution. But if they consent to that diminution so as to give it to their subjects in the modern democratic spirit, the real power and influence of the Native States will increase incalculably. It is in this direction we wish to see a solution of the problem of the Native States which are nowadays working as a brake on our national progress."

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 14th February 1919.

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Report on Newspapers

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District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. Referring to His Majesty's opening speech in Parliament, the *Sánj Vartamán* expresses its gratification at the recognition made therein of India's services in the war and states that though it is a matter of satisfaction that Mr. Lloyd George has secured seats for Indian representatives in the Peace Conference, India's aspirations and wishes are not fully satisfied in this respect as she is not allowed to elect her own representatives. It also notes with pleasure the fact that His Majesty has expressed a desire to give effect to the Reform Scheme as early as possible. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed*, writing in the same strain, adds that it is necessary to devise means for improving the condition of the labouring classes and poor agriculturists in India as it is intended to do in England.]

Comments on His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor's opening speech in Parliament.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 13th Feb.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 14th Feb.

2. The freight charges from Rangoon are now Rs. 30 per ton. Still a reduction of Rs. 10 to 15 per ton is needed. We do not know why concessions should not be given in Railway freight charges. Government spend for Tagai, Relief works, etc.; why should they hesitate about concessions in freight charges? Moreover people have a right to ask for reduction in railway freight charges as a good deal of the amount of the Famine Fund has been utilised in building railways. If Government do not help in this way, we shall have to say that the money has been not properly used by Government as people could not get the benefit of the famine trust even during famine.

Necessity of reducing freight charges in times of famine.

Kesari (114), 11th Feb.

3. The *Vibhákar* says that famine is assuming a more terrible shape day by day. It is of opinion that it is the prime duty of Government to supply as cheap as possible plenty of foodstuffs. It is quite improper, continues the paper, to look to money while people are steeped in misery for want of foodstuffs. It adds:—People are likely to get excited. The freight charges from Rangoon were Rs. 55 per ton but now Rs. 30 have to be paid whereas the steamer Company is paid Rs. 20. It is quite reprehensible to profiteer at such a time. People are complaining all over the country and it is not proper for Government to maintain silence. The Bombay Municipality has resolved that only actual cost prices should be recovered. We suggest to Government to pay attention to it. It is good to give no room for complaints in the present unbearable condition.

Vibhákar (36), 10th Feb.

4. Commenting upon the *communiqué* issued in Delhi in the matter of the resolution moved by the Honourable Mr. C. V. Mehta in the Bombay Municipal Corporation requesting Government to remove the inter-provincial restrictions on the export of food-grains and to reduce freight on rice shipments from Burma, the *Hindusthán* writes:—Government have promised to make further enquiries in the matter of the stocks of grains held by military authorities and so the public will not be convinced unless Government adduce facts and figures to prove the falsity of the complaint made by Mr. Mehta in the matter. There is truth in the complaint of Mr. Mehta in the matter of steamer freights from Burma. The Indore State has issued a press note declaring that the restrictions on the export of food-grains have been imposed owing to the scarcity of food-stuffs in the State. Had the State published the rate at which wheat is sold there, we would have been in a position to know what cheap rates prevail in that State. What right have the Native States to secure food-grains from British territory if they place restrictions on the export of commodities sold cheap in their States? The *communiqué* gives no satisfaction to the public. It is to be regretted that Government have not realised the difficulties that people have to bear owing to their control of foodstuffs and that they advance lame excuses in justification of the control system. [The *Káthiáwár Samáchár* is of opinion that no good purpose will be served by the partial relaxation of control on the transit of foodstuffs and urges the necessity of removing Government control altogether.]

Comments on the Government of India Press Note on the debate in the Bombay Corporation on the control of foodstuffs.

Hindusthán (22), 13th Feb.; *Káthiáwár Samáchár* (73), 12th Feb.

5. "It would have been better if the Government could have given approximate figures of stocks held by the military authorities if such information could have been supplied without any harm. In times of scarcity the public is naturally extremely nervous and is ready to catch at any straws to get comfort and solace..... It would have been better if the Government had categorically explained why difficulties were placed in the way of the Ahmedabad Famine Fund Committee's getting a certain quantity of wheat which they had bought in the Punjáb..... It is, we admit, very difficult to know the exact quantity of stocks which may be at a particular time in a particular province, but if the Government can prepare a statement showing the approximate quantities of stocks held in different provinces it will be helpful in removing some of the misapprehensions founded on rumours... ..... With regard to the rates paid for shipping, Govenment merely say that the rate paid by the Admiralty to the shipping companies, *viz.*, a rate varying between Rs. 11 and 15 a ton, is a monthly hire rate and that, in addition, there are certain other charges to be paid by the Admiralty for the use of all vessels requisitioned by them. No mention, however, is made as to what these other charges and in what proportion they are. Till this is done the uncomfortable impression will remain that the Admiralty makes some profit out of the shipping placed at the disposal of the Government of India for carrying famine traffic. It is not a suspicion under which the Admiralty, that is the Imperial British Government, should be allowed to remain; for, to the general public, it connotes melancholy meanness."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 18th Feb., Eng. cols.

6. "Will complete freedom of trade not be accompanied by all the evils of profiteering, cornering and hoarding which were all so known to us before this control system came into being? We want a quickened social and commercial conscience to combat against all these evils, but in the absence of such a conscience and with everyone trying to take advantage of the miseries of his fellows, it is doubtful if a complete liberty of movement of foodstuffs will secure to us the panacea for all evils. The cry of distress is, however, acute and terrible and instead of a wait-and-see policy we shall welcome the removal of all control, with which even the Government is said to sympathise. Removal of restraints regarding movements of foodstuffs should be accompanied, however, by control on prices as otherwise our next state may be worse than the first."

Comments on the demand for doing away with the control in foodstuffs.

Hindusthán (22), 9th Feb., Eng. cols.

7. "While the famine conditions are getting more and more acute in certain parts of the Bombay Presidency and the strain of high prices is being felt everywhere, it is extraordinary that the Government should continue at the mimicry of control over prices of food grains and other articles. It has been universally accepted that their attempts in this direction have proved an egregious failure, and whatever may be said about their good intentions, we have not met anybody who has got any good word to say with regard to the methods adopted..... There have been numerous complaints from *bonâ fide* dealers in grains and respectable firms of long standing that they have been able after some difficulty to get their names on the list of dealers licensed by the Director of Civil Supplies, Bombay. Even when a man has got his name on that list he is not always confident of securing priorities. What happens is that the Director of Civil Supplies is informed that a certain quantity of a particular grain can be released from a particular Province dnring any month. He or his office subordinate distributes these priorities amongst those who come first in the course of a day or two. The merchant who has failed to secure these priorities may have to wait again for a month. Meanwhile his purchases in up-country may be rotting at way-side stations, subject to depredations by man and beast. This does not complete the senseless interference of the Government. All goods are booked to the Deputy Director of Civil Supplies and while handing over the railway receipts he fixes the price at which the merchant is to sell the grain. The

Young India (15), 12th Feb.

merchant passes it on to a dummy middleman, who profiteers on this transaction and from whom the licensed merchant who was shrewd enough and tactful enough to secure a priority recovers his full profit afterwards. There are numerous persons on the licensed list of the Director of Civil Supplies who could not tell gram from wheat, and who have never dealt in grain at all, but who are there for some mysterious reason. No attempt is made to control retail prices and the retail prices are not affected except in the upward direction by this absolutely inept and inefficient control of trade. The bankruptcy of official efforts in the direction of keeping down prices is writ large in the course of prices that have prevailed during the last year. Apart from this, there is the general rumour in the town that very large and excessive stocks are being held on account of the Military by the Quarter-Master General's department. We think it is very necessary that the Government of Bombay should move the Government of India to secure revised and correct estimates of the stocks and the military needs for which they are held and, in case there is any excess, to get released the surplus for immediate relief of the civil population. We understand further that the export of grain from India is going on. Rice is still reaching Java and Sumatra from Burma and what is monstrous is that all the African ports in East Africa, South Africa, Somaliland and the Ports of Aden, Mombassa, Basra and other places along the Indian Ocean are being supplied with food from this country, the allotment for these ports *being deducted out of the allotments of the Bombay Presidency.* We will say frankly that the public has no patience with a bureaucracy that will play with their lives in this matter..... It is notorious that on account of the mischievous action of the system of control, numerous adventurers have made large fortunes while *bonâ fide* merchants have been penalised, the population has been suffering, profiteering has been rampant with the knowledge, if not with the approval, of the officials appointed to deal with the matter. We regret to point out the signal failure of the system of control, but we do so in the hope that, though late, some action may be taken immediately and the best brains available amongst the executive of the province might be set to work in this direction without any delay. The recent removal of restrictions on inter-provincial movements of grain has not been effective and the cumbrous processes by which priorities are secured and are countersigned by the authorities of the province and frustrated by the neglect or knavery of the department of the Controller of Traffic is still obstructing the trade, which if left to itself would soon put matters right."

8. Referring to the Honourable Mr. Banerjee's recent stay as a guest at the Bombay Government House, the *Home Ruler* remarks :—" It seems that supporting the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme is not without adequate rewards, and while they get *ipso facto* all the seats on the Reform Committees and are not forgotten in the Honours List, they are honoured guests at Government House and may confidently look for ministerial appointments and the rest. Perhaps it is in anticipation of new opportunities that Mr. Banerjee has sold off the *Bengalee* and kept himself free. But we would warn our good friends that if they don't want to lose what little influence they have in the country, they would beware of haunting Government Houses too frequently. The interests of the people and the bureaucracy are sharply divided and those who stand on two stools run imminent risk of falling between them. Mr. Banerjee at Government House! The change in the attitude of our ancient leader could not be more sharply brought out."

Reflections on the Honourable Mr. Banerjee's recent stay as a guest at Government House, Bombay.
Home Ruler (5), 8th Feb.

***9.** " From the opening speech of the Viceroy in the Imperial Legislative Council it appears that the question of the modification of the Arms Act which was brought before the Council in the form of a resolution by the Honourable Mr. G. S. Khaparde, and which was referred to a Committee of officials and non-officials, has not been satisfactorily dealt with by the Govern-

Alleged unsatisfactory character of the modifications in the Arms Act.
Mahrátta (7), 16th Feb.

ment. The Committee's report was duly submitted to Government, and after it received their 'most earnest attention', the conclusions they arrived at were submitted to the Secretary of State. What those conclusions are we have no means of knowing at present, but the Viceroy's remark, 'I do not suppose that they will give satisfaction to all', shows us that the Government must have completely failed to meet the just demands of the people. The Viceroy has time and again said that he would observe no colour-bar in the administration of the Arms Act; but we have reason to doubt that even this promise has not been fulfilled. If in this manner such galling questions are to be settled, then we can easily imagine how Lord Chelmsford has been completely shackled by the bureaucratic chains, and how very difficult it would be for him to fulfil several expectations which his liberal bent of mind have engendered in the hearts of the people. The Arms Act recommendations would verily prove to be a signal of the coming failure of his administration in many respects."

Standard cloth at reduced rates not yet available to the poor in Bombay.
Jdgaruk (43), 8th Feb.

10. The decision of Government to issue standard cloth to the poor at a reduced rate has not been given effect to at least so far as this Presidency is concerned. The Government of Behár has gone ahead of the rest of the provinces by affording many facilities to the poor in this matter and other provinces too have obtained large supplies of cloth for the same purpose. But although it was in Bombay that all this cloth was first manufactured, the local Government were not reminded of removing similar difficulties of the poor people in their own Presidency. It is of no avail merely to have a large output of cloth, but provision must be made to make it available at moderate rates. We hope the attention of Government will be drawn to this and they will remove the difficulties of the poor.

Even Arabia has prohibited all sale of liquor.
Prakásh (122), 12th Feb.

11. We are glad to note that like the United States of America the king of Arabia has issued an order prohibiting the sale of liquor in his kingdom with a view to completely putting a stop to its consumption and foreign Governments have been asked not to export liquor to Arabia. Although a backward country like Arabia has made such a headway in this matter, it is not yet known when the Government of India which is always making a display of its progress will advance in that direction. Anything can be immediately effected when there is real solicitude for it, but, on the other hand, nothing can be achieved even in a thousand years when it is proposed to be done by instalments and stages. Will our Government now at least awake to its sense of duty?

How Anglo-Indians can best safeguard their interests.
Home Ruler (5), 8th Feb.

12. "For good or evil the Anglgo-Indians have to be in India; now it is obvious that their best interests will not be promoted by being ashamed to avow themselves Indians, by calling the natives of the country 'niggers,' by bitterly opposing home rule which is cherished by Indians as the most precious of human rights, and by pretending that England is their home when as a matter of fact they see nothing of it. Of course the bureaucrats and the European exploiters find them very convenient tools but it is curious to observe that these same bureaucrats and exploiters rigidly maintain their exclusiveness and race *hauteur* towards the Anglo-Indians. At present the latter are neither with the beasts nor with the birds but belong to the bat category. Such a position is obviously untenable and very precarious. They must therefore make up their mind to throw in their lot either with the Europeans or the Indians. The former will not treat them as equals and will associate with them only to serve their own selfish objects. On the other hand Indians are willing to receive them as equals and treat them as such. Besides, even if they side with Europeans, will the latter be able, granting their willingness, to help them to maintain their position? With all their immense advantages the Europeans are not able to arrest the steady march of India towards

home rule; how then can they help Anglo-Indians against Indians? The best interests of the Anglo-Indians will be served by completely identifying themselves with the Indian cause. They must never forget that when Indians get a full measure of self-government—and that will be at no distant date—it will go hard with those who wantonly put impediments in their way; on the other hand the proverbial hospitality of India is open to all who come to us as friends and equals. The Anglo-Indians must therefore give up any pretensions to exclusive or preferential treatment and Indians will see to it that there will be a fair field and no favour for all."

Protest against the removal by the authorities of the marks of Hinduism from high-caste Hindus sent to jail.

Shri Venkateshwar (85), 12th Feb.

13. The *Shri Venkateshwar* strongly supports the resolution of the Vaishnav Conference which recently met at Bombay urging upon Government the need of discontinuing the present practice of shaving the tuft of hair on the heads of Hindu convicts and removing their sacred thread on admission to jails. The paper declares that the secred thread and the tuft of hair are the distinctive signs of the higher Hindu castes and entreats Government not to continue to insult the Hindu religion by tolerating this objectionable practice. It hopes that Government will be pleased to grant the prayer of the Vaishnav Conference and earn the gratitude of the Hindu community.

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's opening speech at the Imperial Legislative Council.

Servant of India (9), 13th Feb.

14. "One would have expected that the Viceroy would severely chastise the members of the Service for organising a conspiracy against his reform proposals. He had rebuked Indians some time ago for their impatient idealism and warned them against seeking to bring about catastrophic changes in the constitution, but now he has no word of remonstrance against those who are carrying on a concerted movement to bring to naught what it is their official duty loyally to carry out. The reforms report itself pays too tender regard to the susceptibilities of the European officers in the I. C. S., but the Viceroy's speech even lacks the firmness of the report. The Viceroy puts the shoe on the wrong foot when he goes on to reassure the Civilians that the prejudice of the ministers against them would wear off..... To give an assurance to the I. C. S. that pay and pensions and other conditions of service will be regulated by the orders of the Secretary of State, and that if even more provisions are required they will be forthcoming is to humour the service to an extent which even the Government may find dangerous. The Viceroy seemed to be altogether oblivious of the existence of what Mr. Galletti has fittingly called the 'white mutiny' and proceeded to cast imputations against Indian leaders, whose position ought to have been strengthened in view of the sedulous attempts made to wreck the scheme. This is not the best way to conciliate the opposition of those whose business it is to give effect, without question, to whatever policy is decided upon. Equally nerveless is His Excellency's reference to the opposition of the commercial classes among Europeans. The Viceroy enters upon an elaborate argument to show that their trade interests will not suffer at the hands of Indian ministers..... Thus the European unofficials may rest in security, but was the opposition organised by them based on a menace to their interests? ..... It is a noteworthy fact that what is styled the final statement of the European Association, mischievous and untruthful as it is, does not even mention that the commercial interests of the Europeans are in peril. They oppose the reforms because they cannot bear to have civil power transferred, even in part, from the hands of their official brethren. The reforms report, with all its tenderness, at any rate told them what their duties were..... The Viceroy in his speech, without reminding them of their duties, or condemning their uncompromising opposition to reforms, answered criticisms which were never seriously meant, and his answer only betrays an unwarranted mistrust of Indians on the part of the Government. This portion of His Excellency's speech is disappointing."

*15. "What concerns us is not that the Viceroy followed the wise adage of the soft answer turning away wrath, but that His Excellency's assurances to the Services, if they are literally intended, are calculated to make the position of the Indian Minister, difficult enough under the scheme, not only impotent, but an object of commiseration in the eyes of the world..... We are sorry to say that his words leave the impression that he shared the fears of the English Services. More than his words, the scheme of safeguards he proposes does this..... The feature of this scheme we most strongly object to is that the head of every department under the ministers will have access to the Governor. The first thing that arrests attention in this arrangement is that only the heads of departments under ministers, and not those under the members of the Executive Government, are to have the privilege of direct access to the Governor. That alone, apart from all features of the scheme, will demarcate the position of the minister in the Government to his disadvantage. The second point is that the heads of departments are to utilise their right of access to the Governor not only to place their own views, as distinguished from those of the responsible Minister, before that functionary, but also to ventilate their grievances and those of their Service. This is very much like the practice which is responsible for the demoralisation of the administration in many Indian States where it is not unusual for the Ruling Chief to invite criticism of the action of Ministers from their subordinates. We refrain from pointing out that this is opposed to the theory and practice of responsible government, because we shall be told at once that it will be pedantic to stick to any such theory. But we do wish to say that in this as in other matters very little consideration has been bestowed on the vital question of how the minister will fare in the tight corner so carefully contrived for him, with the Legislature in front and the Services at the back of him, and the Governor above him. We come to the passage in which the Viceroy dealt with the fears of English commercial interests. The next line of defence was that the Governor will be instructed in his extensive 'Instrument of Appointment' to disallow any measure of prejudiced attack or privileged competition in respect of any industry. If this means that Provincial Governments will be debarred from offering any encouragement to local industries whose development may unfavourably affect the market for imported articles, the Viceroy's statement is calculated to create consternation in the minds of the Indian people..... His Excellency the Viceroy would have greatly added to the effect of his speech if he had advised the European Services and interests to trust the Indian, if for no higher reason than that trust begets trust, and to begin by mistrusting the motives or inclinations of men is to invite similar mistrusting on their part of one's motives and inclinations."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 16th Feb.

*16. Commenting on the reference in His Excellency the Viceroy's speech to the demands of the I. C. S., the *Mahrátta* writes:—"What anxiety this betokens to safeguard the interests of those who cared not a jot for the interests of Indians, who opposed every measure of reform in India, and who rode rough-shod over all the ambitions and prospects of Indians in the services! And what light-heartedness it betrays about the feelings of the Indian ministers! The poor Indian minister is supposed by the Services as a wicked and despicable creature, bent upon wreaking vengeance for the past wrongs done to his countrymen by them, and, therefore, a veritable bore to them. The Viceroy did not go to such an absurd length, but leaned towards their inclinations, and assured them that the above-mentioned safeguards would protect them from the depredations of these ravaging ministers if some of them venture to quietly send a Sir Jack or James to rot in the abominable stinking fisheries department, as retaliation for the treatment meted out to Sir K. G. Gupta. Lord Chelmsford has not thus shown as much regard for the feelings and rights of the Indian ministers, who are to be the masters of the I. C. S. in future, as he betrayed it for the I. C. S. men, their inferiors, and here we think he committed a grievous blunder. The English I. C. S. men have no right to be so tenderly dealt with. They are in no way better than

Mahrátta (7), 16th Feb.

their Indian colleagues, and all must sink or swim together. If the Europeans in the I. C. S. do not want to accept such just conditions, let them quit our shores as quickly as possible. They do not deserve any better treatment. Their past actions on the contrary would induce any just and fair-minded man to give them a specially worse treatment. And they, too, seem to be conscience-bitten by that very recollection. We believe they fear that Nemesis will now have her own way, and they are, therefore, so anxious to seek protection from the Viceroy. The Viceroy may assure them that past wrongs will not be avenged, but beyond that no special protection is necessary. To give special treatment to those who do not deserve it savours strongly of injustice and partiality, and the Viceroy ought to have been the last man to do this."

17. "The attitude of the bureauracy is a vital consideration in judging of the possibility of the diarchic system. To duplicate the function of the Government is essentially an incongruity, and when one part of the system is made amenable to popular will, it is to the personnel controlling that part that preferential advantages should belong. It is well-known that the authors of the Reform Report desire the Executive Council to be substantially European and the Ministers are to be Indians. Far from affording facilities for the success of the Ministerial wing, the authors have sought to load it with impossible handicaps. If there was any doubt about the anomalous and necessarily ineffective office of the Minister the explanation of the Viceroy in his Delhi speech has made it quite clear. The Civil Service has, contrary to the assurances of Sir William Vincent in the Imperial Legislative Council last autumn, thrown the rules of discipline to the winds, and if their object was to overawe the Viceroy and the Secretary of State into some sort of surrender, it is plain from the apologetic style of the Viceroy that they are succeeding. They did not get anything of rebuke for their turbulent demonstration, but gained a number of assurances about their autocratic security. Till the services are given a firm reminder that they are servants and not masters and resolutely kept to their role of executing the policy laid down for them, there can be no effectual beginning in administrative reform. They will not agree to be cajoled into co-operation, and the Viceroy's attempt to deal with them reminds one of Liddon's gibe at a flabby politician who claimed to have 'set his face' against some project: 'Yes, the dear man set his face, not as flint—rather as a pudding'..... All the unmitigated nonsense about the services being made to execute policy 'un-British in character', is levelled against the proposal of appointing Ministers because they will be Indians. It is a vain thing to placate the Indian Civil Service in the constitutional reform of India, for their business is to retain their own power from generation to generation and as a rule they do not care a rap about anything else happening in India. The Viceroy has virtually said that the ministers have not to reckon with any direct control of the personnel of the departments they may be asked to administer under the Reform Scheme. The permanent services are bidden to look for protection to the Governor, the Government of India and the Secretary of State. Thus the department of Co-operative Credit Societies may be handed over to the Minister, but he will have no complete authority to control the conduct of the Registrar because he happens to belong to the heaven-born hierarchy. The subordinates will of course go on flouting the demands of the Minister who is responsible to the Governor and the Legislative Council for his subject. The services will snap their fingers at the impotent nabob of a minister over them and the minister will become a chronic nuisance in the administration for no fault of his. And then the great consummation of proving before the first decennial Commission the utter incompetence of Indians and the need of reverting to the old order of things, can be achieved. The ideal way towards deadlock and collapse, and the demonstration of India's incapacity and non-possession of 'essentially British qualities', has, we fear, been chalked out in the speech of the Viceroy. The Civil Service held out a threat and the Viceroy forgetting that they are out here on mercenary careers and are not likely to run home and oust people from employment, has given them assurances

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which will be vilely interpreted against the interests of this country. They held a pistol against the authors of the Reform Report and the Viceroy does not seem to have noticed that it was unloaded."

18. Referring to the I. C. S. movement the *Kesari* says that when once the Viceroy and the Secretary of State approve of a Scheme and decide to enforce it, it is a sort of mutiny for the bureaucracy to complain against it and it says that the Viceroy should have taken it to task for such a rebellious spirit. But, it says, the Viceroy on the contrary tried to humour it. It adds :—The Viceroy defended the I. C. S. which forgetting its position exercised the rights of the master till now, and promised that he would not deliver it bound hand and foot to the Indian ministers. It is harmful to the smooth working of the administration to allow the Civil Servants disapproving of the policy of the Indian Ministers to approach the Governor direct and to mention in the Instrument of Instructions that the Governor should look to the interest and status of the bureaucracy. What sort of responsible Government is this? 'So long as your policy is approved by us, we are your servants and if we do not agree, we are not bound by your policy'; such appears to be the obstinacy of the bureaucracy. If the Viceroy is going to grant them, in a coaxing sort of way, this obstinate demand, does not the grant of responsible Government become merely a toy given in the hands of Indians only to placate them? If the Minister is to be in the leading strings of the bureaucracy, what change is there from the present situation? The Viceroy should have plainly told the I. C. S. that they must hereafter act according to the opinion of the Council just as civil servants do in England. It is reprehensible to pretend to introduce responsible Government and encourage the Civil Servants in this manner. When the Parliamentary Commission will visit us after 10 or 12 years the powers in the Indian Minister's hands will be increased or retained only if the bureaucracy certifies. It need not be told whether the bureaucracy will be ready to hand over powers. If the grant of powers depends upon the will of the bureaucracy, mathematicians may calculate when and in what instalments full provincial autonomy and share in the Imperial Government will be had. The Congress has foreseen the future difficulty and has made the demand of a time limit. [Referring to the description given by His Excellency the Viceroy of the services of India in the war, the *Kesari* wants more detailed information showing how much of the cloth produced in India was used for war purposes. It wants also to know the freight charges levied in the case of Indian goods and foodstuffs and it also wants the doubt to be, cleared up whether Indian foodstuffs were sold in foreign countries at a cheaper rate than in India. Further it wants to be informed as to why the promise given by the Viceroy that Sir Claude Hill would give information regarding the stock of foodstuffs in India was not kept. It also wants to know the reason why during famine times exports from India are not prohibited but only controlled. Government should clearly explain, continues the paper, instead of beating about the bush, how much food we have in the country, whether it will suffice till the next season, and if not, whether Government will prohibit export of foodstuffs altogether.]

Kesari (114), 11th Feb.

*19. " His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening session of the Imperial Legislative Council at Delhi has been described as 'a great oration.' We can discover no such oratorical effort in that pronouncement. His Excellency's heart melted with sympathy for the distress of the highly paid Services on account of 'the rising prices,' and their nervous fears as well as those of the Anglo-Indian commercial community with regard to the emoluments, pensions and future status of the former and the commercial prospects of the latter under the proposed scheme of reforms. Whilst his exuberant assurances and pledges to them extend over more than one and half a column of the *Times of India*, the distress of the people at large consequent on successive misfortunes has not elicited a word of sympathy in His Excellency's 'great oration.'..... His Excellency's 'great oration,' whilst so tenderly effusive in his sympathy for the Services and the Anglo-Indian

Gujarâti (18), 16th Feb., Eng. cols.

commercial community, would not have been the less notable if he could have spared some share of his sympathy for the disease-stricken, ill-fed and ill-clothed population."

Interpellation regarding prohibition of certain Indian newspapers from the United Kingdom.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Jan.

20. "Sir William Vincent's reply to the Honourable Mr. K. K. Chanda's interpellation in the Imperial Council as to the prohibition of certain Indian newspapers from the United Kingdom, that it was not the Government of India but the censorship that was responsible, makes no difference to the issue. Certain papers were kept back in India while others were allowed to reach the United Kingdom. These papers have done mischief to the Indian cause. To ask people to imagine that the papers which voiced the national opinion were alone extracted from and circulated in enemy countries is asking far too much. The enemy agents did not have, we are asked to believe, the wit to exploit extracts from Anglo-Indian journals to prove the reactionaryism of those who style themselves 'British' in India! If the military censorship was responsible for this mischievous muddle, we must take leave to say that the control of the Censorship Department has been woefully ill-conducted, and does not reflect any credit on those entrusted with the charge of it."

Discontent among Indians in Nairobi (British East Africa).
Kesari (114), 11th Feb.

21. "An inhabitant of Mahárashtra" from Nairobi (British East Africa) complains in the *Kesari* that while 20,000 Asiatics have only 3 members, 4,000 Europeans have 12 members in the Municipal Committee. He adds:—As there is commercial rivalry between Indians and Europeans, the Municipal Committee may prove a danger to the Indian trade. Considered from this point of view the constitution of the Municipality has become unjust. A representation has been sent and the Committee and Government have been informed that if the constitutional movement be not successful Indians will not pay municipal taxes. Sanitary arrangements in Indian quarters are not properly made and in the matter of trade licences also they are worried. If any resolution is brought forward, the Municipality uses its majority and ignores it. The railway strike also occurred at this time. The railway quarters built are $8\frac{1}{2}$ square feet single room tenements. These beautiful and airy rooms were offered to Africans but they declined to have them. Malicious critics fired by colour-hatred are telling the world that Indians have gone on strike because they are afraid that they would be replaced by Africans. The late Mr. Gokhale made a demand in his testament that German East Africa should be treated as an Indian Colony. But Lord Delamere, the leader of the colour bar party, has protested against it. He says that the places captured by Indians should be given to Africans. What more height of ingratitude can there be than this?

Indian Musalmans and the future of Moslem lands.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th Feb.

22. "Replying to an address from Sind Moslems, Sir George Lloyd said:—'With regard to the expression of the anxieties and apprehensions of the Muslims in Sind as to the future of the Holy Places of Islam and kindred questions arising out of the war, he said that he had recently the honour of seeing the Viceroy at Delhi, and they could rest assured that the Government of India had taken every step possible to secure that the feelings expressed and the point of view held by Indian Muslims would be placed before the Peace Conference.' We have no doubt Indian Moslems will be gratified to learn that the Government of India have not been inactive in this matter. But their anxieties cannot be allayed until they are publicly informed as to what the 'steps' which the Government have taken are."

Mufid-e-Rozgár (150), 16th Feb.

*23. Reverting to the alleged absence of a representative of Indian Musalmans, who form the greatest body of the followers of Muhammad in the whole world, on the Peace Conference, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* observes that the situation in which the Moslem countries find themselves at present

resembles that of a dead body entrusted to the keeping of living persons who may do whatever they like to the corpse. It supports the views set forth in the open letter of His Highness the Aga Khan and others to Mr. Balfour, and characterises the British Foreign Secretary's reply as evasive and totally unsatisfactory. It declares that the Conference will discuss questions relating to the life and death of nations; hence it urges Indian Moslems to make their voice heard in other ways, should direct representation on the Conference be impossible. It suggests that Musalmans all over India should hold meetings and pass resolutions to the effect that Moslem countries should be subject to Moslem Governments and that the prestige of the said countries shall be maintained and communicate them to the Conference and particularly to Messrs. Lloyd George and Wilson, who may also be induced to co-opt Muhammadan representatives.

24. Referring to the question of the Khaliphate, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* states that as the Sultan of Turkey is the Khaliph of all Musalmans in accordance with an injunction of Islam, Mecca, Medina and the other Holy Places must necessarily remain under his control; for, unless he exercises dominion over them, he cannot be looked upon as the Khaliph. The paper, therefore, expects the British representatives in the Peace Conference to urge this fact before the representatives of other nations and maintains that in view of the loyalty of Indian Mussalmans to the British Crown and the help they have rendered in winning the war, Government must recognise their proper rights in religious matters. It feels confident that the just British *raj* will not fail to satisty the Musalmans in this respect as can be seen from the assurance given by His Excellency the Governor to the Sind Muhammadan Association at Karáchi. [Writing in its subsequent issue the paper declares that the apprehension that Constantinople would he handed over to some Christian State is altogether unfounded inasmuchas the British Government and the Allies have repeatedly declared that they would maintain the integrity of various countries. If, the paper adds, they hand over Constantinople to some Christian State contrary to their own declarations, it will give rise to widespread discontent among the Muhamudans of the whole world. It thinks that it would be extremely disappointing to the Musalmans if, in spite of their unswerving loyalty and willing and ready participation in the war, Constantinople were taken away from the Turkish Empire, and it hopes that the British Government will try their best in the Peace Conference to satisfy the Muhammadanss all over the world.]

Akhbár-e-Islám (59), 12th and 13th Feb.

25. Looking to the proceedings of the Peace Conference, it seems extremely doubtful whether there can be any permanent peace. The terms offered by America and accepted by the Allies in order to get the help of America in the war are considered no better than scraps of paper by the Allies. At the same time attempts are made to belittle the help rendered by America in the war. All the Allies except America are trying to acquire new dominions in one way or another, while some like Belgium and Japan are making quite extraordinary demands. Japan wants China to act according to the secret treaties which she had compelled the latter to make in war-time and has threatened China with war if the latter refuses to abide by them. It is feared that all these things will simply tend to stimulate the increase of armaments, as a result of which there will be keen competition among various nations for naval and military superiority.

Comments on the proceedings of the Peace Conference.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 15th Feb.

26. It is certainly deplorable that a demand for placing Mesopotamia and Egypt under the guardianship, that is, under the control of India, should be made in the Peace Conference in the name of India. This is something mysterious; for, when India herself is seeking independence and is asking to have self-determination and self-government, how can she like to keep other nations under her bondage in contravention of what she herself is doing and asking for? If His

India does not want to be the mandatory for Mesopotamia and Egypt.

Vafádar (34), 7th Feb.

Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner and Lord Sinha are invited to the Peace Conference and the latter honoured with the Under-Secretaryship and Peerage only with such a purpose in view, then India will gladly and with open heart be prepared to say that she wants neither that Under-Secretaryship nor these titles and also that she does not want these representatives in the Peace Conference in her name. India will never like to insult others or pounce upon their rights and to wound their felings for the sake of her own interest.

The Peace Conference and the League of Nations.

O Amigo do Povo Goano (58), 8th Feb.; Konkani columns.

27. The *O Amigo do Povo Goano* understands that representatives of neutral powers assembled at the Peace Conference in Paris are not admitted at the discussion on the formation of the League of Nations, and that the enemy Powers and Russia will not be admitted into the League when formed, and expresses a doubt whether such a league formed in such circumstances will be of any use to prevent wars in future. In the course of its remarks on this subject the paper states that Russian Bolshevism is daily gaining in strength and that the Bolsheviks are endevouring to spread their doctrines to the rest of the world, and asks what the fate of the League of Nations will be if the Bolsheviks succeed in their designs. Referring to the alleged secret treaty by which England is reported to have ceded to Japan certain German Colonies in the Far East, the paper surmises that the desire of England, France and America is to divide the German possessions among themselves and remarks:—This is the kind of diplomacy existing among the nations of the world, and one nation desires to grab the possessions of another. Such being the case, how can a League of Nations be formed and maintained? If those who have come forward to form the League are honest in their intentions, the League can be formed and maintained; but, if they act differently from what they say, there can be no unity among nations.

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's reply to the address of the Sind Muhammadan Association.

Muslim Herald (151), 14th Feb.

28. The *Muslim Herald* thinks that the reply of His Excellency the Governor to the address of welcome presented by the Sind Muhammadan Association should prove satisfactory to a certain extent. But the paper emphasises that it is not enough that Government should merely lay the case of the Musalmans before the Peace Conference. It advises Government to exert their utmost to see that the Muslim feelings and susceptibilities are fully respected. After stating that the British Government rightly deserves to be called the greatest Muhammadan Empire in the world, the paper proceeds to remind Government of the duty they owe to their Muslim subjects, namely, of winning their hearts by duly representing their cause at the Peace Conference. In conclusion it remarks that Government will never get a better opportunity than the present one of securing the goodwill of the Muhammadans which, if done, will surely constitute a great political triumph for Government in India.

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's reply to the address of the Karáchi Municipality.

New Times (8), 12th Feb.

29. "Referring to the question of water supply and roads, His Excellency promised assistance if loans be raised by the municipality. While we realise that the burden must, to a large extent, be borne by the municipality itself, we would urge the Government to make some grant from Provincial Revenue..... One must not forget that the young and growing city of Karáchi has an imperial importance and needs as much help as possible from the Government in the solution of its problems. Our water supply is insufficient, and the congestion is insufferable; epidemics break out, and upset the normal life of the city every year; plague, small-pox, tuberculosis, fevers take a heavy toll chiefly among the poor who live in dirty, overcrowded houses. The War has emphasised the importance of the city; and we regard it to-day as a city of imperial interests..... Karáchi may well become a City Cosmopolitan in the coming days of reconstruction; and Government must regard its development and expansion as of imperial value no less than that of Delhi. Government pays yearly from its current revenues

for the improvement of the city of Delhi; Karáchi deserves a similar treatment; with the passing of Mesopotamia, East Africa and Persia within the British sphere of influence, Karáchi will become a city of imperial significance. Geography plays no small part in the development of civilization; and geography is in favour of Karáchi. The War has hastened the day when, if the government will but help its development, Karáchi may advance with rapidity and make its rich contributions to the life of the East."

Sind problems for the consideration of His Excellency the Governor.
New Times (8), 9th Feb.

30. In the course of an article in which it welcomes Their Excellencies Sir George and Lady Lloyd, the *New Times* writes :— "The head of this Province wields powers which are, even in India, entrusted to no other head of a local government; the Commissioners have legislative councils; Sind alone is under a personal rule; and this system must change; the aspect of the earth's spirit has changed since the the war; Sind must not stand still. In the matter of our local grievances, it is difficult to make our voice heard by the Bombay Government; the number of Sindhi members in the Bombay Legislative Council is small, that of the elected members smaller still; and we are afraid, they have not often been conspicuous for the courage and political vision of those that would fight the country's battles of freedom—fight and not fail. As a matter of fact, several Governors have turned a deaf ear to our repeated representations regarding provincial grievances; and it is no use disguising from His Excellency the fact that the feeling has grown on the mind of many thoughful citizens that the interests of Sind are not sufficiently guarded under the present system..... There is one aspect of the administrative problem in Sind with which Sir George Lloyd would do well to deal as quickly as possible; we refer to corruption in the public services of Sind. The *rasai* evil is a terror to the great mass of the people—to the peasants most of whom are ignorant Muslims. Most of those who take bribes in one form or another belong to the subordinate service; and the way to check the evil is not simply to issue orders but to increase the pay of subordinates..... Corruption has continued almost unchecked, year after year; the happiness and prosperity of peasants demand that the present system must change and the *zulum* of petty officials be punished; *rasai* is a form of corruption and has worked havoc in many a house of the poor, simple peasant..... Then there are the problems which refer to the conditions of life in the environment of Karáchi and some other places in Sind..... The educational problem is equally urgent; we have only one Arts College for seven districts with a population of $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions! And the number of schools is so limited; the great mass of the peasantry is illiterate and for lack of industrial schools some of our beautiful village industries are dead and others decay."

Pársi Sansár (28), 8th Feb.

***31.** The *Pársi Sansár*, while welcoming Their Excellencies Sir George and Lady Lloyd on behalf of the citizens of Karáchi, hopes that His Excellency's regime will prove most successful and sympathelic as can be seen from his intervention in the labour strike in Bombay and writes :— Sind's first need is its separation from the Bombay Presidency. Karáchi, being nearer to Mesopotamia and England, would gain in importance if it were made the capital of a separate province. Suggestions are being made to amalgamate Sind with the Punjáb, but its union with the Punjáb is in no way desirable, and so it is necessary that it should be developed into a province by itself and should be placed under a Lieutenant-Governer or a Chief-Commissioner without any delay. There are may circumstances in favour of bringing the English Mail direct to Karáchi; but as to do so would prejudicially affect the prestige of Bombay, all these circumstances are disregarded. Sind's next need is the introduction of the Permanent Settlement in the matter of land-revenue. The period of revising the revenue settlement in Sind varies only from five to ten years and so agricultuists do not take any interest in the improvement of land. Moreover, the peasant population of Sind is extremely poor. For all these reasons, the introduction of the Permanent Settlement is absolutely easential for Sind. It is expected that His Excellency, with his wide experience, will not fail to recognise these needs.

32. "It is rather out of the common that the Governor of Bombay should come to visit Sind so early in his *regime* and we have to thank Sir George Lloyd for the same. We believe that the object of the visit is to get first-hand acquaintance with the difficulties and the requirements of the people. Under these circumstances it is very strange that the Commissioner in Sind should have intimated to the Citizens' Association, Hyderabad, that the Governor has no time to receive an address from the Association. The Governor remains for nearly two days at Hyderabad and if he has no time to listen to the grievances of the citizens it would be interesting to know why he has come here. The Hyderabad Municipality, unjustly enough, is still under suspension and the Citizens' Association is the only public body which can voice the public grievances. But perhaps it is Mr. Lawrence who has decided for the Governor that he has no time to receive the address of the Hyderabad citizens. If that is so we are doubtful whether Sir George Lloyd would appreciate the manner in which Mr. Lawrence has made use of his name. We invite Sir George Lloyd's attention to the fact that he has no chance of becoming acquainted with the requirements of the people if he leaves himself entirely in the hands of Mr. Lawrence and leaves him to determine what addresses he will or will not receive. Of course, so far as Mr. Lawrence is concerned, his decision does not surprise us very much."

Protest against the refusal on behalf of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd to receive an address from the Citizens' Association of Hyderabad (Sind).
Home Ruler (5), 8th Feb.

33. "We have seen the manner in which the house-tax is now being imposed on a more or less systematic plan on the small towns of Sind. Instead of giving them the power of local self-government, the Commissioner-in-Sind is declaring certain areas as notified Areas under section 179 of the Bombay District Municipal Act, and is thus causing house-tax to be imposed on them. Naushero Feroz, Tando Jam, Ubauro, Kotsultan, Mehar and now Dadu have thus been dealt with..... It was the declared policy of Lord Curzon's Government that direct taxation should not be resorted to by Local Bodies in opposition to the wishes of the people. Even the Montagu-Chelmsford Report makes a provision for the full rights of local self-government. Is it as an earnest of this that we find the present Commissioner-in-Sind giving effect to his determined policy of imposing house tax on towns by declaring them as notified areas instead of giving them the right to gorvern themselves? It will be observed that these towns can put up but a weak opposition to these measures. It is also a fact that the small and poor men who own and live in their small houses will be hard hit by the measure. The whole thing has a tragic aspect which only goes to accentuate the injustice of the step which is being taken."

House-tax in Sind.
Home Ruler (5), 8th Feb.

34. The Hyderabad correspondent of the *New Times* writes :—"To say that Sind is not in the grip of a terrible famine is nothing short of madness. The foodstuffs and other necessaries of life are being sold at prices which are far higher than in any of the previous famines in any part of India..... The state of the poor and the middle class is pitiable, even the upper classes are feeling the pinch keenly. There is no knowing where these prices will stop. What has the Government done to alleviate this misery? No doubt it has taxed the public revenue by the appointment of Directors, Controllers and Personal Assistants to control prices, but the public naturally ask what these worthies have been able to do. Have the prices after their appointment really been controlled, or on the contrary are they not going up higher and higher? ..... What is Mr. Lawrence doing at this hour? Does he realize the state of the poor rayat? Does he know that tens of thousands will be victims of hunger, if no proper measures are adopted immediately? Does he know that there is a scarcity of fodder throughout and the cattle are dying in numbers? Will not this mortality seriously affect future agricultural operations in the province? Why does he not stop or curtail materially the

Famine and scarcity in Sind.
Home Ruler (5), 8th Feb.

touring of the officials at this time? Does he know what misery such visits entail on the poor rayat in these days on account of *rasai*, however it may be modified or disguised? It is true that he has done his level best to advance the interest of the Muhammadans in Sind by giving them undue lifts in the Departments under his control, but what has he done, and is he doing, for the poor Muhammadan cultivators, who hardly get a single meal a day?"

Comments on the personnel of the India Office Committee.
Home Ruler (5), 8th Feb.

35. "We welcome the appointment of the India Office Committee and the terms of reference are sufficiently wide to afford full scope to its activity. But as the success of the committee will depend in no small measure upon its personnel it is very unfortunate that there are only two Indians out of a total strength of 10. We cannot understand why this extremely illiberal number of seats should have been alloted to Indians specially as Indian interests require to be guarded by a sufficient number of Indians and there is no dearth of suitable Indians either in India or England. Of course the Moderates by casting their lot with the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme have entitled themselves to a monopoly of all the seats on committees and all official patronage, but if Mr. Montagu wanted the committee to become acquainted with the true sentiments of the Indian people he should have selected some Indian publicists of a sterner stuff. But with all its many shortcomings we welcome the Committee which might do some very useful and substantial work if it would address itself to its task with the necessary earnestness and honesty of purpose."

Complaint that last year's dues are being collected in the Kaira District.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th Feb.

36. "We are informed that assessment dues of the last year are being collected under Government orders in the Kaira district. If this is true, it is a matter of great surprise and regret. If Government have suspended the collecton of land revenue this year on account of the complete failure of crops in that district, it is obvious that the agriculturists cannot be in a position to pay their dues of the last year. It was only after a very hard struggle—which involved great sufferings and hardship on the agriculturists—that last year Government recognised, though late, the wisdom of suspending a portion of the revenue. Unfortunately this year also the crops in Kaira have completely failed and, therefore, the agriculturists are unable to pay the revenue dues whether of the current or previous year. We are informed that the talatis have begun collecting the dues by means of attachment, stating that they do so under orders of higher authorities. We draw the immediate attention of the Commissioner, N. D., and of the Governmet of Bombay to this matter. If the Government have issued such orders they have done a most unjust and cruel thing. If no such orders have been issued, Government should at once see that the poor agriculturists are not harassed by the petty officials."

Failure of crops in Kolába.
Kesari (114), 11th Feb.

37. Mr. Mokáshi of the Kolába District writes that since he wrote last in the *Kesari* on the famine conditions in his district orders have been issued by the Collector announcing suspensions in respect of certain villages in the Pen and Panvel talukas of the district. These suspensions, which have been granted by selection, have been full in some cases and partial in others. In no village have remissions been granted. He adds that provision for an adequate supply of water and starting famine works is urgently needed in the district and requests Government to carry out this suggestion immediately.

Failure of crops in Kárwár.
Indu Prakásh (42), 12th Feb.

38. The Secretary, Taluka Association, Halyál, district Kárwár, writes to the *Indu Prakásh* that the crops in the Halyal Taluka having mostly failed, the landholders and the rayats approached the authorities with a request that the valuation of the crops might be made while they were still standing, but their

request has not been complied with. The writer prays for remission of land assessment in view of the exceedingly poor condition of the crops and also urges Government to sanction a liberal advance of *takavi* to enable the rayats to purchase seed-grains, etc., for the next sowing season.

39. "We are glad to find that the lead given by Rao Bahadur Talmaki in initiating a new form of co-operation in the City has already found some imitators. Thanks mainly to his efforts, the Government of Bombay were, after much difficulty, induced to represent to the Government of India to recognise the wisdom of affording State aid to co-operative housing. But though the principle was recognised some time ago, no actual assistance was afforded, on the plea of financial stringency. It is some satisfaction to find, therefore, that the Government of Bombay have now decided to set apart a sum of Rs. 5 lakhs for this purpose, for distribution during the current year. The rate of interest to be charged by Government, 6 per cent., appears, however, rather high, but Government promise to reduce it in necessary cases. Government should not, and we presume, do not want to, make money out of the bargain, and even at some loss they should encourage the form of co-operation, which affords the cheapest and most efficient means of solving the most pressing problem of housing, especially in overcrowded cities like Bombay and Ahmedabad. A general rate of 5 per cent. is what is needed and we hope Government will consider this point."

Comments on the Government Press Note regarding Government help for co-operative housing schemes.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th Feb.

LEGISLATION.

40. "The Rowlatt Bills have been referred to the Select Committee in the teeth of the unanimous opposition offered to them by non-official Indians. Such unanimity is very rare in the Viceroy's Council, and the fact that nominated members and representatives of the land-holding classes united with the elected members to resist the bills should have convinced Lord Chelmsford's Government of the impolicy and unwisdom of persisting with them. ..... The opposition of the Indian members had, however, this effect, that the Government agreed to limit the duration of the second Bill to three years. This is undoubtedly a great improvement upon the measure as proposed, but still the objection remains that conciliation should at first be tried and if it fails to produce the desired effect upon the temper of the country and thus to deprive the anarchist of his means to carry his evil designs to fruition, then only should exceptional legislation, suited to the requirements of the occasion, be proposed. And, though the character of the measure will be greatly improved by the announcement of the Government, still it is too much to expect that the bill will receive, in its present form, the general support of the Indian element of the Council. It will be possible, we hope, for Government to withdraw the bills altogether."

The Rowlatt Bills in the Imperial Legislative Council.

Servant of India (9), 13th Feb.

41. "Before introducing the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, the Home Member announced that the Government were willing that the Emergency Powers Bill should, after it became law, remain valid for three years from the conclusion of peace..... The attitude of non-official members cannot, however, be changed in the slightest degree. We take leave to suspect that the concession of a time limit was a stage-managed affair calculated to impress and probably intended to conciliate some of the Indian members as an offer of liberality and proof of respect for the opinion of the people..... The potentialities of the Bill in the way of mischief, injustice and executive oppression are not altered by the introduction of the proviso that it will last only three years. The grounds on which the Bill was opposed stand; the iniquity of its provisions remains..... The danger of the Bill begins with the preamble. The object of the Bill, which is to serve as a permanent and ordinary amendment to the existing Criminal Law of the land, is explained as 'to deal more effectively with certain acts dangerous to the

Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th Feb.

State.' It is absolutely essential, supposing the proposed change in the law is necessary, that the phraseology should exclusively stipulate that it is anarchy and revolution that is contemplated. The preamble, which, of course, governs the Act, must not be left vague or ambiguous or susceptible of arbitrary interpretations. Against this demand, what had the Home Member to say?..... Regarding the main Bill there is the assurance that it will be confined to anarchical crimes and revolution, but what Dr. Sapru asked for was the alteration of the preamble of the other Bill for confining its operation to like cases. That assurance was denied..... This is by the way. The essential point is that this Bill is not less uncalled-for and anarchical than the main Bill. Section 2 creates a new and unheard-of offence which is to be incorporated as Section 124B of the Indian Penal Code. ..... Section 3 of the new Bill invests a Magistrate with the authority to order a preliminary inquiry by a police-officer not below the rank of an inspector. Knowing as we do our magistrates—or any magistrate for the matter of that—and the qualities of the inspector, the section is full of the possiblities of abuse and oppression of the innocent. Leaving the section protecting the approver and legalising the promises held out to him, we hasten to Section 5, which says that an accused can have cited against him by the prosecution proofs of 'voluntarily and habitually having associated with any person convicted' under Chapter VI of the Penal Code. This is a monstrous clause aimed possibly for the isolation of men whom the bureaucracy would regard as dangerous and worthy of public abhorrence. The Rowlatt Report in paragraph 177 (*b*) uses after the word 'association' the qualification 'of an incriminating kind, of course.' We notice this as a departure. The Bill in its entirety must be rejected and no plea for time-limits can be offered in view of these pernicious, reactionary and vindictive clauses. Sir George Lowndes—it was of course no other—said by way of clinching the argument that 'people who dealt with rather doubtful matters had to take the risk of being prosecuted.' A more coarse way of looking at legislation, whether from the intellectual or from the moral standpoint, is inconceivable. What are 'doubtful matters' coupled with 'the risk of prosecution?' They should be defined, and there should be just and humane methods of testing the guilt of suspects. For that purpose are ordinary courts of law in existence, and it is not for the executive to arrest and detain people because in its opinion there is some 'dealing with rather doubtful matters.' The late Tsar of Russia use to clear up 'doubtful matters' for the understanding of the people. For instance, with reference to prohibited literature, he at one sitting banned two hundred books including Mill's Political Economy and Bryce's Commonwealth. Sir George Lowndes simply fails to hold all his faculties in possession during the discussion of serious subjects and in the slough of clownishness he goes from ankle deep to knee deep."

42. "The manner in which, disregarding the unanimous and vehement protests from all parts of the country, the Government are pushing through the most objectionable piece of legislation that ever emanated from the pen of the draftsman in any country in the world, shows how they will thoughtlessly rush this country into ruin by undoing all that the war and common suffering secured in the way of co-operation and trust from the public..... We feel it our duty to warn the Government again against the consequence of carrying these bills into law. No law can be administered which is abhorred by the population unanimously, and even armed with such wide powers Government will never be able to cope with the alarm and discontent which will spread amongst the community from one end of the country to the other..... We are not sure whether the Government of India are not violating their moral responsibility to the Imperial Parliament and the population of the United Kingdom. We do not care whether the Indian Councils can, by the established law of the country, pass such an act, but we feel that they have to answer not only to God but to freedom-loving men in the United Kingdom and to stand the scrutiny of friends and foes everywhere in the world in placing such laws on the statute, in using their packed majority and in employing every art of

Young India (15), 12th Feb.

cajolery and threat that is known to the Indian officials..... There is little consolation to be gained out of the assurances of that arch-bureaucrat Sir William Vincent, 'that the bill was not aimed at patriots. It was aimed at criminals.' Has not patriotism in all shape and form been regarded as something criminal in India by the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy? Have not the Government assiduously kept under their control all schools and colleges, hostels and text books and have they not, through their declared campaign against Home Rule and every other agitation in the country, indicated that in their mind there was something objectionable against the love of the Motherland?..... The bills have now been referred to Select Committees upon which a few non-officials are represented. What we should like to see at this stage is that all non-official members should refuse to co-operate with the Government in the task of this or any such legislation and, considering the enormity of the action of the Government against the public in this matter, they should resign in a body. Nor can we think what their exact function could be on the committees to consider such bills since they have in a body rejected the very principle of it. Any detailed modification which may be secured would hardly improve matters and what is black can only become blacker by any little trickery here and there. At all events the fact that non-official members of the Committee are opposed to the bill as a whole and meetings of protest are already being organised in every district and in every village, should make the Government now realize how unwise they are in not letting sleeping dogs lie. Immediate steps must now be taken by the public for careful deliberation of the programme of work. All other programmes automatically fall into abeyance and the only thing that now lies before the public is to defeat these measures, to prevent their passing into law and to make their enforcement impossible by that moral protest of inviting silent suffering on themselves to which all Governments in the world must bend in the end."

Gujarâti (18), 9th Feb.; *Deshodaya* (68), 11th Feb.

43. By introducing these Bills the bureaucracy seems to want to show to the world that while India has fought in the war to help to secure the rights of self-determination to the subjects of the enemy, the people of India themselves are not fit to enjoy the rights of self-determination. While the United States of America have framed laws in the interests of the Philippinoes so that the officials may not pass laws whereby they might assume uncontrolled authority, the bureaucracy in India is anxious to get laws passed that would invest it with abosolute power. Why are Government encouraging disorder and principles that tend to create disorder in the religious affairs of the people if they are opposed to anarchy in matters political? What wise man will accept the findings of the Rowlatt Committee in the matter of the influence of the teachings of Ramkrishna Paramhansa and Vivekanand on anarchical outrages? Only senseless persons will blame a religion if a few of its heartless followers misuse its principles. In these circumstances the argument that Government have adopted the recommendations of the Committee as it was composed of renowned judges falls to the ground. Government are advocating the infliction of double punishment on political offenders in times of peace while England treats its political offenders in a liberal manner! We urge that the jury system should never be dissociated from the administration of justice. We cannot say what will be the results of the anxiety of the bureaucracy to hunt out criminals from the dark regions of the unknown. The attempt to prove guilt by reading the minds of the people rather than depending upon the evidence of their actions or words is horrifying. [The *Deshodaya* expresses surprise that Government should have persisted in submitting the Rowlatt Bills to the Select Committee in spite of the strong and unanimous opposition of the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council.]

Mahrâtta (7), 16th Feb.

***44.** "From the Rowlatt Report itself it appears that many of the revolutionaries were 'visionaries' imbued with the impossible idea of winning complete independence for India; and the cause of their revolutionary tendencies is principally the policy of the Govern-

ment during the last few years..... If the grant of substantial self-government—mark the words, not full and complete independence—is likely to finish the work of the revolutionary, and if that is what is intended to be granted to India soon, then where is the necessity of forging these chains which not only will fetter them, but are likely to be imposed upon the innocent? This is in brief the case of the non-officials, and no satisfactory reply has been given to it..... The whole non-official phalanx, including even a European gentleman, Mr. M. N. Hogg, voted for postponing the consideration of these Bils, but to no effect. And the incorrigible autocrat, the law-member we mean, even went to the length of threatening that Government would not blench from passing the Bills in spite of the unanimous verdict of the non-officials. He was thus prepared to flout the unanimous opinion of the country's representatives! The law-member is in India, and therefore he is at liberty to use such language of threats. Had he been in England, the House of Commons would have upset the whole Government including him, and would have turned him out within no time. And the officials are afraid of a similarly inconvenient position which will supervene in India on the passing of the Reforms Bill..... Sir William Vincent was not ready to insult the people's representatives in so insolent a manner as did Sir George Lowndes, and he, therefore, announced the next day that the Emergency Powers Bill would be limited for three years only. This is certainly a bait, tempting enough to some of the unwary and slippery, and we are afraid that some of our gullible councillors would be prepared to swallow it..... We for ourselves, however, cannot imagine how a patriot can yield to the Government's desire to fetter him and his countrymen for three long years, to stifle public life for that period, and strangulate the surging nationalism in the country till 1922..... Under such circumstances there is no other alternative for the non-officials but to oppose the Bills tooth and nail and not to yiefd to any concessions which the Government quacks may make by way of reducing the period of the operation of harassing the patient. They must with the nation say, 'Down with the Bills'."

*45. In the course of an article contributed to the *Indian Social Reformer*, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar writes :—" The question still remains--why should the Government seek the sanction of the Legislature to such a law, even for a limited period as a *temporary* measure, when it has already power in that behalf which it can exercise on its own authority and responsibility? The only intelligible reason that can be assigned is that Government does not think it expedient at this day and in these times of public opinion to use powers derived by it at a time when the Legislative Council had not come into existence and from authorities which did not and could not represent the public opinion of India. The Regulation of 1818 was a law enacted when the Executive Government in India was also the legislative power of the country. There were no Legislative Councils then, professing to represent, even in theory, the people, and as such legislating for the people. The Governor-General's power of ordinance was delegated to him by a Parliament in 1861 and Parliament does not mean the people of India. That being the character of those two laws, Government apparently does not wish to take upon itself the responsibility of using the powers it has under those laws but deems it expedient to place the responsibility upon the Legislative Council, which contains non-official members, representing Indian public opinien, and so to give the law thus passed the character of a measure enacted with the sympathy and support of that opinion. That was exactly the ground on which Lord Hardinge appealed and appealed successfully to the Indian members of the Council for their loyal support to the Bill, which accordingly passed into the present Defence of India Act in March 1915 as a war measure. And the same ground *a fortiori* must furnish the test now. That being the case, the non-official members of the Legislative Council have to ask themselves this question before deciding whether they should support the measure, even though it be *temporary*: Is it right to take upon

Indian Social Reformer (6), 16th Feb.

themselves, as representatives in the Council of the people, the responsibility of such a measure *in times of peace*, and make themselves parties to a law arming the Executive with powers to restrain the liberty of a subject, so long as the people have under the present constitution of the Government no share in or control over the Executive, and that when the Executive has already powers in that behalf derived from the Regulation of 1818 and the power of ordinance? In theory certainly and in practice generally, all law, and particularly laws restraining liberty of the person, being a system of rules by which rights are maintained, form the expression of the general will of the people. The Indian members of the Council, at any rate, owe it to themselves and to the people, therefore, that they should refuse to support such an exceptional case of legislation unless the general will of the country, of which they are exponents, is behind them. That is the test for them; and they are entitled, on the ground of recognised constitutional principles, to urge that the constitution of the Government should be popularised first in the direction of responsible government before they can share the responsibility of such laws with the Executive in a time of peace. If, under the present system of Government and before Mr. Montagu's reforms take effect and admit the people *into* the administration and make them responsible for it, the Legislative Council pass the Rowlatt Bills, whether with the support of the Indian members or by an official majority without that support, the Legislature will be passing the law under the guise of authority from public opinion, when that opinion is really opposed to the measure. Therefore, poularise the Government first and then ask its popularised Legislature to take the responsibility of such exceptional legislation for the peace and good government of the country, which till then rests *ex-necessitate* primarily on the Executive." [Commenting on the above the paper writes elsewhere:—" Sir Narayan, while recognising the consideration shown by Government, gives cogent reasons for holding that the proposal to limit the period does not relieve non-official Indian members of the duty to decline to share the responsibility for the measures with Government. Indian opinion is unanimous that constitutional reforms must have a fair trial (which they will not, if these Bills are passed) before further repressive measures are thought of. That was the view urged by Indian non-official members in the debate on the motion to refer the Bills to Select Committees. Government, on the contrary, hold that repressive legislation must precede and pave the way for reform. Such being the division of opinion on the question, it is not fair for Government to ask the Indian non-official members, or for the latter, to support the Bills. The restriction of the duration does not affect the position. This does not mean that non-official Indian members are oblivious to the evil of revolutionary crime. The Moderates among them have never denied, and the Radicals now admit the fact of its existence. What their opposition to the Bills means is that, as Government have already sufficient power to deal with any recrudescence of it, under the Ordinance Regulation, which though old is not obsolete and it is not proposed to repeal, the present Bills are unnecessary and may be harmful at present. As Government hold that repression must precede reform they must take upon themselves the entire responsibility of giving effect to that opinion. And they have ample means of doing it. The non-officials, holding the opposite view, would be sacrificing, and that unnecessarily, their convictions if they become parties at this juncture to measures of repression. Nobody wants to protect revolutionary crime, but there is a deep line of difference as to the best means of preventing it between Government and the country. As regards Sir William Vincent's appeal to the Moderates, we hope he will remember that it is neither to the interest of the country nor to the advantage of Government that the Moderate party in Indian politics should commit suicide, which is what the invitation amounts to."]

*46. *Gujarâti* (18), 16th Feb., Eng. cols.

"It was not a very creditable attempt that was made to bully the non-official Councillors by the threat that their fitness for responsible government would be judged by their attitude towards the Honourable Mr. Vincent's precious Bills. A more stupid, unworthy and provoking

argument could not have been put forward. Nay, a more suicidal contention could not have been advanced. Do not the Bills demonstrate conclusively that the bureaucrats have wholly failed in regulating the affairs of this country in a manner so as to prevent the spread of discontent and the rise of a revolutionary or anarchic spirit amongst a peace-loving, docile, sober-minded and loyal people?..... It is not a very honourable course to urge at one time that their support in favour of a financial measure was quite welcome and to contend at another time that even their unanimous vote was worthless and that 'it would be impossible for Government to surrender their judgment even to the unanimous opinion of the non-official members.' ..... Lord Chelmsford's Government had arrived at their first decision in favour of a permanent enactment of course after very anxious consideration, as His Excellency assured the public in his opening speech. The Law Member, who has now won well-deserved fame by exhibition on his part of supreme conceit and insolence, more than confirmed that assurance by proclaiming in a spirit of defiance that Government were not prepared to surrender their judgment even to the unanimous opinion of the non-official Councillors. Well, within less than forty-eight hours they found it advisable and proper to go back upon their irrevocable decision at least in one important respect. Sir George Lowndes seems to labour under the self-complacent delusion that outside the Government there are no persons who can understand questions of policy as he and his colleagues can. The Indian public have not so far discovered amongst them a single political genius or a genuine statesman. Tenth-rate mediocrities need not exult in such a defiant outburst as the one in which Sir George Lowndes indulged, only to climb down a few hours afterwards on the analogy of a convenient Irish precedent which they had cleverly managed to forget till the last moment..... Whilst we gladly welcome the changed attitude of Government, so far as it has gone, we sincerely hope that the sweeping and dangerous provisions of the two Bills will be wholly modified and brought into conformity with the principles of civilised jurisprudence. Otherwise it is absolutely certain that legislation of the kind that has been proposed, though of a temporary character, will never be accepted but strenuously opposed with one voice and feeling throughout the country."

47. The speeches of all the non-official members were like a cry in the wilderness. Their logic was ignored, their arguments were serenely brushed aside and the official members did not care to notice the warning conveyed that a terrible agitation will begin and that all will have to suffer. What union and strength it was possible for the non-official members to display they showed, but the Government stones were not moved even a bit. The official members trampled under their feet public opinion, relying on their strength. Government can do anything they like in the present Councils by the use of the Government majority. Government confessed in a way in the Council that they have no case. They were ashamed of clearly speaking out that they could not do these things hereafter and that they therefore want to have them done now. There was not a word in the Viceroy's speech relating to objections if any against postponement of the measures. The one great official argument in favour of the measures is that Government are bound to carry out the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee. But the Committee itself has said that if the post-war conditions improve these remedies need not be adopted and even a child will say that pre-war conditions do not exist now. Even granting that the revolutionary movement began from 1857, Government have now power enough to put down easily mutinies ten times worse than those of 1857. It is not at all just for Government to take up such dangerous weapons of repression at such a time because there is a faint possibility of anarchist-dacoits breaking out somewhere and somehow. The Rowlatt Committee itself said that in Madras, Bombay, Central Provinces and United Provinces revolutionary movement ceased to exist even before the war. At the beginning of the war it was found only in Bengal, Punjáb and some districts of Behár. Why should not Government be able to conduct the administration of these territories when the revolutionaries

Kesari (114), 11th Feb.

have been suppressed in them, after the war, with the help of ordinary laws? The Rowlatt Committee certifies that Bombay, Madras, C.P. and U. P. are free from the revolutionary elements. Then what is the meaning of Government boasting that it has to act according to the Rowlatt recommendations, throttling the provinces with the new repressive bills? Does it not prove that it is hypocritical in saying that it acts in accordance with the Rowlatt recommendations? Out of 1,062 men interned during the war, 677 have been released, 385 have been interned but not confined. Out of these 125 are interned in home domicile. If we examine the figures we have to say that even in Bengal and Punjáb the revolutionary movement does not exist now. If so what necessity is there for these Bills? But replies were given haughtily and shamelessly in the Council of the type that 'if you are not revolutionaries, your grandsons may turn out so'. Sir George Lowndes said that it was not wise to ignore the presence of the thief in the house. But the thief has been arrested and dealt with and some innocent persons also were persecuted being suspected as thieves. What necessity is there for the hurry and what is the great danger threatening us? The type of argument used by the then tyrannical king in the massacre of innocents and by Kamsa while destroying the children of Devaki was haughtily employed on behalf of Government in the Council. There may be a handful of revolutionaries in Bengal but they also are quiet now and interned. It is a sham to tell the people that nothing is known as to what the next generation may do. There is the law of 1818 and Government can do anything by issuing ordinances. The Viceroy referred vaguely to the Bolshevik danger. If Government feel the necessity even now of Defence of India measures why this pretence of the Rowlatt Bills? Have Government any experience in the war that people will not help Government in warding off any danger arising from conditions in foreign countries? There is no objection to the Government of India seeking the help of Indians, informing them publicly of the foreign danger. Why should people believe that these Bills are meant for the suppression of disorder that may arise from conditions in foreign countries? Every reasonable man cannot but think that these Bills are meant for the succour of the bureaucracy in the constitutional struggle people have waged against it. It is clear from the Government views expressed in the Council that they are determined to have these Bills passed ignoring public opinion. No other way is open to the people but to create an agitation the like of which was never witnessed before. [Elsewhere the paper says:—Those who boast that peace was maintained because they had the 'Defence of India' in their hands should remember that public opinion is required to be favourable to any law from which good results are expected. But a law which is not trusted by the people and which is considered as stigmatising their loyal conduct if passed, will not yield any beneficial results however repressive it may be. The Defence of India Act proved to be so beneficial because it was trusted by the people and because people wanted that the revolutionary disease should not affect them. But if the bureaucracy begin to administer a dose of the Rowlatt Bill every now and then against the will of the people when there is no sign of the revolutionary disease, it may end in evil consequences. The peace reigning in the country for the last four years is due neither to the Civil Servants nor to the Defence of India Act but to the well-behaved loyal conduct of Indians contented with little. It is better, however, not to forecast the consequences if the bureaucracy pass measures like the Rowlatt Bills and thereby change the temper of the people itself.]

48. It is a matter for some satisfaction that Government in deference to public opinion have agreed to place the Bill on the Statue Book for a period of three years only. But what guarantee is there that they will not seek to make it a permanent measure later on? One circumstance, however, is in our favour. Before the period of three years elapses the reforms will have been in force for some time and it will not be so easy then to pass repressive laws as it is now. The permanence of the

Dnyán Prakásh (3), 13th and 14th Feb.; *Indu Prakásh* (42), 12th Feb.; *Sanjaya* (125), 13th Feb.; *Rájakáran* (123), 9th Feb.

measures was, however, not the only objectionable feature and we still oppose them on the grounds set forth by our representatives in the Council. [In a subsequent issue the paper writes :—We are still of opinion that the Bills are unnecessary and that Government should drop them. We do not, however, agree with those who urge that non-official members should walk out of the Council Room if Government persist in proceeding with them. The efforts of our representatives will not be wholly wasted if they suggest amendments in the select committee or at the Council meeting with a view to making the Bills less harmful. Besides, if they find that their suggestions are not accepted by Government it is open to them to walk out, as a last resort, at the third reading of the Bills. The *Indu Prakásh* congratulates the non-official members on their success in eliciting a declaration from Government that the Emergency Powers Bill will be in force for three years only. It expresses its apprehension, however, that Government may seek to place it permanently on the Statute Book later on. The *Sanjaya* says that although Government might offer to make some modifications in the Bills this is not a matter which admits of any compromise; the Bills are based on principles that are fundamentally wrong and it is derogatory to the self-respect of Indians to acquiesce in them. The *Rájakárn* writes :—If the Bills are passed in the teeth of popular opposition the non-official members should declare in the presence of the Viceroy that they would refuse to co-operate with Government in certain matters and would resort to obstructive tactics.]

49. The assurance of Government that the Bills are meant for putting down the revolutionaries and that other patriots will not be troubled by them is no doubt honest and well-intentioned. But the opposition of the people does not so much concern Government as officials who enforce the Acts in an irresponsible manner. The Honourable Mr. Shastri produced convincing proofs that officials misuse their powers and that they have done so on several occasions, but Government did not care to notice them. If Government withdraw from their position taking into consideration popular resentment even now, they will not lose their prestige or respect; contrariwise people will thank them and sing their praises. Government have it in their hands to excite antagonistic passive resistance or to win the favour and love of the people.

Indu Prakásh (42), 11th Feb.

50. "If evidence or proof were needed of the complete estrangement of the bureaucracy from public and popular opinion in India, it has been abundantly furnished by the introduction of the first of the two Rowlatt Bills in the Imperial Legislative Council during its present session at Delhi..... The Government of India are unable to name a single Indian political leader or a single responsible public body in support of the Rowlatt Bills, but these are being proceeded with all the same..... The present attitude of the Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council is due not only to the character of the Rowlatt Bills, but to the experience gained of the working of all such repressive measures. The Government have failed to convince any responsible Indian having any influence over the people that these measures are needed, or if they are passed they will be administered in a spirit of restraint and with a due regard for the liberty of the subject..... We make no suggestion as to the particular form of constitutional agitation that must be undertaken to make such repeated disregard and defiance of public opinion impossible. But agitation must be carried on from India to England to prove how the bureaucracy is directly responsible for the creation of alarm and discontent in India." [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* also strongly condemns the introduction of the Rowlatt Bills in the Imperial Legislative Council. Commenting on Sir George Lowndes' speech in support of the Bills the paper remarks :—" He treated the Council with the story of the burglar who had robbed the house and was expected to come again. We need not, for the present, mention the schoolboyish character of these analogies and illustrations. We will wait behind the door for the burglar, armed with a weapon as Sir George Lowndes wants us. But

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 12th Feb., Eng cols.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (26), 6th Feb., Eng. cols.

will not a revolver or a rifle do? Why send for machine-guns from Essen? Have we not enough of these revolvers and rifles in the power to make ordinances and in Regulation 3 of 1818?"

Hindusthán (22), 8th, 10th, 11th, 13th and 14th Feb.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 10th and 11th Feb.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 10th Feb.; *Bombay Samáchár* (63), 10th and 13th Feb.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 10th and 12th Feb.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 10th Feb.

51. Commenting upon the passing of the first reading of the Emergency Powers Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Hindusthán* considers the defeat of the opposition as a great gain to the popular cause inasmuchas it has helped to unite together the Extremists and Moderates and to sink all differences of caste or creed. It adds:—The bureaucrats in India are ready to spurn public opinion a time when the British Cabinet has announced its intention of adopting a policy that would eventually give *swarájya* to India! The bureaucrats might succeed with their majority in the Council as Lord Curzon did. But while Lord Curzon merely agitated the minds of the Bengalis, the Black Bills will stir the hearts of the entire educated Indian public. Let us hope that the bureaucracy on its death-bed may learn wisdom and bow down to popular opinion. [In a subsequent issue the paper advocates the necessity of organising public opinion against the Bills and urges the need of moderation and the use of legitimate means in the agitation. In a further issue the paper insinuates that Government have made a strategic move in announcing that the Bill if passed into law would be in operation for the period of three years only, in order to win over the Moderates and to create a split in the opposition. It fears that the repressive measure would be renewed after three years and urges the need of carrying on systematic agitation till the measure is repealed. In the subsequent issue the paper advocates the use of passive resistance on the part of the people to show their disapproval of the Bill. In the next issue it warns Government of the evil effects of repressive measures and asks them to profit by the experience in Ireland. It further advocates the necessity of organising agitation so as to make the Ministers in England bring pressure to bear on the Government of India to repeal the measure. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* considers the Bills as not in keeping with the policy of reform outlined by the British Cabinet. It expresses gratification at the announcement that the law when passed would be in force for three years only and hopes Government will not go back on the promise. The *Sánj Vartamán* declares that the passing of the Bills would be an insult to public opinion and that the legislation should not be tolerated for three seconds, much less for three years as announced by Government. The *Bombay Samáchár* strongly urges the need of dropping the Rowlatt Bills. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* is gratified at the announcement made by Government in the matter of the duration of the Emergency Powers Bill and hopes that it will be so amended as to take the sting out of it. The *Shri Venkateshwar* wishes that Government had dropped the Bill in accordance with the wishes of the non-official members of the Council. The *Akhbár-e-Islám*, while fully associating itself with the opposition against the Bills, declares that India as a whole has nothing to fear from their operation as they will affect an infinitely small portion of its people.]

Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th Feb.

*52. "Observer" writes to the *Bombay Chronicle*:—"There are two weapons of resistance in the hands of the people to fight out this struggle for liberty, *i.e.*, active and passive. By active resistance, the people should decline to co-operate with Government. First, the Indian non-official members on the Select Committee, after making protest, should retire. Next, the non-official members of the Viceroy's Council should not attend the meetings, or, better still, resign. Then the non-official members on other legislative councils should follow suit. People will question whether the Indian members on the Executive Council, Viceregal or otherwise, should resign, or whether they would not be serving the country's cause better by remaining in. I say that since the protest of the whole country is of no avail, in spite of their remaining in, and Government has turned a deaf ear and refused to listen to the united voice of the people, then, their honourable course is, after making protest, to retire and join the ranks of their countrymen and lead them to

victory and save them from the impending slavery. People should cut off their social relations with the heads of Government and discontinue going to Government House or the Collector's or the Commissioner's bungalow until these bills are dropped or repealed..... If the weapons of active resistance fail to produce any effect upon Government, then we must resort to weapons of passive resistance. Government must be made to realise that the power of the purse is still with the people, and if the Government goes against the wishes of the people, then the people have a legitimate right to refuse the supply, and, in India's case, to decline to pay taxes. Let Government resort to all means and measures for recovering the taxes by attaching and selling their properties and the people should be prepared to undergo all sacrifices for the country's cause."

Comments on the voting in the Imperial Legislative Council in connection with the Rowlatt Bills.

New Times (8), 9th and 12th Feb.; *Home Ruler* (5), 8th Feb.

53. "The debate in the Imperial Legislative Council on the Rowlatt Bills must open the eyes of the bureaucracy to the undesirability of passing repressive legislation in the teeth of united public opinion..... The non-official voting is a signal moral victory for the country and the non-official members. A Government in a civilized country meeting with such strong and united opposition of elected members would be compelled to resign. But here in India we are supposed still to live in the middle ages and it is sad to contemplete how completely out of touch the Government of India is with the sentiment and feelings of the people which it should be its duty to understand..... The present attitude of the Government of India should make it clear to all how necessary it is to make the government responsible to popular opinion if the new reforms are in any measure to reform the adminsitration." [The paper in a further issue says:—"Sir William Vincent has intimated to the Imperial Council that the Rowlatt Bills will have force only for three years after declaration of peace. While the whole country abhors this legislation and feels that it ought not to be undertaken, still it will, we think, feel a little relieved at this news of the time limit. The country feels grateful to the Honourable Non-Official Members for the strong fight they have put up." The *Home Ruler* writes:—"It is only the support and co-operation of Indian public opinion or a part of it which can give any force to the bureaucratic law and so its fate should be sealed..... If only our leaders and the people have confidence in themselves, the Government can never succeed in their plan of binding us down once for ever and crushing all honest and independent public opinion..... When a Government feels nervous about facing the verdict of a public court of law the remedy is not that the jurisdiction of the court should be ousted but that the Government should look to itself and set its own house in order..... If the British rule in India was inspired by the British character of administration such a law would be considered simply preposterous and no responsible man would dare to associate himself with it."]

Protest against the Excess Profits Tax Bill.

Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 10th Feb.

54. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* lends full support to the memorial submitted to the Government of India by the citizens of Bombay praying for the withdrawal of the Excess Profits Tax Bill and adds:—Government have seriously erred in the matter of the Rowlatt Bills, and discontent will grow in the country if they adopt a similar policy in respect of other Bills. We would once again request Government to pursue a policy that would create satisfaction in the hearts of the people.

The attitude of Government towards the Honourable Mr. Patel's Inter-caste Marriage Bill.

Deccan Ryot (4), 13th Feb.

55. "Serious misgivings are entertained by most of the lovers of social reform as to the attitude the Government may take up to the Hindu Inter-caste Marriage Bill introduced by Mr. Patel. It, would, indeed, be a great misfortune if the Government members of the Council opposed the measure on the ground that the people were not prepared for it. Lord Chelmsford's Government is irrevocably committed to a *liberal politi-*

cal policy and it cannot, consistently with it, lend its support to a decidedly *illiberal* policy in *social* matters. We hope the worst fears of the lovers of individual liberty will prove to be unfounded and the Government will accord its powerful support to the Honourable Mr. Patel's Bill.

EDUCATION.

56. "We are informed that Mr. Hoggarth, the Acting Principal of the School of Art, Bombay, having been transferred elsewhere, his place has been taken over by Messrs. John Wallace and H. F. King. We do not know why this dual system has been adopted, or what special qualifications are possessed by these two gentlemen. As far as we can gather, the qualification of Mr. John Wallace is that he is an engineer, and twice acted as Principal of the School in the absence of Mr. Burns. His tenure of office was, however, not at all successful, the students gaining nothing from him, either in words, pencil or brush. As for Mr. King, except that he is a partner in an architects' firm, we do not know whether the lectureship, which he holds in the School for the last six or seven years, has been gained on the strength of any adequate qualifications. It may be gratifying to the Government and convenient to Mr. Wallace that, in spite of his old age, he is always ready to relieve the Government of the unnecessary burden of seeking deserving persons for the post. We are further informed that he attends the School for a short time and then, too, he is busy with office routine, and the students can hardly find him or Mr. King in the afternoon for advice or interview. Who, then, looks after the teaching hours of the former Principal, or is it a fact that the former Principal had also no teaching hours? The arrangement is obviously not fair to Mr. Wallace, who is innocent of any pretension to teaching Indian art. Much more, it is unfair to the students. Could not the Government have selected an Indian, preferably an old student of the School itself, for the post? If it is urged that there is no qualified Indian, it is surely a matter of regret that the School in its sixty years' career has not been able to turn out a single student who could be appointed to the post. If that is so, what substantial good has the School of Art done? How many of its students have gained world-wide fame as students of the Calcutta School of Art have done? Why are the students of the Calcutta School of Art so progressive? The reason is not difficult to find. There the system of working is quite different. During Mr. Havell's principalship full opportunity was given to the Indian staff to prove its capacities and it is needless to say what success Mr. Abanindranath Tagore, then Vice-Principal of the School, attained. The whole School is Indian in character and principle, working on quite independent and original lines. And every possible care has been taken to revive and develop Indian art. What do we find in Bombay? Indian art and the principles on which it is based are totally discarded. What is wanted is to revive and develop Indian art and it is time the public appreciated at its true worth the specious reports, submitted annually by the authorities, to the effect that so many new European professors are introduced and so many more students take advantage of their teaching. It may be very beneficial to them that Government patronise them at the cost of Indian talent. But how far has Indian art benefitted by the expenditure of enormous sums for more than half a century on this School? The Indian staff of the School is very poorly paid and we even doubt if the total pay of the whole Indian staff reaches the amount dwran by the Principal."

Comments on the present condition of the Bombay School of Art.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th Feb.

MUNICIPALITIES.

57. An inhabitant of Karjat writes to the *Kesari*:—With reference to the Government reply to the Honourable Mr. Kamat regarding the house cess at Karjat at the meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council on 13th March 1918, we ask if the income be insufficient for the expenses, what objection is there for Government to

The Karjat Notified Area Committee should be abolished.

Kesari (114), 11th Nov.

abolish the Notified Area Committee at that place as they have done in the case of Bhadgaon, Hansel and other places? Is it not sheer oppression to make the poor villagers pay 12 per cent. on house rent when they find it difficult to meet their own expenses? Government said that the same rate was fixed for some other places also; but they do not seem to have compared Karjat with them especially as regards population and trade. On another occasion Government admitted that Karjat was the only instance where the conservancy cess was calculated on the number of occupants in a house. The accounts of the Karjat Committee show that in 1914-15 the expenses were less than half the income. This was so because that year and the year before that the cess was calculated on the valuation of a house. Even then there was no improvement effected at Karjat. The tax was, moreover, unbearable and the villagers asked Government to abolish the committee, but in vain. The villagers thereupon submitted another petition praying that the cess at least may be reduced, but instead of doing so it was notified that the house cess was thereafter to be calculated on the gross income from house rent, instead of on the house valuation as before. But this did not help to increase the income and made it even less than before and for the purpose of expenses the previous balances had to be drawn upon. Karjat is not a trading centre and its population is small. When the house owners themselves get low rents, where is the Committee to find the money for its expenses? We, therefore, request Government not to persist in their determination to keep on the Committee. They should either abolish it or reduce the rate of cess. We hope some Honourable Member will interpellate in this matter at the ensuing meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council and remove our grievances once for all.

NATIVE STATES.

Alleged harassment of Kulkarnies by the Kolhapur Darbar.
Kesari (114), 11th Feb.

58. A correspondent writes to the *Kesari*:—The Kolhápur Darbar having already done away with Kulkarni vatans have now appointed an 'Inquiry Bench' with no judge on it in order to investigate into the private properties owned by Kulkarnis in the State, before which people are allowed full permission to lodge any complaints they have to make against the Kulkarnis, while the latter were not first allowed even to depute a pleader to appear on their behalf. The private properties of the Knlkarnis being thus in danger, they have started an association with the object of protecting their rights and collecting funds for it. Does the Government of India approve of this action on the part of the Kolhápur Darbar of needlessly harassing the Kulkarnis and sowing discontent amongst them? It was stated by the Viceroy at the Chiefs' Conference that the Government of India will safeguard the rights of the Chiefs; but what about those of the subjects under them?

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 21st February 1919.

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*Reported in advance.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 22nd February 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

***1.** "The report of the Indian Industrial Commission is regarded as 'a State document of the greatest value and importance'. We regard with some misgiving the reference to the 'expansion of the scientific and technical advice at the disposal of industry in this country, howsoever deftly the Viceroy asks for agreement on this point. If this expansion connotes the importation of third class men from the foregin countries to fatten their income at the expense of the Indian ryot and the continuance of scandals that are patent all over the country, Indian industries could very well do without this expansion. It is better that such expansion does not take place than that claims of first class Indians be overridden by Europeans with no qualifications in the trade they are called upon to advise..... Lord Chelmsford hopes to get the debt of honour due to those who have lost life and limb in the service of the Empire discharged by prompt and comprehensive action with help of the Indian Soldier's Board which succeeds the Recruiting Board. The materialistic idea of giving land rewards and grants, of the after-care of the incapacitated and of educational concessions is all well and good by itself. It is but a duty that we owe. But that so exalted a personage as the Viceroy should stoop to believe that these can discharge our debt is beyond comprehension. That debt can never be discharged. What the Government, what the people could do is but the faintest recognition of the heroism and sacrifice of those who have won the liberty of the world. Yes, if India is not to be allowed her due share in the enjoyment of the liberty won, then perhaps Sir George Lowndes and his Soldiers' Board may be able to discharge the debt!..... The great famine which is being felt most acutely in every village and every home does not seem to concern the Viceroy and his Government. The black bills and the famine, these are the two talks in India. But what affects the people to the very core seems to be beyond the Viceregal ken. The one was left to Sir George Lowndes and his kidney and the other is entrusted to the Honourable Sir Claude Hill. The council would have been more interested in the time taken up to speak on these matters than in that taken to appease the wrath of the Civil Service over the Reforms. Lord Chelmsford asked the Honourable Members to hold high their heads for the share in the great fight for justice and truth and because 'we are the proud citizens of a powerful and victorious Empire'. Who can say how proud the citizens of India are with the badge of criminality in the shape of the Rowlatt Bills, a badge which they are to wear, the Home Member has assured the Council, for three short years only instead of for ever? Three years after the bureaucracy will pass the necessary certificate whether the Reforms have killed anarchy and revolution. Reforms that will make the Indian Minister a powerless puppet subservient to civilian dictation, far from ending anarchy and revolution, will not end even honest and innocent constitutional agitation. What then? Wear the badge for ever!"

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's opening speech at the Imperial Legislative Council.

Kaiser-i-Hind (26), 23rd Feb., Eng. cols.

2. The Viceroy gave assurances to the Anglo-Indian merchants and the Civil Servants that the reforms need not disturb them and that proper safe-guards would be provided to ensure their present rights and privileges. This is all very well but the question is whether, burdened by such restrictions as were outlined by His Excellency, the position of ministers will be an enviable one and whether men of really independent views would be found to occupy the posts. His Excellency, however, referred in sympathetic terms to men who had served in the war and announced that arrangements were being made to provide them and their families with the necessary means of subsistence. We trust this assurance will give satisfaction to our brethren of the backward classes.

Jágaruk (43), 15th Feb.

3. His Excellency's speech will conciliate the Civilians. But will the Indians be satisfied by it? Indians seem to build high hopes upon the Montagu reforms, but Lord Chelmsford's pronouncement makes it clear that those hopes will not be realised. The Viceroy has declared that Europeans will continue to be recruited in England for the I. C. S. as long

Gujaráti (18), 16th Feb.

as competent men cannot be found in India to replace them. Do the Englishmen hold the monopoly of all the virtues necessary for public servants? Lord Chelmsford does not make it clear when the Indians will get full authority to administer their own affairs. The speech makes it clear that the I. C. S. will be responsible to the Governor and not to the people. Every head of a department will have access to the Governor and so be able to poison his ears against the Ministers. In these circumstances we fail to see how the Ministers will be able to maintain their dignity and position. A rule should be framed to the effect that the head of a department should communicate his difficulties to the Governor in the presence of the Minister. The sum and substance of Lord Chelmsford's speech is that India is for the I. C. S.; the I. C. S. is not for India. Those who entertain very high hopes about the political progress of India should now wake up.

4. "What comes as a surprise to us is that one of the two authors of the scheme of responsible government—Lord Chelmsford should come forward and give the lie to much that is contained in his report and to the expectations that were aroused therefrom by publicly declaring certain conditions for the future of the I. C. S., which make the prospect of the success of responsible government altogether meagre..... The ministers, we are told, will be on their trial and it appears, reading between the lines, that the test by which their work will be judged will be their attitude towards the permanent services..... We have no desire to minimise such merits as some members of the Service have, but we are constrained to remark that, from the standpoint of the Indian public, almost every clause of the Viceroy's speech bearing on the position of the Indian Civil Service could be challenged, and it is necessary that aspersions upon the public and their representatives and their future ministers must be cleared at an early date. It matters a good deal to the country that there should be administrative reforms, but it would be a great evil if the administrative reforms were given on an understanding which involves humiliating and damaging conditions such as are outlined in the speech of the Viceroy..... The nomination of ministers and the entire machinery for securing the election of ministers after a long period of ten years will be used in such a manner as to get in easy tools, who would be willing to follow the express and implied behests of the Services..... We have over and over again appealed to the statesmen of England to give the Indian community some honest freedom, if they will, instead of playing with their aspiration and with their hopes, and in this extraordinary programme put forward by the Viceroy, we find the old adage which has come true over and over again in India, namely, 'take away by the left hand, what is given by the right.' What is the sense in giving franchise to the Indian public, in having the paraphernalia of the election roll, the registration, the ballot boxes, and the mimicry of a council with all the formal rules of debate and discussion and the farce of having Indian Ministers, if as a result of all this any perverse member of the Indian Civil Service could defy the whole system and rely upon the protection of the Governor and of the graded machinery of appeal?..... All the differences between Moderates and Nationalists sink before the menace which is involved in this arrangement. The Viceroy has by one stroke of the pen held up one of the reforms committees to ridicule, namely, the committee for considering subjects and has forestalled their report in a manner which no self-respecting members of that committee should tolerate without protest. ..... Coupled with the indecent haste with which repressive legislation is being carried through, this ought to be an eye-opener to those who naively put their trust in declarations, reports, communiques and assurances emanating from official sources."

Young India (15), 19th Feb.

5. "The announcement contained in the speech about the pay, pension and conditions of the Imperial Services being determined by the Secretary of State has not attracted the atttention it deserves. This announcement certainly goes too far. In the first place, the Viceroy should not have taken a decision on a subject which lies mainly within the domain of the Functions Committee. Secondly, the interests of the officers already in

Servant of India (9), 20th Feb.

service should alone be safeguarded, but the future responsible Government of India must be free to prescribe the terms of fresh entrants. Again, the power of access to the Governor behind the back of the minister, proposed to be given to heads of departments, is highly dangerous and cannot but place the minister in a very weak position. No wonder, therefore, that the *Madras Mail* should regard the Viceroy's speech as reassuring to the services."

Home Ruler (5), 15th Feb.

6. The *Home Ruler* dwells on the opposition offered to Indian reforms by Anglo-Indians in England and by the Europeans and the I.C.S. in India, and remarks:—"This admirable programme has had a fair measure of success. The reforms are to be more than counterbalanced by the proposed Rowlatt Bills and theViceroy has been intimidated into offering all sorts of preposterous concessions to the services. We wonder if anything of the reforms will remain after these concessions are incorporated into the frame-work of the official bill and we are extremely doubtful if it is worth while accepting reforms at the cost of a double dose of repression. But disappointing and discouraging as this is, it is not all, and we shall proceed to consider the new menace of which a beginning was made in the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Indian Legislative Council. Under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme the popular representatives are asked to keep their hands off the Central Government..... Every responsible Indian publicist had unequivocally declared that if the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme is to be made acceptable to the people at large, this feature of it must be radically changed. But not content with directly flouting public opinion in this connection, the new official angle seems to be to concentrate almost all the important functions of government in the Central Government and to leave out the Indians in the cold as heretofore. The services and the foreign exploiters are intimately concerned in almost all our affairs and the Viceroy has distinctly intimated that the Indian ministers will not be allowed to meddle with them at their discretion. That means the provincial councils will be reduced to pretty little playthings which will be retained for the sole object of allowing the Indians to play at politics..... Under these complex conditions what is the obvious duty of our countrymen? The first and imperative necessity is to present a united front to the common enemy. We might differ among ourselves but we must at any rate find out the greatest common factor and fight on a common platform from that basis. At every moment we see before us the results of united action and if the Government has not adopted a rigid attitude on the Black Bills, can it be doubted that it is solely due to the united opposition of the non-officials? It is almost criminal at this juncture to indulge in an acrimonious wrangling among ourselves and we must reserve our strength for the common enemy."

Proposed discussion of the Reforms Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council when it is introduced in Parliament.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Feb.

7. "It is rather exasperating to see how even a plain and simple request by non-official members meets with a curt refusal. The Honourable Mir Asad Ali asked whether the Imperial Council would be given an opportunity to discuss the Reforms Bill when it is introduced in Parliament. The heavens would certainly not fall if the Imperial Legislative Council are given this opportunity. But the bureaucracy does not know what it is to be courteous. Sir William Vincent blurted out, 'Government are not prepared to give any undertaking upon the point.' Knowing the temper of the bureaucracy as they do, the honourable members may as well initiate the discussion themselves when the occasion arises without seeking to feel the situation beforehand."

Comments on the attitude of the Government of India towards the activities of I. C. S. Association.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Feb.

8. "Replying to an interpellation in the Imperial Legislative Council regarding the activities of the I. C. S. Associations, Sir William Vincent, himself a luminary of the Service, made light of the whole matter and said that Government were aware of the existence of I. C. S. Associations in Behár and elsewhere and that these were for the purpose of enabling the members to discuss matters which affected them as a body. He was further of opinion that the I. C. S.

Association had not taken part in any political movement and that it had not contravened the Government Servants' Conduct Rules. Sir William's nonchalant answer best illustrates the danger of allowing any member of the I. C. S. to remain part of the Government. The I. C. S. is a close corporation and its members are found everywhere and in all capacities. Naturally the Civilians in the highest posts are inclined to shield the Civilians in the lowest. Otherwise, what can be more absurd than to argue that the I. C. S. movement is not political? It is a political agitation from the beginning to the end. If it be not political to form a body and induce others to join it and issue a veiled threat to Government and, as it were, organise the preliminaries of a strike if their pay, prospects and position were not assured, then nothing is political. Is it permissible for Government servants to form unions of such a type? Would Government tolerate such conduct from any other body of public servants than the I. C. S.? Again, is it not the established practice of Government to discourage and disallow joint representations even in ordinary matters? Are not Government servants asked to make individual representation by the members of the heaven-born service every day? There has been enough of this fondling of the I. C. S. It appears the Service does not know its real status and position in the country. In their own interests the people of India are bound to take prompt measures against the threatened movement. The I. C. S. cannot be accorded any higher position in India than that enjoyed by their confreres in England. Let the Home Civil Service try this game of bluff and England will know how to deal with it. The I. C. S. cannot claim to have a share, much less a dominant share, in controlling the policy of the administration of the country."

Comments on the Honourable Sir Claude Hill's statement on the food supply of India.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Feb.

9. "Hopes were raised that in his opening speech in the Imperial Legislative Council the Viceroy would announce some radical improvements in the measures of relief. He made no announcement but contented himself with saying that a complete statement on the subject would be made by Sir Claude Hill. If this was disappointing, the long expected statement of Sir Claude Hill is more so. The greater part of this statement is taken up with the recapitulation of the steps that were adopted by the Government long before the situation assumed its present acute form. The recital would have had its use in its proper time. But it is absolutely irrelevant and irritating at a moment when the public is anxious to know what Government propose to do to afford immediate relief. The subject of prices is the most clamant problem of the hour and Sir Cluude Hill can only muster up enough statesmanship to say that 'he could only make a brief allusion' to it. The prices, he was pleased to admit, 'have reached an abnormally high level' and, he condescended to add, 'we fully realise the hardships that they entail on the great mass of the population, but during the period following such a world-wide cataclysm, as we have been through during the last four years, it is idle to expect that conditions could return at once to the normal.' This platitudinous excuse for allowing things to remain much the same as they are would hove been bad enough if it had stood alone. But Sir Claude Hill went further. He proceeded to deliver himself of an inaccurate assertion, the constant repetition of which by officials, from the Viceroy downwards, has become nauseating. 'To a large extent,' he said, 'India has been saved from many of the consequences which other belligerent countries have had to undergo and it is only in the last few months that we have seen prices here begin to move towards the level which obtains in the outside world, and even now in many cases Indian prices are still much below the world prices.' The comparison is as misleading as the statement is substantially untrue. India is not as rich as other countries and the average income of the Indian people bears no proportion to that of the people in wealthy belligerent countries. The Indian people have sacrificed and suffered and felt the sacrifices and sufferings as keenly as the people of other belligerent countries. To indulge in such cheap and gratuitous generalisations is, therefore, not only adding insult to injury but it mocks the sufferings and hardships of the thousands of the afflicted and distressed—and, as an excuse

for the inefficiency, inadequacy and ineptitude of Government action, it is criminal."

How nominations of non-officials to the Bombay Legislative Council should be made.

Deccan Ryot (4), 20th Feb.

10. "What is the purpose in making non-official nominations? Obviously the principal object which must be kept in view in nominating non-officials is to secure on the Council board the presence of representatives of those sections of the public which the elected members do not represent. We regret the Government of Bombay has apparently missed this point for years past. The non-officials nominated by it have in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred belonged to communities, professions and political schools which have practically monopolised the elective seats. Or to be more accurate, the nominated non-officials from the S. D. and C. D. have belonged to the community which has been securing every one of the elective seats. They have belonged to the one school of politics which has had ample representation on the Council. Nor could it be claimed for these nominated non-officials that they brought any expert knowledge to the Council. When the time for making nominations comes, let us hope that His Excellency Sir George Lloyd will try to be faithful to the purposes for which the Governor has been invested with the power to nominate non-officials. There are so many interests, so many schools of political thought and so many communities which go without a voice in the Council that His Excellency should find it easy to make his choice. The Reforms scheme has very clearly enunciated the objects of making the nominations. It is, besides, very clear reason that unrepresented communities and political schools should have right to claim nominations."

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Government are responsible for the present political attitude of Muhammadans.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (150), 23rd Feb.

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18. Commenting on Lord Willingdon's appeal to Indians for co-operation, made before a meeting of the East India Association, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* states that Lord Willingdon is mistaken in accusing Indians of entertaining 'unmerited suspicions' of the bureaucrats and that the earlier he and his associates are disillusioned in this matter the better. The paper asserts that if the official classes care to co-operate with the representatives of the people and take them into their confidence withuot unnecessarily doubting them, 'the progress would be much more rapid', as is desired by Lord Willingdon himself. It concludes by saying that so long as bureaucrats and Anglo-Indians will not act towards the people in a true spirit of toleration, people's doubts with regard to their attitude and motives respecting the progress of this country cannot be removed.

Why the Indian people doubt the motives of the bureaucracy.
Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 19th Feb.

14. Commenting upon the prohibition in England a few days ago of some Indian journals the *Kesari* says:—Government used to inform all journals of war news prohibited from publication and no paper has published such news. Is there any ground to say that while the *Bengalee* omitted such news the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* published it? When all the papers were obeying the regulation, on what grounds were some of them prohibited and some allowed in England? Is this not a ridiculous attempt to keep England innocent of the news regarding the movement of *swarajya* and the anti-Willingdon memorial movement by misusing war measures? The censorship in England has ceased. But what of internal restrictions in India? How long will this bureaucratic repression continue in the name of the Great War? [The *Subodh Patrika* remarks:—In the Imperial Legislative Council Government tried to throw on the Censor the responsibility for prohibiting certain Indian newspapers from going to England. But this is a crooked way of escaping responsibility. The policy of Government has done a good deal of harm to India as it has prevented the popular side of public questions from being placed before the British public in time.]

The prohibition of certain papers from going to England.
Kesari (114), 18th Feb.; *Subodh Patrika* (47), 16th Feb.

15. "The programme of the tour of Admiral Jellicoe has now been officially announced. The Admiral will arrive in Bombay on March 5th and will leave for Colombo about May 1st. We have no doubt the country will welcome him with all honour due to one whose services to the Empire during the war have been incalculable. Apart from this, what is it that Admiral Jellicoe will do during his stay in this country? It is known that he will assist the Government of India in considering what part India should play in the naval defence of the Empire after the war. Now, this is a matter, which vitally affects the people of this country, who will have to bear the cost of whatever arrangements are arrived and who are, therefore, anxious to see that the part of the British Navy, for which India will pay, must be manned and controlled by Indians. We trust the Government of India will lose no time in taking the public into confidence in this matter. Will some honourable member of the Imperial Legislative Council see that this is done? At all events the public must bestir itself and take immediate steps to place the country's case before the authorities concerned."

The tour of Lord Jellicoe and question of an Indian Navy.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th Feb.

16. "If any illustration were wanted to bring home to any impartial observer the utterly revolting character of the regime which the hotheads of the Delhi and Simla bureaucracy are seeking to perpetuate in India in the name of law and order, here is one. We defy any apologist of Government to match it in point of its horror with any case in any state on the face of the earth which calls itself civilised. Jyotish

Comments on the case of Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, a Bengali internee.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th Feb.; *Young India* (15), 19th Feb.

Chandra Ghosh, who is a university graduate and who has been interned under the Defenece of India Act, has been lying in a state of stupor for the last two years in the lunatic asylum of Berhampore, having, to all intents and purposes, gone mad. His mother has been repeatedly and piteously praying to the Bengal Government that her son may be brought to Calcutta, put under proper medical treatment and she and other members of her family may be allowed to live with him. Here is the latest reply (dated February 1st), of the Government of which Lord Ronaldshay is the head :—'Srimati Dakshayani Dassi is informed that Government are now in a position to make special arrangements for the accommodation of her son, State Prisoner Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, and herself within the Behrampore Lunatic Asylum. The quarters provided would consist of 2 rooms, 3 outhouses and a courtyard fitted with a watertap and latrine, all surrounded by a high wall and affording privacy.....' The utter heartlessness of this reply beats the imagination. Here is a poor woman pleading that her son, whose mind has been totally unhinged, if not as a result of, at least, during his incarceration, and who is totally incapable, in any conceivable manner, of taking any part in any public, not to say political movement, may be restored to his family with a view to being properly attended to in the hope of curing the malady. A change of sorroundings from the prison house and the loving care of a mother may restore the man to sanity. The mother is quite williug that Government should exercise whatever surveillance it thinks fit over the patient at Calcutta. But no! Lord Ronaldshay's Government cannot rest satisfied with the wreck of the mind of its victim. It wants the possession of his body, too, and it actually invites the mother to take up her residence in a lunatic asylum! Such is the might of British Raj, according to Lord Ronaldshay, that it cannot risk losing possession of the body of a political suspect, even though he be mad. Could anything be more horrible! The Bengal Government is callous enough to ask the mother to intern herself in the Berhampore lunatic asylum and, possibiy, become mad like her son! If she agrees to make the sacrifice demanded of her by Government for the sake of her son, she is forbidden to hold communication with any one outside the asylum walls. The treatment that sent her son mad is to be hers. There are no words strong enough that we can print to condemn this awful proceeding." [*Young India* writes :—" The son having gone mad in his confinement, the mother is invited to submit herself to the same treatment. She is asked to intern herself in a lunatic asylum and submit herself to all the retraints imposed on the inmates. Callous disregard for the ordinary dictates of humanity could go no further. This man has never been tried for, much less convicted of, any crime. Is the Government not content now that he has lost his reason to let his body go and allow his mother to have what consolation its possession and the hope of his recovery may afford her? Like the *Bombay Chronicle* we are baffled in trying to find words which can adequately vilify this fearlul proceeding."]

17. Noticing the Saraswati incident in Bengal the *Kesari* says :—The Boarding Superintendent of the Missionary College has apologised but the language of the apology is so insolent that it is not likely to close the incident but lead to further excitement. The excuse that discipline was broken is quite lame. Supposing that a pocket Bible was found in the pocket of some examinee who is prohibited from bringing anything with him at the time of the examination, would the Superintendent have thrown it into the dust-bin? Even if the image of Saraswati had been brought against the regulations, it would be insulting and deliberately exasperating to dishonour it simply on that ground. The Hindu leaders will condemn the action strongly and they have already begun to to do so. But so long as we ourselves send our boys to Missionary Colleges and make them listen to abuse of image worship, what effect will these wordy protests create? When these missionaries will see bare benches in their classes then only they will fully realise their mistake. Till then their insolence will continue in this way!

The Saraswati image incident in a Calcutta Missionary College.
Kesari (114), 18th Feb.

18. Commenting upon the Government of India's reply to the Honourable Mr. Chunilal Mehta regarding statements made by him in the Bombay Corporation, the *Kesari* says that it is not satisfactory. It adds:—Government say that the statement that in the Government military stores there is a superabundant supply of corn is mistaken. But still they have promised to see if it can be reduced. It shows that Government are not sure of their ground. The Burma freight charges should be reduced to Rs. 20 or 22 per ton. Inter-provincial restrictions should be entirely removed. As no census of foodstuffs is published we cannot say whether the statement of the Indore authorities that no wheat is rotting there is correct. A comparison between wheat rates prevailing will throw light on the situation. Government should grant concessions as far as possible as regards freight charges and exports should be altogether stopped. Will Government publish the number of troops in Mesopotamia and the export of foodstuffs for them? We understand that 35 lakhs of maunds of wheat from Australia are due in India before the end of March and it is hoped that this will remove the scarcity to some extent.

Government of India's reply to the Honourable Mr. Chunilal Mehta regarding food control.
Kesari (114), 18th Feb.

19. "It is known that the military authorities have released large quantities of grass for famine and other purposes from their stocks, which leads one to the inference that their stocks of foodstuffs must have been also equally large. We cannot understand why the military authorities or the Government feel nervous about these stocks. While the war was going on it was the plain and obvious duty of the military authorities to maintain large stocks of all such materials and no blame attaches to them. Now, however, the war conditions have disappeared and it would be greatly helping both the people and the Government if a portion of these stocks were released for famine purposes. An inquiry is to be held for the purpose and let us hope with Mr. Mehta that it will result in an addition to the food stocks so sorely needed in the country. The proper course would be to include Mr. Mehta in the Committee, but this requires an imagination and breadth of view which Delhi does not generally possess. The freight question was dealt with by the Government in their reply in a slipshod manner as it has been dealt with by them in actual practice, and Mr. Mehta has not found it difficult to give his rejoinder..... It is, to say the least, scandalous that the Imperial Government, for the Admiralty and the Imperial Government are one and the same, should make any profits out of transactions with a starving India which, while the war was going on, gave out of her poverty what richer and more powerful (countries?) were not able to give out of their plenty. The sooner this scandal is removed the better it will be for the good name of both the Imperial Government and the Indian Government..... It is desirable that there should be an inquiry even with regard to stocks in Indian States so that these may be useful in relieving the distress acutely prevailing in many parts of the country. Unless the Imperial Government takes immediate action there will not be much tangible benefit. What is wanted is to appoint committees of inquiry both with regard to military stocks and stocks in Indian States. Let there not be the usual bureaucratic nervousness about the results of these inquiries and let there be if possible some non-official members like Mr. Mehta on these committees."

Comments on the Honourable Mr. C. V. Mehta's reply to the Government Press Note on food control.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 21st Feb., Eng. cols.

20. The *Bombay Samáchár* welcomes the cheap grain shops started by some private charitable organisations in various parts of the City of Bombay and requests Government to encourage their efforts in this direction by readily and preferentially providing them with the necessary waggons and other facilities for importing foodstuffs from other parts of the country. It also exhorts Government to grant them concession rates in freights as a famine measure.

How Government can encourage the cheap grain shops started in Bombay.
Bombay Samáchár (63), 17th Feb.

21. "**The brief visit of the Governor to Karáchi, soon after taking up the responsibility of governing the Presidency in which the province of Sind is included, has raised hopes that His Excellency will give to matters concerning this important sea port and province more earnest and sympathetic consideration than has hitherto been bestowed on the step-child of the Presidency. Now that the autumnal move of the Government of Bombay to Mahábleshwar is likely to be discontinued permanently, it would be possible for the Governor to spend some weeks every year in Karáchi, perhaps not at the same time of the year as the move referred to, for the climate of Karáchi is then at its worst..... It is desirable that the Governor and the Members of the Executive Council should have a more intimate and knowledgeable acquaintance with the Province, which can only be acquired by a period of residence each year at its chief city. ..... During his visit Sir George Lloyd has given convincing proof of his desire to give to all matters concerning Sind that unprejudiced consideration to which the province is entitled. The transparent sincerity of his utterances and the promise of a visit next year justify the hope that the days of indifference are over and that the affairs of Karáchi and the province will engage the attention of our Governor far more than they did any of his predecessors.**"

His Excellency Sir George Lloyd at Karáchi.
Sind Observer (12), 11th Feb.

22. The Collector of Poona noticing our complaint that agriculturists have to adopt a complicated method to obtain fodder from depôts has informed us that the Mamlatdars will issue passes from their camps and that in such cases money need not be paid into the Treasury but may be paid at the fodder depôts. This will remove to a certain extent the difficulties of rayats who are residing near about the Mamlatdar's camp and to that extent they will thank Government. The Collector has also noticed the complaint that payment made for breaking metal in Sirur (Poona) is quite inadequate and he has redressed the grievance. Now the works are styled famine works and payment is made according to the Famine Relief Code. The Poona Collector has removed the difficulties of the famine-stricken and shown his devotion to duty and sympathy for which he deserves our thanks.

Appreciation of the action of the Collector of Poona in dealing with famine in the district.
Kesari (114), 18th Feb.

23. Mr. R. M. Sane of Bársi (district Sholápur) writes to the *Kesari*:— The agricultural department is instructing the agriculturists as to how prickly pear can be used as fodder but that does not seem to be sufficient. The department will have to undertake the work of preparing prickly pear as food for cattle to supply it to the peeple. Or it should open cattle kitchens at various places and taking charge of the agriculturists' cattle return them to their owners after the famine is over. This attempt must be made on an extensive scale, and the agricultural department must spend liberally on it. I request Government to spend money with a free hand in this matter.

How to save agricultural cattle during the famine.
Kesari (114), 18th Feb.

24. "**An extraordinary Press Note has been issued from the Bombay Secretariat in reference to the letter from Mr. Yajnik which appeared in our issue of the 15th instant. As an attempt to deal with the many serious statements contained in Mr. Yajnik's letter it is gravely inadequate; in fact there is no attempt to deal with most of them and it is apparent that no serious effort has been made to enquire into the matter. The Press Note replies to only four of the points in Mr. Yajnik's letter; other serious and definite charges made by him against the local officials ase ignored. We will leave Mr. Yajnik to give a categorical reply to the alleged refutations contained in the Note. But we are impressed with the fact, firstly, that, while Government have included famine operations in Jhalod Petha, Mr. Yajnik's criticism was levelled at the mismanagement of works and the meagre extent of gratuitous relief in Dohad Taluka proper. The reply is thus, in this respect, quite wide of the mark. The third answer in the Note,**

Comments on the Bombay Government Press Note on alleged maladministration in famine relief in Dohad Taluka (district Panch Maháls).
Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Feb.

in particular, as regards the date of opening the works refers exclusively to Jhalod and does not apply to Dohad Taluka at all, and the fourth point (in the Government Note) is not met because Government have not been able to state that doles have actually begun to be given to dependents of workers. To Mr. Yajnik's statement as to gratuitous relief being given to only about a dozen villages of Dohad Taluka proper, which calls for a definite and categorical answer, we get the evasive reply that 1,028 are in receipt of this relief in Dohad Taluka including Jhalod Petha. On the other hand Mr. Yajnik's allegations regarding the inhuman management of the Agarwada work, the insistence on metal-breaking work which is alleged to be over harsh and exacting, the heavy fines and the miserably low pay of about one anna per day it entails, the non-payment of wages for 10 or 15 days, and the consequent migration of a number of people from villages in the south of Dohad, all these points are absolutely untouched. If this is what Government conceive to be an adequate reply to Mr. Yajnik's indictment, we must tell them that public opinion will be quite unconvinced and merely become more confirmed in the view, which is notoriously held, that the administration of famine relief by officials is harsh and unsympathetic. It is deplorable that serious representations, such as those contained in Mr. Yajnik's letter, affecting the lives of the suffering poor in a famine stricken area, should be treated in this jejeune, inadequate and callous fashion. The whole spirit and tone of the Press Note is stupid and offensive. It commences with the gratuitous and silly expression that the letter 'purports' to be signed by I. K. Yajnik. What is the sense or meaning of using expressions of this sort? Do these young gentlemen in the Secretariat, who prepare these documents, suppose that this sort of thing is clever or amusing or redounds to the credit of Government? Does anyone with any sense of responsibility pass these Notes before they are allowed to go out? Here is a lengthy series of considered charges regarding the administration of famine relief in a certain area published over the name of a well-known trained investigator—an alumnus of the much belauded Servants of India Society. The Government way of dealing with it is to make a silly and gratuitous insinuation regarding the name of the writer and to impugn his *bona fides* by suggesting that he is more concerned to attack officials than to secure proper treatment of the suffering people—this in regard to a gentlemen whose life is dedicated to social service. Four points in the letter are then picked out and in regard to these the real issue is either evaded or confused by the introduction of details regarding the work done in an area which is not included in the original charge. We need hardly tell our readers that, as far as we are concerned, our withers are unwrung by official attempts to defend their own shortcomings by methods of this kind. They hurt themselves and not us. But we do ask responsible members of the Government seriously to consider whether the dignity of Government is enhanced by these methods, and, what is of greater consequence, whether to ensure decent and humane treatment of famine-stricken people is not more important than quibbling over minor or irrelevant issues in order to save the face of local officials."

25. "The Secretaries of the Gujarat Political Conference have addressed a letter to the Government of Bombay asking for a temporary suspension of the operation of section B (2) of the Abkari Act for seven months from July next in the Kaira District. Apart from the inherent injustice of the Act in question, the demand is both reasonable and moderate. On account of the complete failure of crops very little fodder is available for cattle in the district and that, too, at abnormally high prices, and the prices of grains also are abnormally high. In view of this, it is imperative on the part of Government to suspend the operation of the Mahura Act. It will go a great deal in alleviating the sufferings of cattle as well as men. For, the mahura flowers will be available as fodder for cattle and food for men. The announcement of its suspension should be immediately made because it will enable the people to store mahura flowers in time. Otherwise, the fear of prosecutions will prevent

Appeal to Government to suspend temporarily the Mahura restrictions in the Kaira District as a famine measure.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th Feb.

them from so doing. It will really be, as the secretaries of the Gujarat Political Conference state, 'an act of sound relief and generous statesmanship to allow the poor and their cattle to subsist on mahura flowers this year.' If the Government are fully cognisant of the grave situation, and we hope they are, they will lose no time in issuing such an order. It is 'the imperative need of the stuation' and the sooner it is done the better."

The Peace Conference.
O Amigo Do Povo Goano (58), 15th Feb., Konkani cols.

26. *O Amigo Do Povo Goano*, in the course of an article headed "Peace Conference", remarks that the representatives of the Great Powers assembled at the Peace Conference in Paris are endeavouring to set aside the principle of self-determination enunciated by President Wilson and to take upon themselves the government of the territories of other nations much against the wish of the latter. Further on it remarks:—The people of Ireland, being tired of asking for Home Rule, appear to have now proclaimed Ireland to be a Republic and to have chosen their own government, but we have yet no news of what has happened subsequently. Will President Wilson recognise the self-determination of this people or not? For many years past the people of India have been longing for Home Rule, but we have not yet heard that the Peace Conference has discussed this question, nor have we any hope that India will get Home Rule. Mr. Montagu, the Maharaja of Bikanir and Lord Sinha are said to be the representatives of India at the Peace Conference, but they have not been chosen by the Indian people as their representatives. Such being the case, how can President Wilson, in view of his fourteen points, recognise these men as the chosen representatives of the Indian people to advocate their cause? The Indian National Congress, which is the voice of the Indian people, has sent its own representative, and the Peace Conference should have heard him and not anybody else. Unless the Peace Conference pacifies all nations and grants them what they long for, we doubt whether peace will be maintained in the world.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 20th and 22nd Feb.

27. The Great Powers in the Peace Conference have decided to divide Turkey and other parts of Asia and Africa among themselves under the pompous and ostensible name of mandatories on behalf of the League of Nations. They have now forgotten the great principle for which they waged the war. They think that the people of these countries are not fit to govern themselves and hence they condescend to take them under their control for their good government! But what is the meaning of the favour on their part? No definite period is fixed after which these countries would be made free and it is entirely left to these intended mandatories to judge of the fitness of those peoples for self-government! These facts certainly lower the prestige of the Allies in the eyes of the other nations of the world. The Allies themselves condemned the enemy for trying to force his own civilization on other nations. Do they not repeat the same blunder now in respect of Turkey and other parts of Asia and Africa? But apart from that, we request the Government of His Majesty to set an example to other Allies by allowing Persia to have the Government of her own choice, in spite of any agreement with her to the contrary. We also request the Government of His Majesty not to favour the dismemberment of Turkey but to try to maintain her integrity and independence as desired by the Musalmans in this country. [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—It is commendable that the Peace Conference have dealt with the enemy a little more leniently, but it is a pity that they have not done the same with Turkey. Turkey was simply a tool in the hands of the enemy, and so when the principal enemy is allowed to exist almost intact, for the loss of colonies will be more than compensated by his gaining a large part of Austria which is mainly inhabited by the German race and which wants to be united with Germany—why should not Turkey be treated with the same leniency? Why should she be treated in a manner which tends practically to annihilate her? Why should she be refused the application of the principle of self-determination? Does not all this mean that the Peace Conference desires to act in a manner which would accentuate the difference between the Christian and the non-Christian

nations? Let us still hope that America and Britain in particular will not, for the sake of their own prestige, allow such differences to be created.]

Comments on the covenant of the League of Nations.

Young India (15), 19th Feb.

28. "So the League of Nations has at length materialised. The 'convenant' agreed upon by the chief parties, who had the game in their hands, has been drawn up and publicly approved by President Wilson and the representatives of all the great independent states, except Germany, Austria and Spain. To those who looked for a real distillation of justice to result from the ferment which has been seething in the cauldron of the great world war and the sublime protestations and assurances of the chief directors as to the ideals they were striving to realise, the 'covenant' comes as a deep disappointment. There were to be no annexations. But annexations there are, under the thin disguise of the new system for which the term 'mandatory power' has been invented. There was to be selef-determination for all in every part of the world. We see no signs of it in the 'covenant' except for a few, and it is notable that it is only in Europe that the principle is to be applied immediately. Elsewhere it is postponed to some indefinite date at which the mandatory powers will have achieved their self-imposed task of preparing the 'uneducated' peoples for the great gift of self-government under the protection of the 'mandatory'. In the meanwhile preparations and plans for the commercial and industrial exploitation of the conquered territoris proceed apace, while plans for their education in self-government linger. The whole thing seems to us to have the appearance of a colossal triumph of hypocrisy. President Wilson seems to have surrendered everything that matters. The fight for the rights of the weaker peoples has been given up and the machinery for the avoidance of war seems clumsy and ineffective."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th Feb.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 20th Feb., Eng. cols.

29. "Has he [President Wilson] been able to infect the statesmen of the Allied countries with his enthusiasm for justice, self-determination and self-governing democracy? We doubt it. There is not the slightest doubt that the covenant, which the League of Nations Commission has submitted to the Peace Conference, is a considerably different document from what President Wilson, if left to himself, would have drafted. The concessions which he has been forced to make are cynically attributed to the fact that 'he has learned a great deal since he came to Europe'. What has happend is that he has allowed his high mission to be perverted. Of course, considered as a realisation of the negative aim of preventing war, the scheme to which he has given his adherence leaves little to be desired—provided always that it is clearly understood that the fundamental condition of the league is that not only the enemy but the neutral States also must be its members. The covenant, indeed, prevents the reversion to armaments, conscription, balances of power, and secret treaties. But do all these exhaust the essential conditions of an honourable and just peace? 'Strategic frontiers' and 'annexations' still remain sanctioned. Presidant Wilson always insisted that the only arrangements to which he would be a party would be those which would 'tend to secure the future peace of the world and the future welfare and happiness of its peoples' under democratic forms of government and that the only changes of territory to which he would consent would be those which would give their populations 'a fair chance of life and liberty' and were made with their consent. Does he now feel sure that the new theory of mandatory power is consistent with the principles he thus laid down? Is he satisfied with the negative achievement of having secured the prevention of war—an achievement which gives a fresh lease of life to imperialism and exploitation of weaker nations and which throws overboard the great principle of self-determination? The prevention of the institution of war will not avail humanity so long as the motives which prompted all wars still continue. These motives are the greed of power, land and wealth which has hitherto characterised the dealings of 'Great Powers' with subject or 'protected' peoples. There is no guarantee in the covenant that the subject

and 'protected' peoples will not be made to sacrifice their fundamental right of self-realisation? Hitherto strong States exploited the weaker ones by their brute strength. What the draft covenant now virtually proposes is that they will continue to be exploited—by peaceful methods—by a group of Powers instead of individual Powers. The covenant lays down that the wishes of the people concerned must be a principal consideration in the *selection* of the mandatory. But why should their consent be not deemed the principal consideration for deciding whether there should at all be any mandatory or the time when the 'protection' of the mandatory should be withdrawn? Equally deplorable is the omission of any provision regarding the right to self-determination of countries like India, Ireland and Egypt. The covenant, in short, does not contain the guarantee that within a stated period the League shall become a League of Free Nations. After all the hopes and expectations that have been formed, it brings but a message of deep and bitter disappointment to those who had been led to believe that the world was to be free." [The *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—"As a pious hope the new covenant is a great document, but as a practical means to preserve the future peace of the world, we do not think it is likely to have much value, unless the world's angle of vision turns miraculously in a nobler and a more pacific direction."]

Protest against India's exclusion from the League of Nations.

New Times (8), 19th Feb.

30. "The text of the covenant of the League of Nations is a happy sign of the resolve of Western Nations to have a new map of Europe, but will disappoint the Indian nationalist. It is an effort to secure primarily European not international freedom. The membership of the League of Nations is open to the Colonies, China, Belgium and even to Serbia, but is denied to India in spite of her tremendous sacrifices for the Empire. An American paper wrote the other day:—'Regiments, Battalions, brigades of Hindustan were slaughtered, fighting to the last gasp to give time for Kitchener's army and the forces of France to reach effectiveness'! It is no exaggeration to say that India saved the Empire in its dark hour; but India is now forced to stand in the outer court, while the Nations of Europe she fought for so bravely enter the League. The exclusion of India from the League of Nations is an act of historical injustice, and cannot encourage this country to believe that Europe is ready to reconstruct world-relations by the light of National Freedom."

Mahrátta (7), 23rd Feb.

*31. "It will appear from the foregoing description that the League of Nations will usually entrust the administration of these subject nations mainly to England, France, Japan, India, Australia and South Africa. Any other power, even the United States, will probably, from its remoteness and other reasons, not be given a mandate to govern any subejct nation. The lion's share thus falls to the lot of the British Empire, and this is the crux of the whole situation. This, in itself, will never fail to rouse the jealousies of other powers inasmuch as it will further increase its strength and all possible resources. It was exactly this which military nations like Germany could not bear. And until and unless Great Britain shows its supreme disinterestedness in the administration of the territories handed over to its care and supervision, it will, we think, ever remain an eyesore to many a nation in the world. If at all there is any danger of the break-up of this League of Nations, it is there and nowhere. The position of India under the scheme is anomalous. India is represented in, and forms an integral part of, the Peace Conference, which will sign the Peace Treaty, but India will *not* be represented in, and will *not* form a part of that League of Nations which will be an integral part of the same Peace Treaty? Can we tolerate this? Is not India as much entitled to sit on this League of Nations as it is on the Peace Conference? And will not our representatives there fight for their claims of parenthood? Will they sign, and should they be allowed to sign, that Peace Treaty which will be virtually their death-warrant, in the sense that an integral part of that treaty, the League of Nations, will not recognise them as a nation fit to be on it? We do not know whether this aspect of things is before the eyes of Lord Sinha and the

Maharaja of Bikaner; but if it has not suggested itself to them, then it is our clear duty to ask them not to sign the Treaty unless and until India has an honoured place on the League of Nations. Our argument receives an additional force when we remember that it is India which is to be the mandatory power to administer Mesopotamia. And a nation which will occupy such an high position of superiority cannot be excluded from the League of nations. Our case is thus clear, aud our claims irresistible. And India must raise a storm of agitation and shower a volley of protests if the Peace Conference will not recognise its claims."

Indu Prakdsh (42), 21st Feb.

32. We are constrained to say that the programme which the League of Nations has set before itself is highly disappointing so far as India is concerned. It provides for the inclusion in the League, of British Colonies and the other self-governing units of the Empire, but makes no mention whatever of India. Before the war broke out the military expenditure of India was much larger than that of any of the Colonies. India defrayed the expenditure of all the wars that England waged in the East during the last century for the expansion of her Empire. In the present war Indian soldiers have fought in practically all the theatres of war and played a prominent part in saving France at the commencement of hostilities. Now when the war is over the League completely ignores the claims of India and is not likely to entertain them even in future as this country does not enjoy full autonomy. Is this going to be our reward? We would of course not have complained if our services had been adequately recognised. But all our leaders are unanimously of opinion that the promised reforms fall far short of our expectations. Not only this, but the country is being saddled with objectionable laws in the face of strong opposition. It is evident that the reforms will be absolutely worthless accompained by such repressive legislation. Recently the Viceroy stooped to placate the Anglo-Indians who are dissatisfied with the Government for their intention of introducing reforms. Indians are not fools not to understand the real meaning of all this. The only conclusion that we can deduce from this is that there is not much hope of our attaining *swardjya*. Since the year 1833 up to the present day Indians are being regaled with promises. What wonder is there then that India does not figure in the programme of the League of Nations?

India has no desire to become a mandatory for Mesopotamia.

Sudhdkar (132), 16th Feb.

33. All talk of justice and equity that was to be heard before the Peace Conference began its sittings has ceased and all nations now seem anxious to grab as much territory as they possibly can. The work so far accomplished by the Peace Conference does not support the hope that the war which has just ended is going to be the last one. There will be no peace in the world in future if the Conference fails to solve satisfactorily the question of *swarajya* for Ireland, India and Egypt. President Wilson has plainly laid down in his fourteen points that the future peace of the world must rest on the solid foundation of the principle of self-determination. It is incorrect to say that India is willing to become the mandatory for Mesopotamia. Apparently the Eurepean merchants and the Anglo-Indian bureaucrats wish to recoup themselves for their loss in India on the inauguration of reforms by seeking corresponding advantages in Mesopotamia. But so far as Indians are concerned they are not at all willing to become the mandatory for Mesopotamia. India is already tired of bureaucratic rule and sincerely wishes to see the principle of self-determination applied to all nations. She can have no desire, therefore, to see Mesopotamia subjected to the same rule which she herself is tired of.

The question of the Khaliphate and the London *Times*.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th Feb.

34. "It is all very well for the *Times* to say that Indian Muhammadans are unnecessarily perturbed about the question of the Khaliphate and the fate of Turkey. But what is the situation? Hearing as they do every day of some slice or other of Turkey being claimed by one or other of the victorious Powers, they cannot help being deeply anxious about the fate of that country. There is nothing practically of Turkey in Europe except a name and a city. But clamour is raised against Turkish possession even of the

capital. No danger can now be feared from Turkey in Europe and nothing but a morbid desire to see the Moslem Power out of Europe can account for the persistent agitation in the Press, even by men who ought to know better, against the retention of Constantinople in the hands of the Sultan. If there is any fear that the Central Powers will again plot against the safety of Europe, that also is counteracted by the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary and the location of powerful states barring the way of Germany to the East. There is, again, the League of Nations, more powerful than any alliance as yet designed by diplomatists, ever ready to help the Allies. Alsace-Lorraining has been practically prohibited and condemned by the Allied statesmen. Is Turkey alone to prove the exception? Sir George Lloyd, speaking at Hyderabad, assured the Sind Moslems that the Government of India had taken every step possible to secure that the feelings and point of view of Indian Moslems will be placed before the Peace Conference. But it is for the Indian Moslems themselves to express what they feel and hold on the question before the Peace Conference. The *Times* has no quarrel with this demand and it supports Moslem representation at the Peace Conference. It is easy for Great Britain to send a Moslem to the Peace Conference by resorting to the panel system when these questions come before it. There is no dearth of qualified Muhammadans to speak with authority on the subject. We sincerely hope that the British Government will give due scope for the representation of the Moslem view. Is it too late to appeal to the British sense of justice and fair play even at this last moment? By denying herself the pleasure of having Mesopotamia Great Britain can effectively put a stop to Italian, French and Greek claims for a portion of Turkey. It can rivet Turkey to its side by this act of self-abnegation. If not for anything else, at least as a due recognition of the splendid services rendered by Indian Moslems, the Government may well consider the advisability of such a step. Autonomy there must be. The principle of self-determination cannot be discarded. But is it desirable or necessary that Turkey should be dismembered? As for the question of the Khaliphate, it is solely a Moslem question and there cannot be any interference. The question of the Holy Places is closely connected with Turkish sovereignty. The Persians claim to be the appointed guardians of the Shiah Holy Places, if another regimé is set up in Mesopotamia. But these places are equally holy to all Moslems. To avoid all these complications, it is essential to have autonomous provinces under Turkish sovereignty. The mere presence of four different European Powers in the various Turkish territories, each with a system of its own, would be disastrous."

***35.** The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* deals at length with the question of the Khaliphate in the course of which it refers to a Koranic injunction to the effect that every Musalman should own allegiance to the Khaliph of the time, which means that a helping hand should be extended towards him in the hour of trouble. The Musalmans can never do without a Khaliph. There must be a Khaliph of Muhammadans in every age, and the existence of the Khaliphate is part of their religion. A non-believer in the Khaliphate is an infidel. Some unbelievers and heretics have sprung up in the guise of Muhammadans who refuse to acknowledge the Khaliphate of the Turks which is hundreds of years old. The Khaliph of the Muslim world is the person who has sacrificed his life and property for the sake of Islam for years together, who has always presented a bold front to foreigners, who still believes in the sanctity of the *Haramain Sharifain* (Holy Mecca and Medina). The present Khaliph and Head of the Muslims, without dispute and difference of opinion, is the present Ruler of Turkey, His Imperial Majesty Sultan Wahiduddin Khan. The present times in which His Majesty occupies the throne are extraordinary. Whatever news has reached us, clearly goes to prove his statesmanship and great powers of mind. The Sultan of Turkey is free from social vices like adultery and drunkenness. There are three arguments on which the Khaliphate of the Sultan of Turkey is based: firstly, the last representative of the House of Abbás handed over the office of the Khaliph to him (*i.e.*, his ancestor); secondly, the whole Muhammadan world including the Koreish, Bani Hashim, Ansâr and other Arabs have recognised

The future of Khaliphate.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (150), 23rd Feb.

the Khaliphate of the Ottomans; thirdly, none has questioned that right up till now, and if even ever any person doubted it, the Maulvis of the day always satisfied him on that score. When a certain person has been acknowledged as the Khaliph, then another man who claims to be the Khaliph and that too after many centuries, is a liar, and he should be removed from the office by force. Amir Feisul's statements at the Peace Conference are misleading, meaningless and improper. He is not the only Arab Koreish in the world. On the other hand there are more Arabs and men of the Koreish tribe living in the British Empire than in the Hedjaz itself. When the Koreishites of the world and other Arabs acknowledge the Sultan to be their Khaliph, Amir Feisul must also acknowledge him as such. The Turks got the office of the Khaliphate from the Koreish themselves, hence they are not usurpers. God says in the Koran, "the land belongs to the good", and according to the *Tafsir-i-Kabir* (a commentary) the verse signifies that the Muhammadans are the owners of Palestine. Consequently Amir Feisul is greatly mistaken in handing over to the Jews that which God has bestowed on the Musalmans. A person who is ignorant of the greatness of the Holy Land is unfit to be the Khaliph. The Holy Land must be part and parcel of the Khaliph's possessions, and nobody should have anything to do with it. Government should select some Maulvis, well-versed in the laws of Islam, with a view to their explaining clearly at the Peace Conference what the Khaliphate is, what the Musalmans want and how far the statements of Amir Feisul are right or wrong. Government should support their Muhammadan subjects in obtaining their rightful claim as Government have promised not to interfere with the holy places. Government should declare too, that the whole of Arabia, Baghdad, Karbala, Iraq, Palestine and other places will be under the Suzereignty of the Khaliph of Islám. Government should also leave the question of Sherif to the Musalmans and should not interfere with it, for the Muhammadans know full well how far Sherif Hussain has transgressed the holy laws of Islám and what punishment he deserves. Muhammadans should send a deputation to Paris, which should try to convert the civilised nations to their own point of view, and to attend the meeting of the Conference. Failing this they should shout in the streets (of Paris), "Interfere (not) with the question of the Khaliphate". This is a religious question of the Musalmans; when they who have been ruling over Christians for centuries do not interfere with their religious affairs, why should the statesmen of Europe interfere with the religious questions of the Moslems? [Elsewhere the paper asks the Musalmans to cast off their slumbers, and rise to the occasion by proclaiming in distinct terms the right of the Sultan of Turkey to be their real Khaliph.]

36. Referring to Germany's refusal to extend the term of the Armistice in case the conditions against her are made stricter than they originally were, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* declares that in view of such an attitude on the part of Germany it is likely that the war may have to be resumed in the near future if the Allies persist in their present demands. The paper contends that though France has suffered heavy losses in the war at the hands of Germany, it is desirable in the interest of the future peace of the world that France should not bring such heavy pressure on the enemy, as to do so would simply tend to keep alive the hostile feeling of Germany against France. It, therefore, suggests that to relieve France from the heavy losses she has suffered in the war, it is just and proper for other Allies to write off the debts which she owes to them and to help her in regenerating her industries to the best of their powers.

Fear of another war if Germany is pressed too hard.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 18th Feb.

37. "This office has recently been innundated with letters—indignant as well as piteous—from British soldiers garrisoned in India, protesting against the delay and inefficiency of the prevailing procedure of demobilisation. While recognising the difficulties of the Military authorities in the matter, we wholly sympathise with the feelings of the soldiers, who are naturally anxious to return to their homes after an absence,

Protests against the delays in demobilisation of British troops garrisoning India.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th Feb.

in many cases, of three to four years. Replying to a question in the House of Lords last week, Lord Peel said that every effort had been made to withdraw the Territorials from India, but this assurance is not enough. We want to know that demobilisation is not being delayed by stupid red-tape methods. Lord Peel added that other schemes were under consideration and, if matured, it would be possible to reduce the Territorials in India to twenty thousand. So much for one aspect of the question. The larger aspect is, who is to garrison India? Is the pre-war policy of garrisoning India with a large contingent of British as well as Indian troops to continue unmodified? Having won the war of freedom with the aid of Indian troops, are the British Government going to insist on the continuance of such a policy with its implied slur on the loyalty of the Indian people? That slur must no longer exist and it is, therefore, essential that the demobilisation process should be so carried out as to secure the ultimate garrisoning of India by Indian troops primarily. A constructive policy is urgently needed, the aim of it being to garrison India with a predominantly Indian army. Facilities should at once be provided for the training of Indians—especially educated young men—as officers. The commissioned ranks have been thrown open to Indians. But the new policy in this respect has been carried out in a most niggardly spirit. A clear proof is now needed to convince the people that the new policy governing the administration of their country is essentially one of complete trust."

38. A "University Student" writes to the *Bombay Chronicle*:—"It is exactly seven months since the military authorities announced their intention of forming a Second University Corps and up to now no arrangements are made for the same though our forms were handed in, a long time ago. Twice has Prof. Hamley of Wilson College declared that 'arrangements were almost complete' for the training and informed us that our status would be the same as that of the British soldier and that our uniforms and equippage would not be of the non-descript type given to last year's men. Of course we did not believe then that all this was to remain in the type-written sheet that Prof. Hamley received from the heaven-borns at Simla. Is this the sort of encouragement and sympathy that the demi-gods of Simla boast they show towards their Indian subjects? Do Government still wish to pursue their policy of distrust? What motive can there be in detaining the British soldiers here, by holding out inducements of extra bonus to them, and not allowing the educated Indians to acquire military training? Why do not Government allow those men who have been separated from their relatives since 1914 to go to their homes, and train up the Indians in order to prepare them to defend their homes in case of necessity? Certainly that will be most satisfactory to both Indians and British soldiers. I wonder why Government and the military authorities allow discontent to prevail amongst Indians, who are as anxious to get military training as the British soldiers are to see their wives and children. Inscrutable indeed are the ways of the Indian Government, most of all of the military authorities."

Protest against the delay in forming a Second University Corps of the I. D. F.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th Feb.

***39.** "The action against the *Sanjaya* of Bombay taken by the Magistrate goes straight against the common principles of justice. The Magistrate said that he *suspected* that the transaction of sale was not *bona fide*, and therefore he thought that the security of Rs. 500 should be enhanced to that of Rs. 2,000. Ordinarily, when any doubt lingers in the mind of the judge about the guilt of the accused, then he gives the benefit of the doubt to the accused, and not to the prosecution. In this case the Chief Presidency Magistrate went against this principle of jurisprudence and gave the benefit of the doubt to the prosecution and not to the accused! And this is justice under the Press Act!"

Enhancement of the security taken from the *Sanjaya* newspaper.
Mahrátta (7), 23rd Feb.

40. "We published yesterday a cable from the President of the Transvaal British Indian Association to the Editor of this paper stating that legal proceedings under the Precious Base Metals Act of 1898 have resulted against Indian merchants of long standing in the Krugersdorp area. The effect of the judgment, it is stated, spells virtual ruin of the mercantile community throughout Witwatersrand. But this is not all. Other laws

Allegations of fresh persecution of Indians in South Africa.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Feb.

affecting the Indian community are being rigorously enforced with the deliberate object, it is alleged, of eliminating Indian trade in order to benefit European competitors. This revival of what is mildly described as a cruel and reactionary policy is amazing. Evidently, no sooner was the war ended than the campaign of virtually driving Indians from the Colony by subjecting them to harassment was begun. The Indian community in South Africa has built up its present position after years of strenuous labour and bitter struggles and in building up this position it has contributed not a little to the present prosperity of that part of the Empire. The white colonists have never displayed any feelings of gratitude for all that Indians have done for them. On the other hand, they have spared no pains to tyrannise over and humiliate them. The cable states that 'it is significant that the action has been taken almost simultaneously with the armistice'. It is very significant but not surprising. It is significant in so far as it is a fresh reminder that the white community in South Africa has not learnt anything from the war and has not forgotten anything. Even during the war, signs were not wanting to show that the meaning of the war was entirely lost on it. The end of the war has shown that though Prussian militarism has been crushed, the spirit of Prussianism has not been exorcised from the Allied countries, including the British Empire. And though it is painful, it is not surprising that the South African community should take the earliest opportunity of manifesting this spirit. ..... These things cannot be allowed. The self-governing Dominions must understand that India will not tolerate injustice to any of her sons in any part of the British Empire. The sons of India have fought shoulder to shoulder with the white soldiers and India has given millions of money to help the Empire and its Allies. If attempts on the part of any country to impose unjust and humiliating treatment on Indians are not resisted, Indian loyalty and Indian sacrifices must go for nothing. The question of the status of India and Indians within the British Empire will have to be settled once and for all. Indians have been told times out of number that India is a partner in the British Empire, and that they are entitled to enjoy equal status with other citizens of the Empire. How is it that the evil news comes from South Africa that the colonists there have begun once again to resort to a reactionary, insulting and cruel policy? We invite the immediate attention of the Imperial Government and the Government of India to this fact. The Dominions must be made to realise in unequivocal terms that this policy towards Indians is condemned by all responsible and right-thinking men and that India will seek for her own way to resist and prevent it."

*41. *Mahrátta* (7), 23rd Feb.

"The attitude of the South African Europeans towards our brothers there is daily becoming more and more overbearing, and the latest proof of it is afforded by the telegram which Mr. N. C. Kelkar and all other leaders have received from Johannesburg the other day. Therein the Chairman of the Transvaal British Indian Association complains that the laws affecting the Indian community are being rigorously enforced with the object of ruining the Indian trade for the benefit of European competitors, and, therefore, he seeks succour from his brothers here in the matter. The most exasperating part of this episode is that Indian trade is tried to be run down exactly at the moment of the appreciation of their comradeship in war, and that is what makes the blood boil in our veins. That shows that all the lip-sympathy is mere hypocrisy, and in their heart of hearts the Europeans in South Africa are as deadly opposed to Indian interests as they were before the War. Now in this fashion things cannot go on as before. The South African Indians cannot be wantonly treated as mere helots and slaves. Neither they nor we here can tolerate this. The British Government must decide the question impartially and force the Union Government to treat Indians and Europeans exactly on the same level. Hyprocrisy must either end, or must be labelled and tabled before the world tribunal in all its hideous nakedness, so that the world may properly value the words and promises of the Union Government which is to be the mandatory power in Africa."

42. Comments on the increase in the pay of the Indian Police Service. *New Times* (8), 21st Feb.

"There seems to be no end to increase in the pays of the higher services of India. To-day we publish a telegram relating to the 'revised rates of pay' of officers of the Imperial Police Service sanctioned by the Secretary of State. It is easy to note that the higher pays are out of all proportion to India's ability to bear the heavy burdens; nor are there any checks in the hands

of the people of India themselves whose sweat of labour keeps the 'higher services' in comfort and luxury. The future of the masses who do not get their daily bread should be of far more importance than the higher pay of the services already so highly paid."

Comments on the recent increase in the pay of the I. M. S.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th Feb.

43. "Mr. Montagu has told the deputation of the British Medical Association that an increase in pay has been given from December to the officers, military as well as civil, of the Indian Medical Service. This is in keeping with the deplorable practice in the country that in all Government departments the subordinate services are starved while the superior services are overfed. It is notorious that the Subordinate Medical Service in India is under-paid. Over and above the high salaries given to officers of the Indian Medical Service, they are to enjoy full opportunities for private practice. The subordinate medical services in India are not allowed to enjoy even this advantage. The object of the measure, Mr. Montagu said, was to attract European candidates of the highest qualifications. The deputation expressed satisfaction and promised cordial co-operation in securing recruits. Apparently it has not yet occurred to the Secretary of State for India that the time has come when the best Indian medical men should be attracted towards the Service. And this in spite of the fact that the war has shown that there are a number of competent Indian medical men who can enter the Indian Medical Service, with great profit to the country and credit to themselves, and that many young medical graduates, who were given temporary I. M. S. Commissions, have successfully discharged their duties."

New Times (8), 20th Feb.

44. "So the I. M. S. gentlemen are to get an increase of 33 per cent. on the present rate of their military pay! A Government which cannot find a few lakhs of rupees to increase by one rupee the pay of village headmen and village servants, which complains of lack of funds for primary education and sanitation, has no scruples in adding to the fat salaries of European services in India—salaries such as no other services in the world enjoy. A couple of crores of increment in salaries to the 'Heaven-born' services is a thing not to be considered, but economy asserts itself when it is a matter of increasing the salaries of the starving clerks and menials of the Government! How many of the men in subordinate services get full meals every day? One wonders what has become of the talk of the 'eventual Indianisation' of higher services. Lord Morley's despatch on the recruitment of the I. M. S. from Indian Practitioners is apparently a dead letter. With the exception of a few men of the type of Sir Leonard Rogers the I. M. S. we regret has not produced men of great talents distinction and research. We believe such men cannot be attracted to India from England even with greater inducements; money will not induce talented men to come to India and miss the chance of distinguishing themselves in England. The right policy, it seems to us, is to offer greater facilities and inducements to Indian Practitioners for research work. India should not be for the services, the services should be for India."

Protest against the personnel and terms of reference of the Committee appointed to inquire into the Indian Medical Service.

Servant of India (9), 20th Feb.

45. "A Committee has been recently appointed by the Army Department of the Government of India to inquire into the superior branches of the medical services. It will be remembered that the Public Services Commission left the constitution of these services an open question in view of the profound changes that might be rendered necessary by the war, and that the specific recommendations made in the majority report are altogether halting and inadequate. It is, therefore, right that the whole question should be gone into in the light of the experience obtained during war time; but we cannot but join the *Leader* in strongly protesting against the personnel of the Committee now appointed, its terms of reference and the secrecy which will shroud all its proceedings. No representatives of the independent Indian medical profession are admitted to it, nor any representatives of the local Governments. It is thus practically a committee of army men, who will carry on their investigations behind closed doors. Apart from these serious defects, the terms of reference of the committee, which have not been published for general information, seem to exclude from inquiry the entire separation of the civil from the military

medical organisation. This should not have been the case. On the ground that the war reserve must be somehow employed, nearly 80 per cent. of the superior civil appoitnments are filled in India by what was primarily intended to be an army service, and this has resulted in general inefficiency and a virtual denial of entry into the higher medical service to sons of India. Consequently there is a universal demand in this country that an end should be put to the system of drafting military men on to civil duties, which is not followed in any other country in the world..... No solution of the question can be accepted as completely satisfactory which does not aim at a complete bifurcation of the two branches. In appointing the committee which the Government of India has appointed and entrusting to it a task of a very restricted character, the Government has shown itself to be lacking in a proper appreciation of the question and out of sympathy with the just aspirations of Indians with regard to it."

An Income-tax complaint from Pandharpur (Sholápur).

Sanjaya (125), 16th Feb.

46. A Pandharpur (Sholápur) correspondent complains in the *Sanjaya* that certain articles of property, such as utensils, and a silver wristlet attached some six or eight months back for recovering the arrears of Income-tax from certain persons in Pandharpur in respect of the tax for the year 1917-18, do not appear to have yet been disposed of, and asks if the law allows the retention of such articles undisposed for such long periods. He adds that fresh attachments are likely to be begun very soon.

The Bombay Government's Press Note on co-operative housing schemes.

Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 17th and 21st Feb.; *Bombay Samáchár* (63), 20th Feb.

47. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* thanks the Bombay Government for the liberal attitude they have taken towards co-operative housing societies as manifested by their recent Press Note on the question. It is, however, of opinion that the rate of six per cent. at which Government mean to advance loans to these societies is rather high and suggests that it might be reduced to 4½ or 5 per cent. It also suggests that Government should exert their influence with the Bombay City Improvement Trust and induce it to lease out its plots to co-operative housing societies at fairly moderate rates. [In a subsequent issue the paper dwells upon the urgent need of developing Salsette with a view to enabling housing societies to secure land at cheaper rates than is at present available in Bombay. The *Bombay Samáchár* also requests Government to lower the rate of interest so that co-operative building societies may avail themselves fully of the facilities offered to them.]

Vow of passive resistance taken by the editor and proprietor of the *Lárkána Gazette* in connection with the income tax demanded from him.

Home Ruler (5), 15th Feb.; *New Times* (8), 16th Feb.; *Bombay Chronicle* (1), 21st Feb.

48. Mr. Tahilram Mulchand, editor and proprietor of the *Lárkána Gazette*, writes to the *Home Ruler* :—"Income-tax of Rs. 25 has been imposed on me—on my press concern. I feel conscientiously that this tax has been wrongly and unjustly assessed on me and in it perceive a hand to persecute me for my taking active part in the Lárkána House-Tax affair. I therefore this day at 9 A.M. take a solemn vow to resort to 'Passive Resistance'. I shall refuse to pay the said tax and shall bear all the consequences resulting from its non-payment." [The communication has also been published in the *New Times* and the *Bombay Chronicle*.]

Appeal to His Excellency Sir George Lloyd to look carefully into the question of the banning of the *New Times* and other Sind newspapers from registered libraries in Sind.

New Times (8), 14th Feb.

49. "If Sir George Lloyd had received an address from the people in addition to the various addresses presented to him by different Associations, he would have known that one of the grievances of Sind is the ban imposed on the *New Times* and other National papers of the Province. The *New Times* is the only Indian daily in Sind..... Its nationalism has been the head and front of its offending; a few Englishmen in India and abroad respect it for its honest, independent criticism of men and measures and its national idealism; but the Bombay Government has, in its wisdom, banned it! It is the only Indian daily edited in English to which is denied entry into 'registered libraries' of its own province; and the management of 'Registered Libraries' have not been pleased with the Government 'ban'; some of them,

indeed, wish to be unregistered rather than to keep out the national papers of Sind. We wonder if there is another Province in India where the majority of Indian papers are so ruthlessly kept out of 'registered libraries' in the Province; the *Hindu*, the *New India*, the *Bombay Chronicle*, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* were prohibited from being circulated in Great Britain, and are still prohibited from entering certain Provinces, but the *New Times* and other national papers are banned by the Government in their own province, while they go freely to other provinces and the *New Times* goes to Great Britain. The *New Times* was not given any notice of the Bombay Government's intention; the ban fell as a bolt from the blue! And for what fault? No reasons have yet been given us for this high-handed exercise of power! ..... The action of the Bombay Government has appeared to be incredible to some of our English friends; but the ban is a fact..... The Government has done grievous injustice to this journal. And it has done injustice to the Province; the ban has been pronounced on several national papers. Is it too much to ask the new Governor to look into the whole question carefully?"

LEGISLATION.

50. "It has been officially announced that the Rowlatt legislation will be in existence for three years after the peace is declared. So far so good; but the Government have completely mistaken the temper of the people, if they imagine that it will serve as any palliative of the monstrous bills before the legislature. It will be an unmitigated shame if they disgrace the Statute Book for a single day and three years is a long period..... What guarantee have we that after the expiry of three years this unholy legislation will not be continued for a further period of three years and so on and on? Indeed the non-official members will be showing themselves superlatively silly if they cannot see through this transparent trickery and swallow the bait..... If the non-official members are alive to their duty towards the people they will not abate one iota of their strong and uncompromising opposition. The Government may do what they like by the help of their official *bloc*, but no non-official who is not a traitor to the country will dare to incur the slightest responsibility for binding down the country irrevocably and killing all the life and spirit out of it." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—"Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha contributes a very interesting article on the above thesis ('the good in the Rowlatt Bills') to the *Searchlight* of Patna..... Mr. Sinha goes on to show how such repressive legislation is always extensively made use of with the result that it inevitably drives all classes of people into opposition to the Government which finds its consummation in a revolution with its horrors and wholesale changes. With the Rowlatt Bills coming on the top of the already large repressive legislation India will have made dangerous progress on this terrible journey. We earnestly hope that Government will yet open their eyes to the dangers ahead and hold themselves in hand."]

The Rowlatt Bills.
Home Ruler (5), 15th Feb.

51. The *Karnátak Vritt* condemns strongly the Rowlatt Bills and says:—No Government devoted to public welfare has governed in former days, ignoring with contempt public opinion. It is not that Government do not know to what pass Kaiserism and Tsarism which treated with contempt public opinion have been reduced. Repression is of no use in conducting the administration well. Ireland bears witness to this fact. It does not befit British statesmanship and love of freedom to bawl out 'Peace', while wounding the feelings of one-third (*sic*) of the human race. [The *Shubhodaya* says:—We have to say with regret that these Bills have been born in order to rob Indians of the freedom of political thought in a secret way in the name of maintaining peace of the country. Oh Lord! All the Indians are loyal, moral and law-abiding. There may be one revolutionary per lakh. The bureaucracy including the Viceroy were not moved even though all the Honourable members protested strongly against the Bills which are

Karnátak Vritt (89), 18th Feb.; *Shubhodaya* (94), 18th Feb.; *Vibhákar* (36), 17th Feb.

of such a nature as would throw a lakh in boiling oil for the sake of the folly of one. What do they care when they have 35 votes in their hands! The Viceroy said that it had become very essential to pass the laws in order to safeguard the throne of the Emperor and for the safety of the people. Oh Viceroy, do not care about the safety of the throne. It is based quite firmly on our loyalty. You say you are anxious about the safety of the people. We who belong to the country are in no way afraid. Why are you worrying needlessly? Can a monkey be concealed because it is dressed? There are many means to bind political movements hand and foot and gag them. But Sir W. Vincent and Sir George Lowndes and others want to assure us that they will never come in the way of proper political movements. Saheb Bahadur! What are proper political movements? Are those liked by you proper and disliked by you improper? Is it not so? The *Vibhákar* writes:—There is no doubt that the character of the Bills is very terrible. We do not think, however, that it is proper to blame Government wholly. It is no use being carried away by the feeling, which may be true, that Government can pass any measures they please. There is no difference as to the existence of anarchism, unfortunately, in the country. The difference lies in devising means. Some say that reforms will destroy anarchism but we do not agree with this reasoning. Proper reforms should be carried out in order to satisfy the aspirations of the people, but it is necessary to adopt some measures to put down anarchism in the country. We appprove of the object of the Bills but we cannot but say that the measures adopted are more drastic than necessary. There is no clear mention in the Bills that they are solely meant for revolutionaries. Some of the clauses rob innocent people of their freedom. The clause about 'possession of seditious ducument' and 5th section of the Rowlatt Bill No. II are terrible. Unless Government themselves try, the sections are likely to remain as they are. We do not approve of the suggested withdrawal of the Honourable Members from the Council or the Select Committee.]

52. The Government statement that one of the two Rowlatt Bills will remain in force for three years only is not a concession but only a bargain. But it is likely to dupe some of the Indian members. The Bills are a libel on Indian loyalty. They are opposed to the ordinary principles of law and will prove a menace to the ordinary rights of citizenship. If in spite of this the Moderate members, pleased with the bargain and forgetful of all their own objections to the measures, give their consent to them, they will prove false to their own convictions. A suggestion was made to the Indian members that if in open defiance to their arguments the Bills were proceeded with they should withdraw from the council *en bloc*. Some approved this proposal, but others fearing that such a step would mean disrespect to the Viceroy rejected it. But these worthies may be asked if the Viceroy himself has not by his persistent defiance of the unanimous protest of the Indian members, insulted them? The Viceroy is certainly not of such a narrow mind as to take it as a mark of disrespect if the Indian members had carried their protest to the ultimate constitutional limit and withdrawn from the Council. It was also suggested that no Indian member should take part on the select committee; but Mr. Banerjee and Mr. Sastri have rejected that suggestion also fearing that in such a case the Bills would be passed without any change. When the Bills are altogether condemnable why should they take so much trouble to bring about only a few amendments?

Sanjaya (125), 15th Feb.

53. "The fact cannot be denied that there is a tremendous amount of feeling in the country that the power so given is liable to be abused..... Under such circumstances the educated opinion in the country has to be conciliated and won over, if the moral support of the country is wanted behind a measure..... We respectfully but emphatically protest against the far from judicious temper of the Law-member and his ally Sir Verney Lovett. We wish we had a Mehta or a Gokhale in our midst to teach these worthies what they owe to their colleagues, we mean the non-official members, and to the country at large which they serve."

Subodh Patrika (47), 16th Feb., Eng. cols.

54. "The limitation of the period during which the Emergency Powers Bill is to remain in force to three years, which was the result of a united non-official opposition to the measure, is certainly a triumph of the popular cause, so far as it goes; but that does not obviate the principal objection which has been urged against it, *viz.*, that the reforms should be given a chance to effect an improvement in the situation before any special legislation, arming the executive with extra-judicial powers, is passed. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, in an article from his pen in the *Social Reformer*, has pressed the same view upon non-official members and advised them to refuse to make themselves responsible for the proposed measures. We have no doubt that the advice will be followed, unless of course Government withdraws the measures in the meanwhile."

Servant of India (9), 20th Feb.

*55. "It behoves Government to ask themselves why men like Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Sir Hormusjes Wadya, Sir Nilratan Sircar and others oppose the passing of the Rowlatt Bills. It is nonsense to say that they are afraid of the anarchists or that they are unduly suspicious of the intentions of Government. We say 'unduly' because a certain amount of suspicion of the Executive is the basis of all constitutional government. Why should the Government of India be more trusted in matters of this kind than the Governments of England or the United States? Are they more in touch with the people, more sympathetic towards their aspirations, more anxious to save them from preventible hardships? Have they a more efficient, more honest, more capable police? And, then, people ask, why do Government want these Bills passed now? Since when have they grown sensitive about using the existing Regulation and ordinance powers? Have they proposed to repeal the laws relating to these powers? There is a good deal of speculation as to the object of Government in forcing on these Bills at this juncture. We need hardly say that, as individuals, the Viceroy and the members of Government are held in the highest respect. The opposition to these Bills is based on public grounds, and it is, of course, absurd to ask the public to pass repressive laws relying on the high personal character of the members of Government."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 23rd Feb.

56. "Why do the Indian members of the Council oppose the Bill as one man? What is the secret of their unanimity? We are ourselves supporters of the main principles of the Bills and we do not think that the vehemence with which the politically-minded classes are denouncing the Bills is justified. On general grounds, we think that the Defence of India Act has been used with fairness and judicious care and the powers to be assumed by the executive through these Bills are similar to those it has already exercised through that Act. We, therefore, think that, though the powers are extraordinary, they should not be grudged to the Government which may be rightly trusted to use them with the sole purpose of exterminating sedition, anarchy and the rest of it..... This being in brief our own attitude towards the Bills, we do not think that the attitude adopted by the whole body of our Indian representatives in the Council was right. But we are not prepared to say that their opposition was wholly frivolous, groundless or inspired by motives of opposition to everything that comes from Government. Nor would it be right to say that the opponents of the Bills, one and all, were acting upon the promptings of their sympathy with the enemies of peace and order or the lovers of revolutionary and anarchical methods. The unbending opposition of Mr. Bannerjee or Mr. Sastri could not certainly be due to any desire on their part to encourage sedition. While we admit all this freely, we assert with all the emphasis at our command that the Government are fully justified in introducing these Bills in the Council at this time and asking it to sanction the assumption of special powers to be used against anarchism."

Deccan Ryot (4), 20th Feb.

57. Even if the changes foreshadowed by Sir William Vincent are made there is nothing in the Bills that would make them acceptable to the people. We are glad to note that Babu Surendranath Banerjee declined to support the Bills even in that

Kesari (114), 18th Feb.

case. Government have consented to make Rowlatt Bill No. 2 temporary for a period of three years. To put it in short Government want to extend the life of the Defence of India Act for three years. What necessity is there for autocratic powers for three years even when the war is over? Government used to say in defence of the Rowlatt Bills that in Bengal revolutionary and anarchist outrages were being committed for many years and that hatred of Europeans was at the bottom of these offences and that Government could suppress it using the Defence of India Act. The work was done so well that Government did not feel any hesitation in releasing about 800 out of 1,200 people arrested. Now Government argue that when the Defence of India Act will run its period there will again be an outbreak of hatred in Bengal. If revolutionary and murderous ideas are revolving in the minds of the people for many years, what will be the consequences of prolonging the Defence of India Act for about two years and a half? How will the smouldering fire of hatred be quenched? Is such hatred removed by arresting and interning people? Such feelings are never destroyed by suppressing them for a time. The real remedy is to generate good feelings in their stead. In countries like Ireland, Russia and Austria the same experience has been realised. Acts of repression have proved futile everywhere. In order to soothe the Bengalees the real way is to grant political rights. Just as Government devoted their main attention to the war while the war was on, so after the war *swardjya* should form their main occupation. Though the Delhi and Bombay Congresses have said that the rights given by the 'Montford' scheme are not satisfactory, it should be remembered that the resolutions of the Congress are the result of compromise. All parties tend towards accepting what can be got and trying to get more by constitutional means. It cannot be said that Government are faced with an extraordinary situation. Government are ready to restrict the operation of the Bill only to revolutionary movements. It remains to be seen whether Government are ready to mention the principle in plain words in the Act itself. But in that case against whom are the Bills to be enforced? Whom are Government going to suppress by using the powers under the Bill? There are no revolutionary schemes in India at present. The schemes that may have seemed acceptable at least for a short time to some impatient minds at the beginning of the war cannot but be rejected by the same minds now on account of unprecedented victories gained by Government in the war. The mind, which on account of its hatred of Europeans, would have dared to disregard the existing circumstances four or five years ago, must now be ready to give up the path of hatred inevitably, on account of the victory gained by Government in the war. Such a vast change in feeling has occurred on account of the war and the tendency has been encouraged by the Reform Scheme. When there is no enemy, what necessity is there for these weapons? The victory gained in the war and the Reform Scheme have withdrawn the attention of the impatient from revolution to constitutional agitation. If there be any who is filled still with former hatred the real politic way is to look with pity on him. Should not Government of India pay attention to the secret of Mr. Lloyd George's release of conspirators against his own life? If Government have anything to do on account of the great victory gained, it is to release all political prisoners, following the example of Mr. Lloyd George.

58. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* expresses its disapproval of the Rowlatt Bills on the ground that they will lower the Indians in the sight of the world at large and strongly urges upon Government the necessity of dropping them and winning the confidence of the people. [The *Hindusthán* endorses Mrs. Besant's message to the people, in the *Bombay Chronicle*, headed "Stand up, Parantapa". The *Shri Venkateshwar* exhorts the Indian members of the Select Committee to which the Rowlatt Bills have been referred to get them so amended as to remove the sting out of them. The *Gujarátti* expresses a fear that once the Rowlatt Bills are placed on the Statute Book they will not be removed, and

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 19th Feb ; *Hindusthán* (22), 18th Feb.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (85), 16th Feb.; *Gujarátti* (18), 16th Feb.; *Gujarátti Punch* (20), 16th Feb.; *Gujarát Mitra* (19), 16th Feb.; *Deshi Mitra* (67), 20th Feb.; *Baroda Vartamán* (61), 17th Feb.

so it exhorts the Imperial Legislative Council and the public at large not to accept them in any amended form. The *Gujarâti Punch* is of opinion that the Bills will be a menace to the people and will endanger public safety, and it exhorts every Indian not to be satisfied till they are withdrawn. The *Gujarât Mitra* is not satisfied with the mere oral assurance that the Bills would be in operation for three years only and urges that their consideration should be postponed till after the passing of the Montagu reforms. The *Deshi Mitra* writes:—When India expects nectar, destiny places a cup of deadly poison before it; when it hopes for some kind of freedom, a halter appears before its eyes! People should not sit quiet and express their sorrow but should take the matter to England, nay, before the Peace Conference. In this matter specially we should persist in passive resistance on constitutional lines. The *Baroda Vartamân* warns Government of the evil effects the passing of the Bills into law will produce on the minds of the people and asks them to drop them lest the people be stirred up to strong political agitation.]

59. There is a consensus of opinion that the non-official members acquitted themselves admirably in opposing the Rowlatt Bills. But some of our countrymen are not satisfied with the degree of firmness which they have shown. They urge that the non-official members should refuse to serve on the select Committee and should also withhold their support to the Bills in whatever form Government may agree to pass them. These men have not correctly gauged the situation. In our opinion such a course will only do more harm than good. It is possible the non-official members will succeed in eliminating the objectionable clauses in the Bills by serving on the Select Committee. We have clear evidence that the opposition so far advanced has not been without effect. [The *Râjakâran* writes:—By offering to enforce the provisions of the Emergency Powers Bill for a period of three years only Government expect to enlist the support of at least a few of the non-official members. A good deal of importance was attached to the views of non-official members when Government wanted a sum of £45 millions. It is to be seen what weight is going to be attached to their opinions now when they are solidly opposed to the Bill. The *Sudhakar* writes:—No man in his senses would advocate active resistance to Government. It did not avail us in 1857 when the chances of success were considerably in our favour and it had only the effect of rivetting our fetters more firmly. But it is open to us, by adoptiug legitimate and constitutional means, to make it impossible for the bureaucracy to carry on the administration of the country with ease. By resorting to passive resistance we can create a situation which will compel it to give us *swarâjya*. The *Jagaruk* on the other hand writes:—The object of the proposed legislation is to deal with the anarchists. They are openly hostile to the British Rule and no amount of reforms will satisfy them. The fears that the Bills will strike at the root of all constitutional agitation are groundless. Some of our people complain that it is unjust to requite the services of India in the war with such repressive legislation. This argument is fallacious. The loyal section of the people has nothing to fear from the new laws. Indeed they are meant to protect it from the anarchists.]

Dnyân Prakâsh (39), 18th Feb.; *Râjakâran* (123), 16th Feb.; *Sudhakar* (132), 16th Feb.; *Jagaruk* (43), 15th Feb.

60. "We shall not deal with the small controversies in connection with this bill; whether the members of the Imperial Legislative Council should fight all along the line or whether they should retire with a dignified protest at this stage is a matter that cannot affect the main issue. We on our part firmly believe that there is little to be gained by their continuance either on the Select Committee or on the Council and it is useless to have a mere imitation of parliamentary form, where the rules of debate and of procedure have been framed with a view not to assist but to strangle opposition, and where arbitrary power is entrusted and is used by the President of the Council, who combines in India in his own person the very distinct characteristics and functions per formed in the United Kingdom by the King, the Prime Miuister and the Speaker. Nor do we wish to dogmatise with regard

Young India (15), 19th Feb.

to the form which the resistance to these bills should take. There is absolute unanimity in the Indian political camp that the resistance should begin at once, that it should be as powerful as possible and that all our resources should be used up in this direction alone..... It is a very fortunate circumstance that everybody is now discussing seriously what should be done. The cry of passive resistance is a legitimate cry because it is the one constitutional means which has been employed with success in the past and which can never be better employed than at the present moment. Passive resistance if well-planned is a constitutional shield for a subject race against which the official sword may strike until it is blunt, against which repression will exhaust itself. Because while the brain of the bnreaucrat will plan out the persecution, his conscience and the conscience of the community all round him in India and of his own community in England will revolt against the employment of brute force and the abuse of the machinery of law for the coercion of men who ask nothing more than to be left with the little liberty to which they have been used upto now..... We would, however, indicate that in politics as in everything else, what is wanted is careful thought. There is the whole bureaucratic system in India and there are very capable men who are devoting all their energy to thinking out how to maintain that system and how to use the new laws for the purpose of defeating popular liberty. On the part of the people something more is wanted than mere enthusiam in order to combat that organised thought. A system must be met by a system and since it appears that the fight will be a long one, a continnous chain of passive resisters must be created before the work is begun. ..... It is not necessary to convince the Indian community of the wrong which will be done to them by these bills. They are already convinced of it. It is, however, necessary that they should understand the method of resistance in all its aspects, that they should be sufficiently disciplined to obey before any action is begun. Steps are already being taken in this direction and we have no doubt that under the capable leadership of men trained in the hard school of experience a scheme will be framed for carrying it out. Will wisdom dawn in Delhi before it is too late? Perhaps it is hoping against hope, but so serious a political setback will it be if these laws are passed and if they are resisted, as they must be, that we still look for that providential hand which may save England from the infamy and India from the disaster which will come with the passing of these laws."

61. "We do not agree with those who say that Non-official Members should abstain from the select committee and even the council as a moral protest against the proposed repressive legislation. We feel that every inch of ground must be fought for with courage, and self-control—the two things which will count the most in the conflict; it is time to play the game. The time to leave the council as a protest against the Black Bills comes only when the last stage is reached. When non-official members have done all that is humanly possible to do to protect their country's liberties, and find that the Bills are finally passed, it may be time for them to leave the council as a protest as Sir P. M. Mehta did when he retired from the Bombay Council."

New Times (8), 18th Feb.

62. The *Sánj Vartamán* while opposed to the Excess Profits Tax Bill recently introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council, declares that the agitation against the Bill should not be carried further as the Bill has passed through the first reading and been referred to the Select Committee. It expresses gratification at the solicitude shown by Government to make the operation of the Bill as smooth as possible and thanks them for their assurance about exempting those who will pay the excess profits tax from the ordinary income-tax and the super-tax. [The *Hindusthán* strongly protests against the imposition of the Excess Profits Tax and declares that if the Bill is passed into law it will cripple Indian industries for all times. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* and the *Bombay Samáchár* are grieved to see that Government have

The Excess Profits Tax Bills.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 20th Feb.; *Hindusthán* (22), 21st Feb.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 21st Feb.; *Bombay Samáchár* (63), 22nd Feb.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 22nd Feb.

paid no heed to the arguments advanced against the Bill in and out of the Council and have referred it to a Select Committee. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* wishes that the Government of India had paid due heed to the advice given by the Bombay Government in the matter and hopes that the Select Committee will so amend the Bill that it may not operate harshly on new industries. It urges that the tax should be reduced to 30 per cent.]

63. The Indian and European merchants while opposing the Excess Profits Tax Bill suggest that the deficit of about 10 crores of rupees can be met by raising loans. This suggestion, if accepted, will have the effect of imposing an additional burden upon the people. The war has enabled the merchants to earn huge profits and it is but proper that they should surrender a portion thereof to meet the extra war expenditure. It is nothing but selfishness on the part of the merchants to transfer to the shoulders of the people the burden which they themselves ought to carry.

Dnyán Prakásh (39), 22nd Feb.

EDUCATION.

64. Now that the question of fees in Primary Schools has been so satisfactorily solved Government should look with the same sympathy towards the question of fees in Secondary Schools. Of the many anti-educational things done in the Sydenham regime one was the enhancement of Secondary School fees. Not only did Government enhance fees in their own schools but they compelled the aided schools also to increase their fees proportionally. It is very necessary that Government should consider this question and settle it satisfactorily. Since Mr. Fisher became Minister of Education, there is a proposal to make not only Secondary but even higher education free in England. We do not know when these golden days will dawn on India. But even if the present fees are halved, parents will find it a great concession in these days. Will our new Governor who is sympathetic towards the poor consider the point and take the credit of allowing to the poor a scope for educating themselves ?

Fees in Secondary Schools also should be reduced.
Kesari (114), 18th Feb.

65. The Bombay Government has been requested by the municipalities to bear two-thirds of the cost of primary education but as they are unwilling to do even this much, the Primary Education Act has not yet been brought into operation. Government have, however, helped the Bombay Municipality freely. They have recently increased the number of freestudentships and they have expressed their willingness to allow any poor municipality to make education free only. We notice with surprise and regret that no municipality has taken advantage of the concession. The number of freestudentships in Local Board schools has been increased from 15 to 25 and Government have further held that no student should be refused admission if he is too poor to pay fees and that he should be admitted as a free student. There is no doubt that the policy of the Bombay Government is generous and commendable. The poor people should utilise the concession and the village school-masters should inform the poor parents of it and encourage them to benefit by it. Otherwise the concession will remain buried in Government records.

Recent concessions by Government with respect to primary education.
Kesari (114), 18th Feb.

MUNICIPALITIES.

66. " The election of members to the Municipal Corporation of Bombay by the Justices of the Peace is an absurd anachronism..... The Corporation of 1919 is not the Corporation of 1868. In those days, when people little understood their civil rights and had little desire to exert what rights they possessed, it was all very well for a body wholly constituted by the Justices of the Peace to dominate municipal affairs. But now the position is different. The people understand what their rights are. They want to exercise them. They are interested in the welfare of the

Comments on the election of members to the Bombay Corporation by the J. P.'s.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th Feb.

City as much as the Justices of the Peace are. They are anxious to discharge their civic responsibilitis. The fundamental principle of all administration—no taxation without representation—appeals to them and they take their stand upon it. The system of election of representatives on the Corporation by Justices of the Peace thus stands discredited to-day and its abolition is universally desired. Nobody denies that they did some good to the City in the old days. But people can no longer tolerate members who do not enjoy their confidence. Most of the members elected by this order are such as do not deserve to occupy seats in what claims to be the most progressive and advanced municipality in India. In fact, the sixteen members elected by the Justices are little better than the nominees of Government.... ..... Although this time the election is going to be keenly contested, there being twenty-three candidates for sixteen seats, the public cannot be satisfied with it so long as it has the taint of privilege and Government favour. The public are for its entire abolition and the sooner it disappears in a general wide reform of the municipal franchise the better."

Sánj Vartamán (32), 18th and 19th Feb.

67. Commenting on the election by the Bombay J. P's of representatives on the new Corporation, the *Sánj Vartamán* declares that it was not election by the Justices but by a 'caucus' consisting of only a few gentlemen, which had issued "tickets" for electing only particular candidates, as has usually been done in the past. This way of electing Corporators, it remarks, is nothing but a mockery or a farce and the new Corporation should try to abolish it in future. It hopes that the Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla will not fail to take up this question at the earliest opportunity. [In its subsequent issue the paper observes that the result of the election leaves no room for doubt that a caucus was at work as in past years.]

RAILWAYS.

Grievances of third class passengers on Indian Railways.

Deccan Ryot (4), 20th Feb.

68. Commenting on the report of the Railway Board for 1917-18, the *Deccan Ryot* writes :—"One of the most remarkable features of the Railway administration in the year under report is that while the number of passengers decreased by nearly five millions, earnings from passenger traffic has increased a great deal owing to enhanced fares. What hardship this must mean to the middle and poorer classes of the population is obvious enough. Now that the war is over, may we hope that the discontinued train service on the various Railways will be resumed as soon as possible? Besides this there are other directions also in which relief to third class passengers is most urgently needed. The Report says that public discussion of grievances of this class of passengers helps 'the definition of requirements and the recognition of difficulties'. But we do not understand how much more discussion and criticism are required for the mere purpose of 'definition of requirements'. 'It is unquestionable', says the Report, 'that much has been done of recent years in the improvement of stock, station premises and third class waiting halls, etc., as well as in providing for a better water supply and better food at stations. It must equally be admitted that there is room still for improvements of various kinds.' While we ought to be grateful for the admission thus made, it must be pointed out that the improvements already made are not at all appreciable. Not only is there room for improvements yet, but there is a very great urgency of such improvements."

NATIVE STATES.

Protest against proposed demolition of mosques in Baroda territory.

Political Bhomiyo (76), 21st Feb.

69. The *Political Bhomiyo* strongly protests against the orders issued by the Baroda Darbar to pull down a mosque and to construct a theatre in its stead at Lehripura, Baroda, and to demolish a part of a mosque at Sinor in the Baroda territory with a view to widening the road on which it abuts. It calls upon the Muhammadans of the Baroda State as also those staying in

British territory to convene public meetings to record their protest against the demolition of mosques in the Baroda State and expresses hope that His Highness the Gaekwar will be pleased to respect the feelings of the Muhammadans throughout the world and rescind the orders.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 27th February 1919.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 1st March 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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Comments on the result of the Tilak-Chirol case.
Indian Social Reformer (6), 2nd Mar.

*1. "The suit for libel which Mr. Tilak had brought against Sir Valentine Chirol before the Court of King's Bench in London, has been decided in favour of the defendant with costs. Mr. Tilak is said to have stated that he was complaining of being accused of responsibility for murder, not of being accused of sedition. In his opening address, counsel for the defence, Sir Edward Carson, intimated (as reported by Reuter) that he would ask the jury to say that Mr. Tilak was a member, and his paper was an organ, of widespread conspiracy to bring about, if necessary by assassination, the removal of the existing British Government in India. Sir Valentine Chirol himself deposed (as reported by Reuter) that he never stated that Mr. Tilak knew any murderers of British officials, but only that Mr. Tilak was morally responsible, at any rate for the atmosphere which produced the murders. This on the face of it seems to be very much less than what Sir Edward Carson undertook to establish. It is probable that the jury took the view that what Sir Valentine Chirol had written was a matter of public interest on which everyone was entitled to form and express his own opinion and, in that case, their verdict may not mean that Sir Edward Carson had proved what he undertook to prove. On most matters in politics and social reform, it has been our lot to dissent sharply from Mr. Tilak, but we do not and cannot believe, and have never believed, that Mr. Tilak was a member of a conspiracy which approved of assassination as a means of removing the present or any other Government. In his life of Gladstone, Lord Morley, dealing with the somewhat analogous case of the late Mr. Parnell, answers the question why the Irish leader did not promptly bring his libellers (the *Times* which published the articles on Parnellism and Crime) before a Court of Law. 'The case would naturally have been tried in London,' he writes. 'In other words, not only the plaintiff's own character, but the whole movement that he represented, would have been submitted to a Middlesex jury, with all the national and political prejudices inevitable in such a body, and with all the twelve chances of a disagreement, that would be almost as disastrous to Parnell as an actual verdict for his assailants.' Mr. Tilak said in reply to Sir Edward Carson that he took proceedings in England and not in India because the book 'Indian Unrest,' was read all over the Empire and he (Mr. Tilak) thought that the decision of a British Court would be more beneficial to him. In the absence of a full report of the proceedings of the case it is impossible to assess the exact significance of the verdict, especially in view of the apparent discrepancy between the evidence of the principal defendant, Sir Valentine Chirol, and the undertaking of his counsel, Sir Edward Carson, which we have pointed out."

Mahrátta (7), 2nd Mar.

*2. "If it be true that conscience makes cowards of us all, it must also be true in logical conversion that the singular courage, which Mr. Tilak showed in seeking justice at the hands of a British jury, proves that he had a clean, clear conscience. Hopeful by nature, at least so far as British justice is concerned, Mr. Tilak was confident that in other times, and under other conditions, he would have got a favourable verdict at the hands of a British jury especially as some of the counts of defamation practically left Sir Valentine Chirol no decent retreat. But even the sacred function of doing justice is a human function after all, and it is not Mr. Tilak's fault that the local environment happened to be peculiarly unfavourable. As a contemporary has pointed out, there are one or two arguments which prevail at present over a British jury with unfailing force. If Counsel either for plaintiff or defendant can somehow be allowed to mention only in one breath his opponent with German influence or a revolutionary propaganda, he may be sure of winning his case. And those who have read even the scrappy news of the proceedings in this case, cabled from England, know full well how adroitly Sir Edward Carson, the brazen-faced leader of the Ulster rebels, made use of the political considerations available to him, though not on his brief. One could easily imagine the result when he put it to the jury that if they gave a verdict in Mr. Tilak's favour, Mr. Tilak would go back to India,

as if with a license, to openly preach with immunity bomb-throwing and assassination as a political weapon; and that Sir Valentine Chirol did not withdraw his accusations against Mr. Tilak because of the demoralising effect it would have upon the Government of India as the custodians of the peace and the safety of the Empire in India:—in other words that a verdict given in Mr. Tilak's favour would be practically a signed warrant for recalling the Government of India from India for ever. We do not wonder if a jury, drugged with such abominable poison, should fail to utter the proper word in giving its verdict. We, therefore, do not blame the jury so much as the conditions in which Sir Edward Carson could have a license to pollute the springs of British justice with the poison of imperial politics. As for Mr. Tilak, he is not a man, as even his opponents know, to be overcome with despair by such verdict. The fight was mainly a strictly legal fight. And we refuse to believe that there would be the slightest difference by the verdict in the love and estimation of the Indian people towards him, as, we may also say, there would not have been the slightest difference in the official attitude towards him even if he had won the verdict. So there the matter must stand for some time, till any incidental developments take place."

3. "That the whole weight of the Indian bureaucratic authority and prestige was thrown on the side of Sir Valentine Chirol was obvious from the very day the suit was filed in India. The solicitors of the Bombay Government as well as all the Departmental records, both public and confidential, were freely placed at the disposal of Sir Valentine Chirol. Not only that, some overzealous officials placed the services of their employees, too, at the disposal of Sir Valentine, while, of course, the C. I. D. ranged themselves unblushingly on his side, ferreting out all possible witnesses. It was, indeed evident from the very beginning that it was not Sir Valentine alone whom Mr. Tilak had to face but the bureaucracy of India as a whole. Small wonder that Mr. Tilak despaired of getting justice in India against such forces as were pitted against him. Sir Edward Carson attempted to bias the jury on this point, by representing that Mr. Tilak dared not face a court of his own country. The reason must be obvious to everyone who knows the prejudices to be met in India when it is a case between an Indian and a representative of the bureaucracy or a semi-official mouthpiece like Sir Valentine Chirol. Sir Edward Carson in his final address also attempted to prejudice the jury by frightening them with the terrible consequences a verdict for Mr. Tilak would have 'for the Government of India and White officials.' Abysmally ignorant as the average British jurors are of the conditions in India, Sir Edward Carson's conjuring up of the disasters that would follow in the wake of a favourable verdict for Mr. Tilak, must have materially helped Sir Edward Carson's client to secure a verdict for himself. But we ask, is it fair to prejudice the jury in that questionable manner? However, Mr. Tilak's countrymen know what value to attach to a verdict such as has been given." [The *Deccan Ryot* writes:—" We are indeed sorry that Mr. Tilak involved himself in the wild goose chase of trying to get damages out of Sir V. Chirol. Mr. Tilak's legal advisors pinned their faith too much on the fact of certain inaccurate statements in his book which were of so minor importance that no reasonable jury could be expected to condemn on their strength an otherwise very lifelike and faithful exposition of Mr. Tilak's public career. The case had a public aspect inasmuch as on its results depended to some extent the credit which the future would attach to Sir Valentine's genesis of unrest in India. We congratulate Sir Valentine on his fully-deserved success, though also a very costly success."]

Young India (15), 26th Feb.; *Deccan Ryot* (4), 27th Feb.

4. Referring to the assassination of the Amir of Afghanistan, the *Hindusthán* observes that it is strange that his brother has succeeded him when his own son is quite fit to succeed him, and remarks that it does not augur well for the future peace of Afghanistan that the son should have renounced his claim to the throne in consequence of his father's assassination. The paper thinks it expedient to keep the people of this country continuously informed of what happens

The assassination of His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan.

Hindusthán (22), 26th Feb,; *Bombay Samáchár* (63), 27th Feb.; *Muslim Herald* (151), 3rd Feb.; *New Times* (8), 26th Feb.

in Afghanistan hereafter. [The *Bombay Samdchár* further adds that in view of the unanimous acceptance of the new Amir it is highly probable that there may not follow any internal feuds and disorder, which would otherwise follow as a result of this unusual course of succession. The *Muslim Herald*, while deploring the assassination of the late Amir Habibulla Khan, pays a high tribute to his qualities of head and heart by saying that he was a great statesman, a lover of justice and a mighty ruler. The *New Times* also regrets the death of the Amir and adds: "His late Majesty was a good friend of the British Government and throughout the war he maintained not only a correct but a cordial attitude towards the British and their Allies in spite of the intrigues of the Germans..... His Majesty's death will be mourned in India not only as that of a friend of the British *Raj* but also as that of a well-wisher of the two Communities of India."]

*5. "Whether the assassination was the work of mere fanaticism or the result of private revenge or brought about by some political intrigue is unknown. But whatever the inspiring motive, we cannot but deplore the murder of a ruler who wisely governed his territory through times of crisis, stood absolutely loyal to his word of honour and saved Afganistan and India from very grave misfortunes, which would have resulted, if he had allowed himself to fall under the dangerous influence of German intriguers. The Indian Government did well to honour his memory by directing to observe that all public offices be closed and all flags half-masted on Friday last. Why his eldest son has been superseded in favour of his brother Nasrulla Khan is yet a mystery. The future of Afghanistan will now be full of uncertainty for some time and it is to be hoped that Habibulla's successor will keep up the traditions of his lamented brother and that no complications will arise in Afghanistan." [The *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—The fact that the brother, and not the son, of the late Ameer, has succeeded to the throne, coupled with the announcement that the sons of the late Ameer and the people's representatives have acknowledged the accession of Nasrulla Khan, seems to show that the late Ameer's sons had in some measure fallen out of popular favour, and that his late Majesty's brother has, therefore, been obliged to assume the reins of the State which, otherwise, he would have never thought of doing. We hope that the assassin will be discovered and punished and that the anarchist cult will not be allowed to take root among the people of Afghanistan.]

Gujarâti (18), 2nd Mar., Eng. cols.; *Indian Social Reformer* (6), 2nd Mar.

*6. "The brutal assassination of the Amir of Afghanistan, reported by his brother to the British Government, will throw the whole Muhammadan world in a state of intense anxiety and suspense, and will give rise to serious doubts about the whole affair. The present Amir says in his letter to the Government of India that he is recognised as the head of the State by the sons of the late Amir; but why the eldest heir-apparent did not claim the throne is a matter not yet free from the taint of suspicion. The late Amir was a man of vigorous action, and a staunch ally of the British Government, and his resolute courage to keep perfect neutrality in this war helped immensely the cause of the allied powers. But his virile personality was all the more necessary when the question of dismemberment of Turkey, so galling to all the Muhammadans, is looming large on the political horizon. His removal from the scene at the very nick of time has left no forceful champion of the Muhammadan cause, and this will be extremely regretted by the whole Muhammadan world, and by non-Moslem Indians also."

Mahrátta (7), 2nd Mar.

7. The *Bombay Samáchár* draws the attention of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd to the tardy methods of the Bombay Secretariat which requires several months to dispose of a matter in the ordinary course which could easily be dealt with in as many hours and complains of the inconvenience suffered by the Bombay public owing to Government going out of

Complaint about the dilatory methods of the Bombay Secretariat.

Bombay Samáchár (63), 26th Feb.

Bombay for the period of seven or eight months during the year. It also asks His Excellency to maintain a strict supervision over the administration of the various districts and not to leave everything to the men on the spot and urges the need of effecting a reorganisation of the Secretariat with a view to carrying on the administration more efficiently and to the satisfaction of the public.

An appeal to young men to remember the *swadeshi* vows taken in 1906.
Kesari (114), 25th Feb.

8. Anandrao Sadashiv Deshpande writes to the *Kesari*:—Those who cry *swardjya* do not seem to remember what *swa* means. People do not consider how they will be able to maintain *swardjya* even if it is obtained and what should be done to obtain it and why it should be obtained. *Swadeshi* has become an object of ridicule and every one is again turning towards foreign goods. Even the word *swadeshi* is not heard. What a shameful thing it is that we should again hug foreign goods forgetting all the severe oaths we had taken to use *swadeshi* goods. We note with regret and surprise that those who call themselves educated behave in such a thoughtless manner and that they do not remember the boycott of foreign goods and the bonfire made of them. We should awaken ourselves now at least and try to revive the strength and enthusiasm of 1906. It is true that we are advancing so far as the demand for *swardjya* is concerned. But should we lay stress only on one point and neglect others? We should watch all fronts. Who cares for the small voice of *swadeshi* when the big drum of *swardjya* is being beaten, but have you forgotten within such a short period the oaths taken in 1906? To such a pass the boycott of foreign goods was carried at that time that even big people thought that the times were dangerous. Foreign goods were looked upon with contempt like missionary productions and on the roads they were seen destroyed. Now all those times have been changed and the old refrain that foreign goods are good is being sung again. Is this progress or deterioration? Still there is time. Young men! You have a very great responsibility. You were very young when the *swadeshi* agitation was started. But remember its history and read it and give up the blind following of these days, buy *swadeshi* goods, otherwise indigenous industries will not be encouraged and the drain will not be stopped and industrial and economical progress will not be achieved. Political leaders are trying their best and fighting for truth with the Imperial Government on the strength of passive resistance. Let us prepare ourselves to enjoy *swardjya* by remaining true always to *swadeshi*.

Dearth of foodstuffs in the Bombay Presidency.
Kesari (114), 28th Feb.

9. The *Kesari* contends that the Bombay Presidency is not generally dependent on other Provinces for foodstuffs and quotes some statistics. It wants to know why there is a dearth of foodstuffs only this year. If Sir Claude Hill had given full information as requested by Members of the Imperial Council, continues the paper, the causes could have been ascertained but he declined. It is surprising, it remarks, that the Government should not have the necessary information even at the time of famine. It says that dearth of foodstuffs and dearness are not one and the same thing. There are many causes of the rise in prices but, remarks the paper, dearth of foodstuffs is due only to failure of crops, excess of exports over imports, hoarding of foodstuffs. It suggests to Government to publish estimates of crops for the year with figures of imports and exports and it thinks that such publication would reveal if the dearth is due to the hoarding of foodstuffs.

Sir Subramanya Aiyer's attack on Mr. B. C. Pal.
Sanjaya (125), 28th Feb.

10. Commenting on Sir Subramanya Aiyer's letter published in *New India* in which he attacks Mrs. Besant's detractors and in particular Mr. B. C. Pal, the *Sanjaya* writes:—The letter shows how this old veteran has exposed himself to ridicule. We have nothing but admiration for Sir Subramanya. His patriotism is above suspicion. There is also no doubt that Mrs. Besant for whom he takes up the cudgels has found an abiding place in the hearts of almost all the nationalists. But the new spirit that is now animating the country is impatient of restraint. True, leaders like Mrs. Besant and Sir Subramanya are chiefly responsible

for the present awakening. But the Nationalist party is not prepared to hold back even for the sake of leaders whom it so long revered. We wonder how a man of Sir Subramanya's experience could seriously argue that Mrs. Besant alone is capable of leading the nation. Does he suppose that the political activity of this country dates from the day on which she commenced to take interest in Indian politics? Does he really hold that Indians knew nothing of politics when Mrs. Besant was busy unravelling the mysteries of Theosophy? If so, his blind faith will be a genuine source of regret to all patriotic people. His allusious to Babu Pal only excite our pity. He tells us that people would heed Mr. Pal only if he were prepared to suffer for the country as much as Mrs. Besant has suffered. We can only attribute to senility this disregard of all that Babu Pal has suffered in the past. The Doctor should clearly understand that judged by the test of self-sacrifice, the Indian public will pay greater respect to the utterances of Mr. Pal than to those of Mrs. Besant and her worshippers.

Appeal to Musalmans to protest against the insult offered to the Prophet of Islam by the *Epiphany* of Calcutta.

Political Bhomiyo (76), 28th Feb.

11. The *Political Bhomiyo* styles the alleged attack of the Missionary paper the *Epiphany* on the Prophet Muhammad as highly objectionable and provocative and writes:— Has the editor of this Missionary journal forgotten the incident of the Calcutta riots that ensued upon the disrespectful conduct towards Islam manifested by the *Indian Daily News* and some Hindu students? The Musalmans had to be a party to the riots simply for their self-defence when a servant of a Marwari gentleman fired on them; in connection with this riot some of the Muhammadans have been tried and undeserved punishment has been meted out to them. The originators of the riots have been allowed to escape scot free and Musalmans have suffered in consequence of the insolence of others. Had not the *Indian Daily News* and such other Hindus injured the susceptibilities of Muhammadans, the latter would not have been obliged to hold a meeting and also the Governor of Bengal would not have been obliged to prohibit the same; and so, those who wounded the Muhammadan sentiments are really responsible for the riots and as a matter of fact they ought to have been punished. But we regret to say that the just Government have not dealt out any punishment to them. It is a strange peculiarity of the present age that the holding of a constitutioual or lawful meeting of Muhammadans has been prohibited and some Muhammadans alone have been punished for the riots consequent upon that prohibition! The greatest wonder about this is that though protest meetings are held all over India at present and in many of them most inflammatory speeches are made against Government yet these meetings are not prohibited. But no sooner did Muhammadans resolve to get their legal rights or to hold a meeting to prevent attacks on their religion than the authorities begin to fear incitement, and so they try to prohibit the holding of such a meeting! By such improper acts on their part they offer a downright affornt to the unswerving loyalty of Moslems. The Musalmans should constitutionally agitate to improve this state of affairs by holding meetings and the Muslim members of the Legislative Council should interpellate on this matter in the Council. Some non-Islamic journals of Bombay and other places criticised this conduct of the *Indian Daily News*; but had some Hindu or Parsi journal manifested similar conduct, they would have connived at it. But this being an English journal they, pretending to be well-wishers of Muhammadans, tried to instigate the Moslems against the *Indian Daily News*. If this attack by the *Epiphany* is not prompted by any evil-intentioned scheming persons with a view to accomplish their secret object and if this Missionary journal has done it simply with a view to accomplish its own object, all the Muhammadans should take legal steps in this matter for the safety of their own religion; and we feel confident that the British Government will surely pay due attention to it. The Muhammadan members of the Legislative Council should also interpellate and discuss this question in the Council.

12. Many might have heard of examples of the cruel attitude of bureaucratic officials. One is horror-struck when one hears of the unconcerned and heartless treatment given to Babu Jyotish Chandra Ghosh by the Bengal officials. Babu Jyotish Chandra has gone mad since his internment and doctors have given their opinion that he requires some kind nursing. It would be a straightforward and benevolent action to release him and hand him over to the charge of his mother. But the Bengal Government in reply to an application from her has informed her to go and dwell in the lunatic asylum! It is because of such experiences that Government have been termed a lifeless machine. We cannot conceive what terrible danger awaits Government if they release one who has gone mad for the last two years. If the officials think that a mad suspect if allowed to live with his mother would cause the spread of anarchism in Bengal it must be said that they are unfit to preserve peace. Lord Chelmsford should consider this heartless decision of the Bengal Government and consider whether Babu Jyotish Chandra is mad or these officials are, and send the officials giving such cruel reply to their proper place.

Comments on the treatment of Babu Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, a Bengali internee.
Kesari (114), 25th Feb.

13. In noticing the facilities reported to be given by the South African Government to Nationalist leaders of South Africa who are republicans for proceeding to Paris for the Peace Conference, the *Kesari* says:—Poor Dr. Subramanya Aiyer wrote to President Wilson and asked him to consider Indian interests, but simply for this he incurred the great wrath of local officials. The request of the Congress and the League to send delegates to the Peace Conference was refused and Mr. Tilak was not allowed even a passport to proceed to the Conference. But Sinn Feinners establish their own ministry and proclaim *Swarájya* in Ireland, and South African Dutch leaders can go to Paris in order to sever their connection openly! No more satisfactory explanation of this difference can be given than that a timid man is always pursued by a ghost.

Contrast between the treatment accorded to Indian Home Rulers, South African Republicans and Irish Sinn Feinners.
Kesari (114), 25th Feb.

14. "In reply to a question by Colonel Wedgwood in the House of Commons, Mr. Montagu stated that Lala Lajpat Rai would not be permitted to come to England at present, but that his case would be reconsidered when peace was signed. This news has such an evil significance that every Indian, without distinction, will be simply astounded to hear it. One cannot believe, from whatever quarter the suggestion comes, that there can be anything in the great patriot's activities which can be supposed, in ever so slight a degree, to make his presence in England undesirable even in a state of war; and the implication contained in the Secretary of State's reply will not fail to create deep resentment throughout the country. Indians have a right to ask that Government shall fully explain the circumstances which, in its opinion, justify Lala Lajpat Rai's detention or even give it a colourable excuse for such a monstrous step."

Comments on Mr. Lajpat Rai's exclusion from England.
Servant of India (9), 27th Feb.

***15.** "Lala Lajpatrai is not to be allowed to go to England till peace is concluded! We do not know what prevents Mr. Montagu from allowing him to come to England now, when the war is over and when the British power is at its zenith. Perhaps Mr. Montagu might be thinking in the heart of his hearts that Lala Lajpatrai, if he be allowed to come to England now, might be elected by the Punjabis and other Indians to represent ther views before the British public in connection with the Reforms, and this perhaps he does not want now. There may be other reasons, but the step which Mr. Montagu has taken will, we think, be surely interpreted in this light, and nothing will be more prejudicial to Mr. Montagu's fair-mindedness than this thoroughly unjustifiable step."

Mahrátta (7), 2nd Mar.

16. The *Bombay Samáchár*, while complaining of the present scarcity of kerosene oil in Bombay and the abnormal rise in its price, writes :—There are grounds to believe that there is some truth in the reason assigned for the present scarcity, namely, that there is no sufficient quantity in the oil tanks. We come across very few oil carts and hawkers of kerosene oil in the streets and consequently there has been an abnormal rise in the price of the oil. We fail to understand how the poor classes will be able to meet the new difficulty. Government have appointed the Controller to place a check on the price of commodities, but matters stand as they were before. An attempt should be made to find out where the defect lies. If the stock of kerosene oil is getting exhausted Government should arrange to import it in sufficiently large quantities without any delay.

Scarcity of kerosene in Bombay.
Bombay Samáchár (63), 25th Feb.

17. A European correspondent writes to the *Bombay Chronicle* :—"Are the Europeans of the Bombay commercial community going to remain silent over the latest example of official Prussianism perpetrated by the Bombay Government in their Press Note on the question of passages and the issue of passports to people desirous of travelling to Europe by non-controlled boats or *viâ* the United States of America? We all know the intense indignation which prevails amongst businessmen—although the Press has been remarkably silent on the subject—over the manner in which Priority Certificates have been allotted, but the latest Press Note which gives the Under Secretary of Government, who issues passports, power to refuse to issue passports to passengers who wish to travel by uncontrolled lines, calls for the strongest protest from the commercial community. It is obvious that the Government are not content with helping themselves to the passages by controlled lines, but they are now controlling the passages for themselves and their friends by the uncontrolled lines by means of their passport regulations. The Press Note reads—'Government leave granted for the purpose of necessary rest or for administrative convenience is accepted as a sufficient reason for the journey for passport purposes.' Very funny. 'Britons never never shall be slaves except to the I. C. S.' What are the Bombay 'boxwallas' made of?" [The paper remarks on the above :—"Obviously the action of the Government is arbitrary and irritating to a degree. But that is the way of the bureaucracy in India."]

A protest against the Bombay Government Press Note regarding passages and the issue of passports to Europe.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th Feb.

18. "We understand that since the 14th instant most of the workmen, numbering over two thousand, employed at His Majesty's Mint, Bombay, have been on strike and that in consequence the Mint has remained closed. .....According to a further representation which was sent to the Mint Master on the 11th February, the petition we have reproduced above was submitted through the Inspector, Mr. Cauty, who played the part of a mediator between the Mint authorities and the workmen and who assured them that their grievances would be redressed in about a week's time. Though a fortnight passed no reply was given to the men's petition. This is not all. The Mint Master, in a notice put up at the Mint on 23rd February, coolly told the men,—who had by that time gone on strike again seeing that no redress had been given them—that he had received no representation whatever regarding their grievances and that he did not think that he could do anything more for them! It is amazing that under the shelter of red tape the Mint Master should in this manner play fast and loose with these miserably paid labourers! If the Mint Master is right in saying that he has received no proper representation from the men—though he is no doubt fully aware what their demands are—what has Inspector Cauty to say in the matter? What has he done with their petition? Did he or did he not show it to the Mint Master? It is scandalous that responsible officials should treat workmen employed by the State in this manner. It is discreditable in the highest degree,

The Bombay Mint strike.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 26th Feb.

and the Government of India, who are the employers of these men who can hardly make both ends meet in these days of high prices and pestilence, should lose no time in stepping in and putting a stop to the scandal. Why do the Government of India allow their employers to be so badly treated when most other employers have realised that the economic pressure necessitates increases of pay? The State should be a model employer. Or is it that the Government of India, being so far removed from the spot, are unaware of the sufferings of these men who are all of them daily-wage earners and who are, therefore, bound to suffer the most by the strike? The demands are not unreasonable, seeing that an increase of 30 per cent. or more has been conceded to workmen everywhere. The pittance of Re. 1-8 and Rs. 3 per mensem, which the Mint Master in all his generosity is prepared to give—and give only for three months,—is such as no employee, however miserably situated, would be prepared to accept and be thankful for. Surely, His Majesty's Mint is not on the verge of bankruptcy that it cannot treat its men a little more considerately!"

England and India.
Mahrátta (7), 2nd Mar.

***19.** "What is the problem before her [England] in India? Brushing aside all the shibboleths of trusteeship and superior civilization, it is patent that India is being governed by a handful of bureaucrats as represantatives of the great Democracy of England. The three hundred and odd millions of India have no effective voice in the administration of the country and the bureaucracy itself has turned into a 'soul-less' machine, which is crushing the very spirit of India. England boasts of her intention of introducing a popular Government in India, but does the attitude of the bureaucracy give any indication that the ideal would be allowed to be realised? Popular Government means that the sovereignty of the State shall be distributed among those whose interests are at stake; and the government shall periodically take the consent of the governed. Are we even on the road to such a government? Already the Services have raised their standard of revolt, and even the Viceroy has to climb down and solace them by putting forth theories which are incompatible with any popular government. England, it seems, is playing a double life here and abroad. In Europe she is the champion of popular rights and liberties, but here in India she is, through her representatives, despotic in her administration. 'The best among the British Liberals have never been able to conceal the shame they felt, when, at the beginning of the war, England began to eject magical platitudes of the national liberty of peoples from her mouth which was stuffed with the ruins of popular liberties in India. Was it not a feat of hypocrisy, they must have said to themselves, that England should wax so eloquent and righteously indignant over the temporary subjugation of Belgium by Germany, when she herself has kept under her heel, a country whose area is 146 times, and whose population is 40 times, as much as that of Belgium? Why should the liberties of Belgium be regarded as more sacred than those of India?' This glaring contradiction between the growth of democracy in England and the deliberate maintenance of despotism in India was always regarded by the attentive student of the British political constitution as a standing menace to the domestic freedom! No proof need be advanced to prove how despotism in India is being sedulously fostered. The speeches of the Government members regarding the 'Rowlatt Bills' and their progress in the Imperial Council are a standing testimony of it. The spirit of despotism which is running rampant here in India is sure to cast its reflection in England."

His Excellency the Governor's utterances in Sind.
New Times (8), 23rd Feb.; *Al-Haq* (143), 15th Feb.

20. Referring to one of His Excellency's utterances in Sind, the *New Times* writes:—"We want Autonomy for Sind; the rich resources of the Province have not been developed for want of an administration devoted solely to the well-being and progress of Sind; in the various services the sons of Sind have not that conspicuous position which we feel is their birthright; and in matters of agriculture and industry, in education, sanitation and medical relief, we feel we have been greatly neglected; alike our national

advancement and our self-expression in the spheres of art and culture demand that we should be ourselves and have opportunities to shape our future..... We cannot think His Excellency interprets the situation correctly when, admitting that there is scarcity, he denies that actual famine conditions prevail in Sind. We can say, from some personal knowledge of the poor people, that famine does prevail; there is a famine of foodstuffs and of fodder. It is not difficult to understand why, while the price of food-grains is gone very high, that of meat remains almost at the pre-war rate, 6 annas a seer: the people, unable to feed the cattle, are selling them at very cheap rates. The fine Karáchi breed for which Sind is famous has suffered much on account of fodder famine; and the loss from cattle alone may come to a large figure before the year is out. Everything must be done to relieve the acute distress; everything must be done to create favourable conditions of life for the agricultural classes in Sind. The *rasai* evil which has oppressed the peasant for years must be done to death without delay, and there must be the beginnings of a better land revenue system." [Commenting on His Excellency's speech at the Durbar at Sukkur, *Al-Haq* remarks:—Of all the references made by His Excellency the most important was his assurance to the Muhammadans that due regard would be paid at the Peace Conference to the sentiments of Indian Muhammadans in the matter of Turkey, the Khaliphate and the holy places of Islam. We heartily thank His Excellency for sympathising with us in respect of matters which are of deep importance to our community.]

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's reply to the address of the Sind Muhammadan Association.

Sind Moslem (11), 22nd Feb.; *Al-Amin* (142), 14th Feb.

21. "We are glad that the Sind Muhammadan Association Address made a clear demand for the release of Musalman detenus; and the Association rightly felt that 'there was hardly any more reason to keep them in confinement'. We hope Sir George would bring these sentiments of the Sind Musalmans, as requested, to the notice of the Government of India. To His Excellency the Governor we are very thankful for the release of two out of the three Sind Muhammadans interned during the course of the war. The case of Moulana Mahomed Saleh also deserves sympathetic consideration. He is the only Sindhi Musalman who is now passing his days under lock and key at Karáchi; and we do not think his case papers have even been examined by any Committee. The Government of India solemnly promised that it would order the revision of the cases of all the detenus. We do not think the Moulana's connection with his people is ever likely to be a danger to the country. He has suffered now much and for a long time, and his lot has been harder than that of any other Sind Musalman detenu. The maintenance allowance given to his family is too scanty to be described and no attention seems to have been paid to the hard times his family members are having particularly in these days of scarcity..... We are indeed glad at such an assurance, but what we are really anxious to know is the cause of the silence of the Government of India to tell us all that, in a frank communique. No one can deny that our community is entitled to a greater measure of active sympathy than has of late been in evidence, by reason of heroic and ungrudging sacrifices it has made during the late war. The number of Muslim British subjects is so vast that it fully deserved a representative at the Peace Conference and since there is no one in Paris, from amongst us, to press our opinion, we may be excused if we ask the Government of India to tell us frankly, in order to alleviate our anxiety, the ways and means adopted by it to keep the Peace Conference fully informed of the views of a vast portion of humanity. We trust Sir George will not forget that Sind Muhammadans have requested him to use his good offices in this behalf with a view to preserve the integrity of Islam and of the Turkish Empire; and though His Excellency has not specifically referred to this very important request in his reply, yet we take it as due more to want of time than to any desire to remain uncommitted. Undoubtedly it is the Peace Conference to which we have ultimately to look for decisions, but our sole anxiety at

present is that Britain should stand by the wishes of her Musalman subjects and it is in this connection that Sind has requested his Excellency to use his good offices. We think it very necessary to tell His Excellency, if he has not already been told by the Honourable Mr. Lawrence, that Sind Musalmans like the Musalmans of other provinces are keenly feeling the suggestions made by Sir Valentine Chirol and his followers and it is very necessary, in the interests of the Empire, that their activities should be put a stop to, without any loss of time, by the Home Government." [*Al-Amin* remarks:—The demands made by the Muhammadan Association to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay were all very reasonable. His Excellency's reply was marked by moderation and was suitable. It appears that the first gracious act of His Excellency's reign is the release of our two young men (probably Sheik Abdul Majid and Moulvi Mahomed Sadik). If His Excellency's kindness continues at this rate then we may be sure that much will be done for the benefit of our community. We therefore both on behalf of ourselves and of our community cordially greet and welcome His Excellency.]

His Excellency the Governor at Hyderabad (Sind).

Home Ruler (5), 22nd Feb.

22. The special correspondent of the *Home Ruler* writes from Hyderabad (Sind):—"The visit of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd to Hyderabad must be regarded as a notable event. Sir George appears to have made a good impression on the public mind. He is evidently a very broad-minded statesman and one who is anxious to do his level best by acquainting himself with facts and the views of different schools. Before he came, there was some excitement among a section of the younger generation over the refusal to receive an address from the Citizen's Association so much so that some wanted the shops in the Bazar to be closed during His Excellency's passage through. But when His Excellency came, a different feeling began to prevail. It had been announced on the previous day, to the satisfaction of all people, that some leading citizens including the Secretary of the Citizens' Association and the Chairman of the protest meeting had been invited to meet His Excellency for a talk about the needs and grievances of the city..... The interviews given were of course of a private character and nothing definite is known of what passed thereat. But whatever can be gathered from the attitude and demeanour and hints of the interviewers, does credit to His Excellency's head and heart. One incident that occurred on His Excellency's passage through the Bazar brought out his high-mindedness in strong relief. The boys of the National School were out on the street to greet His Excellency and as he came near, they cried out *Bande Mataram* and *Bharat-Mata-ki-jai* to which His Excellency responded by doffing his hat and waving it with a smile."

Sind Vási (54), 15th Feb., Eng. cols.

23. "We are grateful to His Excellency for visiting this province so soon after his assumption of office. This shows that His Excellency is not prepared to neglect or to treat Sind as a step child..... If His Excellency cares to go into things the problem that will first confront him will be that of congestion, a problem which we think can only be solved by the removal of the Cantonment from its present site to the Ganja hill or some other place. For there is no room for expansion either on the north or east of the town. Nor is there much Government land on the other side of the railway station on the south. The little that there is, cannot be made use of for dwelling purposes without meeting various difficulties. Thus the only direction in which the town can expand is that of the west, provided the Cantonment is removed from there. The other question to which His Excellency will have to address himself is that of underground drainage on which depends the improvement of the health of the town. These measures will require large funds and the Municipality must borrow money as well as obtain grants from Government to meet the expenditure. The people of this town have hopes in the Government of His Excellency. If His Excellency gets the Municipality of this town a large sum from the allotment for Sanitary grants, the people will be very grateful to His Excellency."

24. "The grievances of Indian businessmen have been brought forward from time to time, and in all these cases the step-motherly attitude of the Government of India towards them has been proved to the hilt. Even the German and the Japanese merchants have enjoyed better privileges in matter of trade than Indians in their own country. It was the supreme hope of the Indian business community that with the establishment of responsible government in India, not merely in the departments of Education and Sanitation in the Provinces, but also in the Government of India, with the securing of fiscal freedom and of even partial control by popular representatives over the finances, their position would improve and they would be placed at least on an equal footing with the alien merchants for the exploitation of the resources of their land. This was a legitimate expectation which has unfortunately been dashed to the ground by the unequivocal declaration of the Viceroy. While the cry has been by Indians 'India for Indians,' the advent of the reforms will not secure even equal treatment for Indian enterprise. In view of this, the Government might have saved us from the mummery of the Indian Industrial Commission. By what he has said the Viceroy has in one stroke annihilated any improvements in this direction which the Indian public expected from the carrying out of the recommendations of the Indian Industrial Commission.... ..... The Viceroy refers specifically to predatory and regulative legislation, the 'neglect of transport and proposals of' provincial taxation. We remember the agonised protests of one of the prosperous Anglo-Indian merchants of Calcutta against taxing him for educating the children of the Babus. These men who grow fat by under-paying Indian labour and who give nothing in return to this country and the sons of the soil except insults and contumely are now out to oppose all constitutional schemes simply because their activities might be regulated on the lines of modern industrial legislation in civilised countries or because they may be taxed for national improvements. And now, since blood is thicker than water, one of the authors of the Reforms Report explains his intentions in this regard..... The interests of European capital are making a close alliance with the obstructionists of the Indian Civil Service and at their bidding it is sad to note that the Viceroy is 'whitting down' to use the word of Babu Surendranath Banerjea, the reform scheme..... The Viceroy went over the whole gamut of protection which British commercial interests would enjoy. If a Minister made a proposal, however fair it might be, it would meet first with the opposition of the Provincial Governor. The Governor will be sent from England with an instrument of instruction in which will be written in large type that he is responsible for the protection of these interests..... As to how British interests are affected by any particular legislation would be made clear by their representatives in the provincial Councils, and since the Europeans in spite of their hopeless minority must be heard, this tribune of the white Marwaris would be able to go behind all the constitutional machinery to secure the safety of his own constituents from salutary regulation and just taxation. We repeat that this is a programme which can never be tolerated by the Indian public who would prefer bureaucratic government as it is now, rather than the mere shadow promised to them. No grievance is so palpable as that which involves the exclusion of Indians from large industries and from the exploitation in connection with the forests, the mines, the plantations and other resources of the country. National life cannot be built upon merely the ballot box and the energy that can devise inprovements in all directions can only be drawn by the successive opening out of opportunities for Indian enterprise, where practical men could be drawn out of the great school of experience. A mere adjustment of administrative machinery while leaving the economic life of the country untouched would never solve the problem, and unless it is made clear that equal, if not better, opportunities would be given for the sons of the soil in trade and industry, the reforms will not be worth having."

His Excellency the Viceroy's opening speech in the Delhi Session of the Imperial Legislative Council.

Young India (15), 26th Feb.

25. "On previous occasions we have shown to what extent in the organisation and working of the Indian Munitions Board the interests of the country have been sacrificed. The reply, which the Honourable Mr. Patel elicited at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council on Wednesday regarding the personnel of the Board, reveals to what scandalous extent this huge department has become the preserve of Europeans and Anglo-Indians. The reply stated:—'Excluding the Accounts Staff at the head of which is an Indian, the officer personnel of the Indian Munitions Board consisted at the beginning of the present month of 365 Europeans and Anglo-Indians, 18 part-time European and Anglo-Indian officers in receipt of pay and four Indians. Another Indian officer left the staff a few months ago. The majority of the European and Anglo-Indian officers have been borrowed on account of their special qualifications from Government departments and company railways'. So that out of 365 Europeans and Anglo-Indians there are now only three Indians in this department! No wonder Indian capitalists and industrialists constantly complain that their interests are sacrificed to those of their foreign competitors. And this is the department which is to form, under the fostering care of Sir Thomas Holland, the nucleus of the official agency to stimulate indigenous industrial development in the country!"

Criticism of the constitution of the Indian Munitions Department.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Mar.

26. The entry of Turkey into the war specially as against the English was disapproved not only by the Muhammadans of India but also by the Sultan of Turkey and the Turks in general. But the unstatesmanlike pre-war policy of the statesmen of England had given Germany a fine opportunity to have a footing in Turkey, with the result that the shortsightedness of the young Turks, trained in European countries, and the German influence forced the Government into the conflict, a step which it is useless now to bemoan. Now, however, the eyes of the Islamic world are fixed on the Peace Conference. But the speeches made and the hints thrown out by some European statesmen like Lord Cecil, which have from time to time become the subject of discussion in the Press, have needlessly disturbed the peace of the mind of the Moslem world and have wantonly given a blow to its patience and forbearance. However great a well-wisher of the British Government he may be and however beneficial for the British Government his suggestions in his own opinion may be, Lord Cecil should have remembered that offensive expressions such as his even before they could be translated into deeds would create distrust in the minds of (certain) loyal subjects of the British Government towards that Government. And, God forbid, if the Peace Conference arrives at the decision which has already been arrived at by Lord Cecil, the Islamic world will have reason to think that the British Government had a hand in the destruction of Turkey, a proceeding not desirable in view of Britain being a great Moslem power. Lord Cecil and others of his way of thinking should always think of the Muhammadan subjects of the Empire. The recent distressing speeches made by peace-loving leaders like Hakim Ajmal Khan, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Delhi Congress, and Dr. Ansari unmistakably show that Lord Cecil's remarks have compelled even these to open their mouths. Mr. Fazlul-haq may be a spirited Muhammadan but the severity of his speech was the result of Lord Cecil's impolitic utterance. If statesmen like Lord Cecil are at the helm of the British Government, the patience and endurance of the Indian Muhammadans will surely be injuriously affected. We would therefore request the Government, if the contentment of the people is regarded as of any value to the Government, to seal the tongues of such rash men who injure the feelings of its subjects by needlessly expressing opinions on questions which are still pending and which are to be decided by no individual. We are sure that our Government will never be found taking part in any movement which is likely to injure the feelings of a section of its subjects of acknowledged loyalty and that the opinion of Lord Cecil does not reflect the opinion of Government. Even the appointment on the League of Nations of Lord Cecil

The Indian Muhammadans and the future of Turkey.
Musáfir (146), 1st Feb.

who has needlessly created distrust and unrest among Muhammadans in India was an unstatesmanlike act. It is hoped that the Government will also think of this.

27. "A party has arisen in South Africa which wishes to separate from the Union, and naturally it follows that it wishes to separate from the Empire. It is republican. What has the South African Union done? Does it treat this as a domestic question? Does it stamp out the movement? No. It allows the Nationalist deputation to proceed to Europe to lay its case before the Peace Conference. Here is a party that wishes to sever its connection with the Empire. It is freely allowed to go to Europe and approach the Conference. And there is India anxious to be within the Empire, solicitous of maintaining the British connection and only desirous of claiming the equal rights of a partner. She is not allowed to send her non-official deputation to the Peace Conference. Mr. Montagu does not even want Lala Lajpat Rai in England, till Peace is signed as if Lala Lajpat Rai would endanger Peace or come in the way of the Convention being signed. Mr. Tilak, unanimously elected as a delegate by the Congress to the Peace Conference, is not allowed to go to Paris. Why is Mr. Montagu so nervous about allowing the real representatives of India to approach the Peace Conference, loyal and faithful as they are to the Empire? Let him take courage by the example of the South African Government at least, which does not at all seem to be afraid of even a republican deputation."

Real representatives of India should be admitted to the Peace Conference.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th Feb.

28. President Wilson's League of Nations is very much better than the Vienna Peace Congress of 100 years back. The ruling principle of the former is the rights of the people in accordance with the principle of self-determination whereas the guiding principle of the latter was the divine right of kings. At the time of the Vienna Congress there was no force created to enforce its principle; now President Wilson has created such a force. But as a distinction between the fit and the unfit has been made in President Wilson's scheme it is likely to promote rather than put a stop to economic conflict. As many Muhammadan territories are to fall to the lot of England and of India on behalf of England, and as India will be responsible for quelling rebellions therein, though military expenditure may be reduced in Europe, there is a possibility of its increase in India. The Peace Conference will thus put a great strain on the finances of India. Economic conflict is due to land-hunger and though President Wilson has checked this desire, he has upheld it in a way by approving of the distinctions between the fit and the unfit. President Wilson also proposes international labour legislation. Just as the Alliance of 1814 was broken up by France and England acting against its main principle, there is a great possibility of the new League of Nations being broken up on the question of labour in a generation or two. There is a conflict between labour and capital in Russia at present and as Russia is the neighbour of Hindus and Muhammadans the difficulties of the League are likely to harass India all the more. The principle of self-determination will encourage the *swarájya* agitation and so far the League will be helpful to India. But the distinctions of the unfit and the fit, the responsibility of maintaining peace in Muhammadan territories and the neighbourhood of Russia which encourages labour quarrels will make the League harmful rather than beneficial to the interests of India.

Possible effect on India of the formation of a League of Nations.
Kesari (114), 25th Feb.

29. President Wilson's intention of having peace for the whole world in future by the establishment of a League of Nations, is not likely to be fulfilled as can be seen from the articles of the covenant of the League of Nations. The arrangement of putting the backward colonies under the mandatories of the neighbouring progressive and self-governing nations is such as would leave no scope for consulting the wishes of the people thereof. Thus the principle of self-determination has almost disappeared. That no

Praja Bandhu (29), 23rd Feb.; *Gujaráti Punch* (20), 23rd Feb.

reference is made with regard to the self-determination of countries like India, Ireland and Egypt is its greatest defect. In short, there is no prospect of improvement in the present state of things by the establishment of this League of Nations. [The *Gujarâti Punch* also writes in the same strain.]

30. "Ministers in England are racking their brains about the question of Territorials in India. Major Guest, replying on behalf of Government, admitted the urgent and speedy necessity of relieving Territorial battalions in India and the Far East. He hinted that relief troops were being mobilised in England and foreshadowed some delay. The War Minister, Mr. Churchill, also referred to the increased rate of recruiting which would enable him to relieve the Territorials earlier. We are afraid the Government of India are again missing one of the golden opportunities to create a real Territorial army in India of Indians. Why should not the Territorials be replaced by Indian battalions? Why are the University Corps hanging fire? Has not the Great War yet taught the Government of India that they should revise their policy in this connection and that India should be made a self-sufficient unit in all respects? The defence of India should be left to Indians, and Indians have proved their mettle beyond doubt to deserve this much confidence and trust!"

The Territorials in India should be replaced by Indian Battalions.
Bombay Chnroicle (1), 25th Feb.

31. "Lord Curzon, whose eloquence has been one of his assets in political life, grew grandiloquent in the House of Lords last week in describing the record of the British in Mesopotamia. Their Lordships were told the progress in Mesopotamia in irrigation and agriculture, the introduction of agricultural machinery, the education of children and the general development of the country had been amazing. More had been accomplished, said Lord Curzon, in two years than had been done in the preceding five centuries; but do the children of the soil in Mesopotamia find all this so exhilarating? We do not know that they are awaiting in happy expectation the arrival of the European merchants to develop, in the interests of the 'natives' of the country, no doubt, its natural resources. Soon Mesopotamia will be an India in miniature, and we fully expect the English will work out in that land what they have taken a century to achieve in India. What the people of Mesopotamia will say of the work of the Briton in their country will not matter much until they become fully aware of their permanently inferior position."

Mesopotamia will become an India in miniature.
Young India (15), 26th Feb.

32. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* is of opinion that India, which is struggling to get *swarájya* and the power of self-determination, should in no circumstance take upon itself the duties and responsibilities of becoming a mandatory for Mesopotamia and East Africa on behalf of the League of Nations. It is afraid that while India will be burdened with the expenses of developing those countries it will only be made a tool in the hands of England for exercising autocratic power. It believes that the administration of the countries referred to will be carried on on the lines of the non-regulation provinces in India and calls upon Indians to ask the League of Nations through the Government of India not to make India the mandatory for Mesopotamia or East Africa. [In a subsequent issue the paper refers to the sudden return of President Wilson to America to soothe the Americans who have commenced to regard the appointment of mandatories in respact of enemy countries such as Mesopotamia and German East Africa as a direct violation of the principle of 'no annexations and no indemnities' announced by President Wilson at the time of joining the war and to resent the large number of representatives on the League given to the British Empire and the Allies as it might lead the other nations into a war against their own wishes. The *Deshodaya* substantially reiterates the fears of the above paper in the matter of India being burdened with additional responsibilities without any counterbalancing advantages by being made a mandatory for Mesopotamia and East Africa.]

India should refuse to become a mandatory for Mesopotamia and German East Africa.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 24th and 26th Feb.; *Deshodaya* (68), 25th Feb.

33. Referring to the appointment of the I. M. S.'s Reorganisation Committee the *Home Ruler* remarks :—" No one is able to understand why an official announcement has not been made with regard to the creation or constitution of the Committee. We do not yet know who are to be the members of the Committee; we only know this from the *Pioneer* that it is to be presided over by Sir Verney Lovett. We do not know beyond a few names, as to who are to be the witnesses; nor whether the sittings of this Committee will be *in camera*. The whole thing has been done in a manner as if it was absolutely no affair of the public. Shall we remind the Government, that for the last 25 years the educated public opinion in the country has been emphatic against the existing arrangements of recruitment, etc., in the I. M. S., debarring Indians almost entirely from it?..... Suffice it to say that this monopoly for European recruitment has continued and even the majority of the Public Services Commission have shown their reluctance to open the field for Indians. But it seems now that the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Seheme proposes to grant 'a large measure' of provincial autonomy, Medical Service in all probability is going to be one of the transferred subjects. Has even this disturbed the peace of the selfish bureaucracy? It seems here also as in all other important departments, our gentle bureaucrats propose to retain their former supremacy in monopolising the higher I. M. S. Any way, the 'hole and corner' manner in which the above Committee of Enquiry has been decided upon, does not augur well at all for the people and it is our duty to enter our emphatic protest against the secret manner in which things are proposed to be done by the Government."

Comments on the committee appointed for the reorganisation of the Medical Services in India.

Home Ruler (5), 22nd Feb.

34. " The most outstanding characteristic of the Indian administration is its superlatively leisurely way of doing things, but this leisureliness does not affect anything which results in increasing the pay, power and prestige of the bureaucracy. The remarkably rapid manner in which the pay of the *Imperial* Police and Medical Services has been increased is a case in point. It is characteristic of our foreign administration that while India is the poorest country on the earth its administration is by far the costliest. The Viceroy costs the Indian taxpayer twice as much as President Wilson costs the American taxpayer; a Lieutenant-Governor draws considerably more than the Premier of England; Mr. Lawrence costs as much as a cabinet minister and so on. But extravagantly lavish as the scale of salaries is it seems that the bureaucracy is still thoroughly dissatisfied with it, and in response to their 'grievances' there has been a substantial increase. But while the Imperial service is thus pampered, the subordinate services are miserably underpaid with the result that it naturally ends in corruption, oppression and inefficiency. The Police and Medical Services demanded a rise not because they were underpaid on their merits but because they were underpaid in comparison to the I. C. S. But in that case the remedy is that the salaries of the I. C. S. should be duly curtailed and not that the other services should be proportionately overpaid. But it will appear as a rank blasphemy to the I. C. S. that their salaries should be curtailed, and as the I. C. S. run the whole show it has resulted in their permitting the other services also to help themselves. It is a very commendable spirit of live and let live that the I. C. S. has displayed and we are sure their brothers in the other services must be duly thankful to get a little extra remuneration for carrying the white man's burden in this heathen land."

Comments on the increases in the pay of the I. M. S. and the Indian Police service.

Home Ruler (5), 22nd Feb.

35. The *Kesari* complains that while hands getting low pay are neglected, the scale of pay drawn by officials getting salaries by thousands has been revised many a time. Lately, it says, the I. M. S. has been given an increment of 33 per cent. The Public Service Commission, continues the paper, had recommended an increase of 10 to 12 per cent. and Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim was against even this much. It concludes by remarking that the amount paid by Government to big officials excites great indignation.

Kesari (114), 28th Feb.

36. "While the recommendations of the Public Services Commission with regard to increased employment of Indians, which had already fallen out of date before they were published, are being yet considered, its recommendations relating to increased salaries of the European-manned services are being carried into effect, and are being improved upon..... The Commission recommended, for assistant superintendents of police, the scale of Rs. 300-50—400-50/2—600 a month. Now the Secretary of State starts them on Rs. 350. The scale for deputy inspectors-general, recommended by the Commission, was Rs. 1,500—100—2,000. It had previously been recommended by the Police Commission also, but was disallowed by Government as more liberal than was justified. But the Secretary of State makes it Rs. 1,600—100—2,000. While no doubt this increment will tend to remove the 'genteel poverty' of the police ranks, has the Government considered whether it is what the economic condition of India warrants? We cannot help considering that it is not."

Servant of India (9), 27th Feb.

37. A correspondent writes to the *Kesari*:—The scale of pay of vaccinators fixed in the year 1870 is still continued even in these abnormal times. In every district there is only one post of first grade vaccinator carrying a salary of Rs. 24 and the vaccinators have been deprived of their chance of getting Inspectorships, as Inspectors are now recruited from amongst the men who have passed an examination in hygiene. In reply to the Honourable Mr. Desai's interpellation put six months after the Government Resolution sanctioning the increase in the pay of vaccinators, it was stated that the matter was referred to Local Boards. Although it is now 11 months since the issue of the Resolution, the vaccinators are not in receipt of the increased pay. Clerks in other departments have been getting war allowance since January 1918 but it is not known why the vaccinators should not get it. The scale of these men should at least be fixed as follows: 1st grade Rs. 60, 2nd grade Rs. 40 and 3rd grade Rs. 25; and there should be at least 6 posts carrying 1st grade salaries in each district.

Pay of vaccinators should be increased.
Kesari (114), 25th Feb.

38. Hands in the Telegraph Department are paid greater salaries than those employed in the Postal Department but these postal hands replacing telegraph hands who had gone on war duty are not paid the pay of the place but only an allowance of Rs. 5. If temporary hands are employed they are paid daily an allowance of Rs. 1-8-0 to Rs. 2. Military hands employed get a daily allowance of Rs. 1-4-0. But the postal hand doing the same work is given a monthly allowance of Rs. 5. In this way the Telegraph Department by making postal hands work on smaller pay has saved 110 lakhs. Postal hands if they want transfer to the Telegraph Department are asked to begin on the last place, disregarding their service. The higher officials have not taken into consideration the pay given to postal peons, overseers, runners, etc. Instead of waiting for detailed complaints from every Department Government should increase the scale of pay all round and remove all complaints.

Alleged injustice to postal hands working in the Telegraph Department.
Kesari (114), 25th Feb.

39. It was generally expected that His Excellency the Viceroy himself would enumerate the steps that were going to be taken by Government to mitigate the hardships caused by the prevailing famine. He, however, entrusted the task to Sir Claude Hill whose speech at the Imperial Legislative Council meeting will not fail to disappoint those who hoped to find in it some indication of the measures which Government mean to adopt to relieve the sufferings of the people. We have repeatedly drawn attention to the heavy freight charges for Burma rice. Although these have been somewhat reduced of late they still compare unfavourably with those for wheat from Australia. Sir Claude does not deny the existence of widespread misery but he attributes it to the situation created by the war and remarks that on the whole India

Comments on the Honourable Sir Claude Hill's statement regarding the famine position in India.
Dnyán Prakásh (37), 25th Feb.; *Sanjaya* (125), 26th Feb.

is much better off than most other countries which have taken part in the war. Apart from the many other sacrifices made by India during the war the present scarcity is primarily due to the export of food-grains from this country to England and the other Allied countries. It is scant consolation to be told that other nations also are suffering as much as we do. It is really painful that Sir Claude could not resist the temptation of saying, in spite of our present sufferings, that on the whole India emerged scatheless from the ordeal of war. [The *Sanjaya* also expresses dissatisfaction with the statement made by the Honourable Sir Claude Hill.]

Sánj Vartamán (32), 22nd Feb.

40. Commenting on the Honourable Sir Claude Hill's statement in connection with famine and the high prices prevailing in the country, the *Sánj Vartamán* declares that Sir Claude has failed to take into account the two important factors—the comparative poverty of the Indian peasantry and the failure of the monsoon in some parts of the country —which have aggravated to a great extent the already abnormal conditions entailed by the war. The paper considers it obligatory on Government to take steps to bring down the present prices of foodstuffs and to make arrangements for buying large stocks of wheat, rice, gram, etc., and supplying them to the poor and middle classes at cheaper rates. It asks Government to publish statistics of tagavi distributed, famine works and poor houses opened and suspensions and remissions granted up to the present so that the public may be in a position to know the nature and extent of the relief obtained by the agriculturists.

Comments on the Government Press Note on famine in the Presidency.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 27th Feb.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 27th Feb.; *Bombay Samáchár* (63), 28th Feb.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 27th Feb.

41. Commenting upon the last Government Press Note on famine in the Bombay Presidency, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* asks Government to take note of the feeling of self-respect latent in the Indian mind, as is manifested by the reluctance of the people in famine-stricken districts to resort to relief works. It asks Government to take stock of the foodstuffs and fodder available for the Presidency and to take a census of the people and cattle so as to be in a position to meet the situation. It also calls upon them to commandeer steamships for importing rice from Burma and to fix the freight as low as possible. In the end it thanks them for the measures they have taken to provide housing accommodation in Bombay for beggars and persons unfit to work. [The *Sánj Vartamán*, while thanking Government for the measures they have taken to alleviate the suffering entailed by famine, asks them to declare famine in all the districts where only scarcity has been declared. It doubts whether the provisions of the Famine Relief Code are sufficient to meet the present situation and suggests the desirability of raising the wages of labourers working on relief works. The *Bombay Samáchár* also thanks Government for the Press Note and asks them to make enquiries as to why the food grains that are controlled by them are sold in an adulterated state and also why prices have not gone down in spite of the reduction in freight on rice from Burma and the removal of inter-provincial restrictions. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* asks Government either to remove their control altogether or to make it really efficient.]

Comments on Mr. Yajnik's reply to the Government Press Note on his strictures on famine relief in Kaira District.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th Feb.

42. "On Saturday we referred to the extraordinary Press Note issued from the Bombay Secretariat seeking to refute the statements regarding the maladministration of famine relief in Dohad Taluka made by Mr. Yajnik in his letter which appeared in our issue of the 15th instant. The tone of the Press Note was as stupid and offensive as the matter contained in it was irrelevant and absolutely inadequate as a satisfactory reply to Mr. Yajnik's statements. Further, the Press Note was remarkable no less for what it did not say than for what it blundered in saying. In fact, the suppression of truth of which its compilers were responsible was much more reprehensible than the inaccuracies which

they unblushingly perpetrated. Altogether, the document was a rare product of Secretariat ineptitude, slovenliness and callousness. That is a conclusion to which no man of ordinary intelligence, who read it in conjunction with Mr. Yajnik's letter, could help arriving. Ordinarily such a Press Note, which carried its own condemnation, would not deserve any reply from a self-respecting person. However, since the issues involved in it affect the lives of the suffering and starving poor in a famine-stricken area, Mr. Yajnik has done a distinct public service in bringing home his indictment in a letter which appears elsewhere. We do not wish to weary our readers by a recapitulation of the salient points in Mr. Yajnik's crushing rejoinder. There are, however, one or two points which need emphasis. There is first the audacious attempt on the part of the Secretariat scribes to mislead the public by lumping together fact and fiction about Jalod with those about Dohad though the points at issue in Mr. Yajnik's original letter referred only to the latter, with the obvious object of giving an air of truth to the Press Note. This sort of juggling with facts and figures is characteristic of Secretariat methods. But that even the Secretariat scribes should resort to such a method in regard to a most serious matter affecting the lives of thousands of human beings and their cattle is a measure of the sense of irresponsibility with which such matters are dealt with. Thus it is not merely that Government have been guilty of a most undignified attempt to save the face of local officialdom—an attempt that has failed miserably—but they have also exposed to the public view, what was known only to a few, namely, the most perfunctory, or rather, negligent, manner in which the work of famine relief is being directed. Mr. Yajnik says 'the Press Note evidently contents itself by informing the public about the general orders that have been passed but does not deal with their actual breach in the Dohad Taluka.' Government, or rather the Secretariat officials, did not do this because they themselves did not know of the actual breach. For they are under the delusion that their business begins and ends with either giving orders or receiving reports. The 'men on the spot' are always to be implicitly trusted. Like the King they can do no wrong. It seems to be nobody's business to see that the orders given from above are carried out fully and properly or critically to examine the reports of work done. If the people who are placed in the charge of these petty local autocrats ever grumble, their complaints are forwarded by the Secretariat bureaucrats to the local autocrats for disposal. Thus the vicious circle of irresponsibility moves on!"

Necessity of starting famine relief works in the Sirur Taluka, Poona.
Kesari (114), 25th Feb.

43. A correspondent writes to the *Kesari*:—As the severity of the famine in the Sirur Taluka (Poona) has been growing more severe, free cattle-kitchens have been opened at Shirur-Ghodnad and Talegaon-Dhamdhere and the starting of similar kitchens at Koregaon and Ranjangaon is also under contemplation. If relief works are started in villages, they will prove convenient to labourers as thereby they will not be required to go to distant places for work and the villages can be easily improved. At Talegaon itself there is work, of cleaning the town, enough for 300 men to last for three months. It will be easily done if the assistance of prominent people in the town is sought.

Comments on the Viceroy's and the Secretary of State's pronouncements with regard to the Arms Act.
New Times (8), 27th Feb.

44. "The Viceroy's reference in his speech at the opening of the Imperial Council to the Committee's recommendation as to the modification of the Arms Act reminds one of the poverbial mountain in labour. His Excellency gave 'his most anxious cousideration to a subject that bristles with many difficulties' and made certain recommendations 'that will not satisfy all'. And now we have heard from the mouth of Mr. Montagu that arms regulations are to be issued 'abolishing all racial distinctions and enabling all persons of *recognised status and character* to obtain licenses.' But this does not lead us far. The order concerning the abolition of all racial distinctions, like the Queen's Proclamation, may prove to be good in theory but poor in practice. For the Magistrates who are to issue the licenses may be trusted to take good care to see that the

bar sinister continues! What Indians wanted was the complete doing away with the Arms Act. Who will be satisfied with the present half-hearted concession?"

Comments on the enhancement of the security from the *Sanjaya* Press in Bombay.

Rájakáran (123), 23rd Feb.

45. The arbitrary manner in which the provisions of the Press Act are being enforced is a clear warning to non-official members to oppose a tyrannical piece of legislation at its very inception. Such a measure is like a reptile and must be crushed at its birth. There may be no lack of assurances when a tyrannical law is being enacted but they must not be taken too seriously. The late Mr. Gokhale gave his consent to the passing of the Press Act relying on the assurances of Government, but these are all now completely thrown overboard. The recent orders demanding an enhanced security from the *Sanjáya* is an instance in point. The security was enhanced not because the conductors of the paper were guilty of any offence but because the Police suspected that Mr. A. B. Kolhatkar was in some way connected with the paper. Indeed such cases do not redound to the prestige of Government. The present case will also help our non-official members in determining their attitude towards the Rowlatt Bills.

Home Ruler (5), 22nd Feb.

46. "We wonder how with these recurring oppressions, the press in India is to grow equal to its obligations and to perform its duties to the country. It has been shown times without number that journalistic enterprise in this country (we mean Indian and National Journalism of course) is of an extremely speculative character and with these heavy demands of securities which can be promptly forfeited at the sweet will of the executive and other subtle ways of annoyance which it is not necessary to particularise, it is remarkable that Indian journalism has been able to keep its character as a bold and faithful exponent of popular views. But if India is to take her place among the nations of the world as the equal of equals, a free press is the most essential condition which must be immediately fulfilled. What is the good of the reforms if they cannot accord us that elementry right of free men? The fact is that the bureaucratic angle of vision requires to be substantially changed and, if those at the head shirk this obvious fact, we had best prepare ourselves for a total failure of the reforms."

Chandrodaya (35), 24th Feb.

47. Referring to the *Sanjaya* Security Case the *Chandrodaya* remarks that the Chief Presidency Magistrate ordered that a security of Rs. 2,000 be deposited even when there was nothing objectionable in the *Sanjaya*. The Press Act is a plastic measure which can be converted to any use as the Magistrate wills. Till it is repealed the Press proprietors will not be free from the increasing harassment of the Act.

Publication of the *Sanjaya* temporarily stopped.

Sanjaya (125), 28th Feb.

48. The *Sanjaya* announces that as the amount of security deposited by it has been raised from Rs. 500 to Rs. 2,000 and as it was not able to find the requisite amount by the 28th of February, it has had to suspend publication and adds that it will resume publication very soon.

Government of India should see that no injustice is done to the Indian labourers in Ceylon.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th Feb.

49. "Mr. Peri Sunderam, Bar.-at-Law, writing in a Ceylonese paper, says:—'The Report of the Immigration Labour Committee has been before the Government for some time and is now being circulated confidentially among the Committee members of the Planters' Association.'..... If it is true that the Report of the commission was circulated confidentially among the committee members of the Planters' Association though it has not yet been issued to the public, a more deplorable instance of official ineptitude and partiality could not be conceived. There is unfortunately no doubt that the report has actually been circulated..... Having regard to the fact that the report deals with a

matter which vitally affects the welfare of Indian labourers on the Ceylon plantations, the danger of giving opportunity to the planters to influence the decision of the Government before the public knew anything of the matter can hardly be exaggerated. It is amazing that a responsible Government should be guilty of such underhand understandings with a class of employers who, under the guise of free labour, exploit the labour of Indian immigrants under conditions the horrors of which recall the days of slavery..... This state of thing is not unknown to the Ceylon Govegnment. And yet what do we find this Government, who are charged with the responsibility of protecting these labourers, doing? Instead of publishing the Report and giving opportunity to the public to examine and criticise its findings so as to help Government in arriving at a solution that would safeguard the interests of the labourers, they go about their business in a hole and corner manner and collude with the employers. This is a practice as reprehensible as it is unheared of. We trust the Government of India are not too preoccupied with the unholy task of forging new weapons of repression to be unmindful of the plight of Indian labourers in Ceylon and that they will see that immediate representations are made to the Secretary of State and the Colonial Office with a view to prevent the Ceylon Government from doing anything prejudicial to the interests and welfare of the Indian labourers."

50. Commenting upon the sentences passed upon certain Indian merchants at Krugersdorp in South Africa under an old Act, the *Kesari* says:—All this tyranny must have been resorted to in order to drive out Indian merchants from South Africa. The reason advanced for not returning the German Colonies to Germany is that Germans do not take into consideration the interests of the other inhabitants of the Colonies and that they want to ruin them. If, however, we observe the conduct of the South African officials towards Indians up till now, much light is thrown on the question as to how far non-white interests are considered in the British Colonies. And President Wilson not only gives a certificate to such officials but wants to make them trustees of German South (West) Africa. President Wilson does not seem to know the conduct of these trustees in territories already held by them. And the South African Government has begun a new persecution of Indians as if it wanted that old records should not be searched. We do not think that their attempt will ever succeed now that Lord Sinha is Under-Secretary, but the complaints of Indians must reach the ears of right officials and of the Imperial Government. If Indian leaders vigorously do this work, Indians in South Africa will receive justice and they will be freed from the present tyranny.

Treatment of Indian merchants at Krugersdorp in South Africa.
Kesari (114), 25th Feb.

51. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* refers to the sufferings of Indians in South Africa in the past and the practically ineffectual results of the sympathetic efforts made by Lord Hardinge to mitigate their sufferings and to improve their position. It alludes to the telegram sent by the Transvaal British Indian Association to Mrs. Besant in the matter of contemplated legislation to drive out the Indians and expresses the fear that the Transvaal Government will be strengthened by the League of Nations and will continue with unabated vigour to worsen the lot of Indians in that country. It, therefore, exhorts Indians not to take upon themselves any responsibility in the matter of the government of Mesopotamia and East Africa but to concentrate their attention on developing the resources of their own country. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* suggests that a commission should be sent to Transvaal to enquire into the sufferings of Indians in that country.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 24th Feb.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 28th Feb.

***52.** "The telegram of Mr. Aswat to the leaders of all the parties in India seems now to be supplemented, and a message sent to Mahatma Gandhi contains Colonel Shaw's preposterous claims to the effect that the refusal of temporary permits to Indians to enter the Union was accepted by the late Mr. Gokhale as a basis of compromise. Mr. Gandhi in his letter to the *Bombay Chronicle* repudiates this assertion and says that it is 'a libel on

Mahrátta (7), 2nd Mar.

a sacred name'. The only plea, under which men like Colonel Shaw and others sought shelter, having thus been disposed of, there remains then only the naked unabashed policy of 'ruthless extermination' of the Indians from South Africa, or 'to reduce them to a position of hewers of wood and drawers of water'. This is not only grossly insulting and malevolent but it is directly subversive of all the agreements previously arrived at between the Indian settlers and the Union Government, and is thus distinctly a criminal breach of faith. Blood boils in our veins when this insult is flung upon the faces of our brothers there with impunity and under the hoax of a settlement which has no existence! And this is done exactly at the time when there is all the tall talk of 'common bonds', and 'mutual good feelings', and 'closer connection' between Indians and the citizens of the Dominions, and when various attempts are being made to square the differences between several nations! If England cannot settle the disputes between the members of her family, and bring this truculent member to his knees, it is better that she should openly proclaim her incapacity in this matter, and leave the world to judge of her power, and the value of her words. It is simply revolting to see this glaring absurdity of her position, and unless and until the Colonial Secretary and the Government of India bridle this refractory member of the Empire, Indians cannot but accuse her and the Dominion of pure hypocrisy."

53. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* regrets that the grievances of the licensees of country liquor-shops still remain unredressed and wonders why this mismanagement on the part of the Excise Department has not been called into question by the authorities even after so many months. The paper declares that this state of things has been allowed to continue so long simply with a view to shield the defects of Messrs. Carew and Company, and it thinks that the licensees are not in a position to hold out any longer under this state of affairs. The licensees, it adds, have been put to much trouble and hardship since Messrs. Carew and Company undertook to supply liquor. It exhorts Government to move actively in this matter without relying on the reports of the Excise authorities any further and hopes that His Excelleucy the Governor will be pleased to receive a deputation of the licensees and to accede to their request."

Grievances of licensees of liquor-shops in Bombay.

Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 25th Feb.

54. Government disregarded the complaints of the people against draining into the river foul water issuing from the Khánápur distillery. This has the effect of rendering the water absolutely useless either for bathing or drinking purposes and it has practically become a poison even to fishes. After this experience at least, Government should have discontinued the practice of letting foul water into the river. No action has yet, however, been taken even in such a small matter although the question was raised in the Legislative Council. This year there is a shortage of water along with that of grain. Is it right then that in such circumstances the plentiful supply of water that is already available should be rendered useless? Government should remove this grievance if they are satisfied that it is a real one and should arrange to dig on the banks of the river, for temporary use, one big pit for the use of cattle and four large ones for the people. We trust our Collector who is solicitous for the welfare of the people will pay attention to our request.

Complant against allowing waste-water from the Khánápur (Belgaum) Distillery to run into the adjoining river.

Chikitsak (101), 19th Feb.

55. "The Government of Bombay has at last awakened to its duty towards Co-operative Building Societies and we welcome its awakening on the principle of better late than never. It would, however, be more correct to say that the Government is still half asleep and the allotment of five lakhs to be lent out in the whole of Bombay Presidency at 6 per cent., is not exactly a dazzling concession. The rate of 6 per cent. is much too high and if the Government wants to do any real

Comments on the Bombay Government Press Note on the subject of financial aid to Co-operative Housing Societies.

Home Ruler (5), 22nd Feb.

good the rate must be considerably lessened. We are really surprised why the Government should fix such a ridiculously small amount as five lakhs for lending out to co-operative building societies all over the presidency. We believe that the Government does not propose to make it a present to the building societies and so the loan must be very largely increased. With a large sum at small interest lent out to sound concerns, the Government will be doing an infinite amount of good at a nominal and almost negligible cost. We earnestly hope that our suggestions will be properly considered and we are confident that if the pressing character of the housing problem on which largely depends the health of the city populations is properly realized the Government will cease to be parsimonious in this most worthy object deserving all encouragement from enlightened philanthropy."

Suggestion for revising the rules about charging income-tax on the interest of Government Promissory Notes.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 26th Feb.

56. A correspondent writes to the *Bombay Chronicle* :—" Now, that the members of our Imperial Legislative Council are considering the question of the Excess Profits Tax, may I request them to revise the rules about charging income-tax on Government promissory notes. They charge one anna on every rupee of the interest on these notes instead of four pies or five pies or more per rupee according to the fixed scale at which they charge this tax on other incomes. If a person invests in Government securities his only capital of, say, two or three thousand rupees, it is a hardship to him to pay $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. as income-tax, whereas incomes on other heads are charged at less rates. I know of instances where a person is charged at five pies per rupee on his whole income but on his Government promissory notes of Rs. 500 or Rs. 1,000 he is asked to pay one anna per rupee, even though he produces his income-tax receipt before the Treasury Officer. This anomaly should be at once removed as it goes against encouraging lower middle class people to invest in Government promissory notes and is a great injustice to those who have already invested in 3, $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 4 per cent. Government securities."

Complaint about delay in the publication of the report of the Sind *Rasai* Committee.

Home Ruler (5), 22nd Feb.

57. "We are not altogether unfamiliar with the ways and means of our Government to postpone, evade or sometimes quash reports of various committees of enquiry, on the ground of 'public interest.' That 'public interest' has more often than not been discovered to be pure 'self-interest.' We are therefore not at all surprised that the report of the committee to enquire into the Rasai scandal in Sind has not as yet been brought to light although the same was submitted by the committee to the local Government more than six months back. The *Rasai* scandal is an open disgrace. It was clear from the non-official and even official evidence laid down before the Committee that some of the findings of the committee, in spite of its unfavourable constitution, will reveal a most shameful state of affairs in the administration of Sind, by which corruption and oppression have been almost legitimised and even resorted to by some high officials. No wonder then, that the Government should feel diffident in bringing to light by its own findings, the sins of its own men. May we once again ask : where is the Report ?"

Comments on the proceedings of a meeting of the Citizens' Association of Hyderabad (Sind) to protest against the refusal of its address by His Excellency the Governor.

Sind Vdsi (54), 14th Feb.

58. The Citizens' Association of this place as we informed the readers approached the Commissioner in Sind for permission to present an address to His Excellency the Governor on behalf of the city. The Commissioner intimated to the Association that His Excellency had no time to receive an address from that body. Certain members of the Association regarding this as an insult to the Association were angry with the authorities. It was therefore no surprise to us to hear that a public meeting was arranged for Wednesday evening. The meeting was held at the appointed time under the presidency of Mr. Mathradas Ramchand. We

know that a large number of the more sensible of the audience expressed their horror and regret at the proceedings of the meeting. The proceedings of the meeting were such that we are ashamed to refer to them. In the first place the Citizens' Association had no reason to call that meeting—for as observed by the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri several other associations had received replies similar to the one given to the Citizens' Association. Secondly it cannot be argued that the refusal to receive an address from the Citizens' Association was an insult to the City of Hyderabad for an address from the Citizens' Association can hardly be called an address from the people of Hyderabad. Thirdly it was quite possible, a possibility which even Mr. Bhurgri admitted, that the Association's application for permission to present an address was too late for His Excellency to grant it, his programme having already been settled. There was therefore nothing extraordinary in the reply of refusal to offend the Association, and the meeting was uncalled for. At the meeting Mr. Bhurgri praised highly Sir George Lloyd; and we too cannot forget the broad-mindedness and sympathy which from his place in Parliament he showed in the discussion on Indian Reforms. We state on the authority of a man like the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri, that several Civilian officials in high positions are rather displeased at the liberal attitude of His Excellency, and surely a ruler, who is not liked by his European subordinates, must suit us. As will be seen from his recent utterances at Karachi, His Excellency wants to examine the conditions in Sind on the spot and it behoves us to wait and see what His Excellency is going to do for Hyderabad despite the fact that he is reeceiving no address from the people of that city. To call a meeting over small things, to indulge in severe cirticism and to think of adopting extreme measures is simply to bring discredit on ourselves. It is not to be wondered at if a meeting of this nature got out of control..... The first proposition that was moved at the meeting was that 'the meeting protests against the rude reply of the Commissioner saying that the Governor regrets that he has no time for receiving an address from the Citizens' Association'! As an amendment to this proposition it was proposed that the shops in the city should be closed. This amendment was withdrawn when another was moved protesting against the reply of the Commissioner and recommending that the citizens should take no part in the functions connected with His Excellency's visit to the town. When this amendment was being discussed great noise prevailed at the meeting. It too was withdrawn when Mr. Bhurgri made a sober speech and several others expostulated with the audience, although there were several persons present at the meeting who were in favour of the amendment and against the original proposition. Personally we are not prepared to dicuss the merits of the amendments. Nor can we hold that the original proposition was passed by the mere fact of the amendments having been withdrawn although the President high-handedly declared it as having been passed in spite of the protests and cries of "No" "No" of the opposite party.

LEGISLATION.

59. We know of no occasion in the past on which the country with one voice protested against a Government measure. Nor do the Government probably remember any occasion when all the Indian members in a body protested strongly against the efforts of Government to pass repressive legislation. For this the honourable members deserve thanks of their countrymen. At all events in view of so much opposition Government should have abandoned the proposed legislation and thus given proof of its wisdom and statesmanship. It is a pity, however, that the official members for fear of losing their prestige have tenaciously adhered to the legislation with the result that the discontent among the people is greater than ever. It is very strange that the Government did not listen even to those members who had all along supported the Government in fair weather and foul, who had till then stood by the Government in passing repressive laws, in imposing new taxes and in raising crores of rupees for the war, when they, realising the true situation and the in-

Comments on the Rowlatt Bills.
Sind Vási (54), 15th Feb.

opportuneness of the occasion, advised it to have no further repressive legislation. It does not look well for the Government to have adopted this attitude. And those who are jealous of the fair name of the Government are very sorry at it. Sir William Vincent, in view of the strong opposition against the legislation has made one or two concessions which are of no great importance. As we have informed the reader, it was said that the proposed legislation would be in force not permanently but for three years only. But who knows it may have an everlasting life like the Seditious Meetings Act. As it will be a very good weapon in the hands of the executive for punishing those whom they regard as suspects without having to collect evidence for the purpose, the executive may or may not give it up on the expiry of the period of three years..... In short, the proposed legislation is not needed even for three days, let alone three years. If we must have it for three years, we must have an assurance that no attempt will be made to keep it even for a moment after its term of life has expired and that it will be so modified that no innocent man can get into its cluches. The other Bill which was introduced on Monday last is not less but rather more objectionable, because it is intended to be a permanent measure. This Bill makes slight changes in the Indian Penal Code..... Another amendment proposed to be made in the Indian Penal Code is that on the trial of a person for an offence under Chapter VI of the Indian Penal Code, his association with any person who has been convicted of an offence under that Chapter shall be relevant evidence. Take for instance the case of the associates of Mr. Tilak who has been convicted of an offence under Chapter VI of the Indian Penal Code. If these are tried under that Chapter they are sure to be found guilty because of the evidence of their association with Mr. Tilak. This is not all. They may be required to furnish security for their good behaviour for two years and also to confine themselves to any area specified by the Government even though they have furnished the required security. These then are the proposed measures, which the Indian members are vigorously opposing. Let us see what attitude the Government eventually take. All are therefore anxiously awaiting the results of the deliberations of the Select Committee.

***60.** In the course of an article on the Rowlatt Bills, Sir N. G. Chandavarkar writes in the *Indian Social Reformer*:—

Indian Social Reformer (6), 2nd Mar.

"No doubt it is very creditable to Government and manifests its desire to respect constitutional forms, when it comes to the Legislative Council and says: 'True we, the Executive, have power under the Regulation of 1818 and the Governor-General's Ordinance to deal with revolutionary crime. But we do not wish to exercise that power and play the autocrat in disregard of the Legislative Council. We wish to act in the matter in co-operation with the Legislative Council which represents the people.' So far the action of the Government is constitutional because it satisfies the first condition of constitutional Government that its Executive shall not exercise power of a summary and arbitrary character, even when it is imperatively needed in the public interests, unless that power is derived from the Legislature of the time as an emergency power. But there is a *second* condition of constitutional Government equally important for such power to emanate from the Legislature. That *second* condition is that, since the power is needed to make the criminal law more severe than it is and deprive the people of their right to be tried in the ordinary Courts of Justice, according to established rules of law, and since the power is of the nature of arbitrariness, rendered imperative by the nature of the crime to be combated, the Legislature, which is invited by the Executive to give them that power, should be so composed that at least a majority, if not all, of its members shall have no interest in or inducement to make any law, especially a law of this summary and quasi-judicial character, as the Rowlatt Bills, which will not, *in its practical operation* equally affect them or tend to affect them with the governed—that, in other words (to borrow the language of the American Federalists), there must be, between the Legislature and the people for whom it makes such laws, the strongest bond of communion of interests and sympathy of sentiments by which human policy can connect the rulers

and the ruled together, or else 'the Government,' however well-intentioned, 'degenerates into a tyranny.' Now, test the position of the Imperial Legislative Council by the light of the second condition or constitutional principle above stated. While it must be admitted that the Rowlatt Bills have for their object the extermination of revolutionary conspiracies by interning persons suspected by the Executive of that crime without the safeguard of an open judicial trial according to the ordinary criminal procedure, and so guarding the rights and liberties and peace of the people of the Commonwealth, it must be, at the same time, remembered that, as the persons so suspected and therefore interned will be from among the people themselves, the danger of the law—its tendency and scope—affects them all in that everyone of them, whoever or whatever he be, is exposed under the law to the fear and risk of being suspected and interned should the Executive choose to do that. The fear and risk may be groundless, but it is there more or less, more in the case of Indians than Europeans. Therefore, such a law, to have the sanction of Legislature, should be passed by a Legislature, the members of which are connected with the people as being of the people in point of sentiment, interests, inducements and apprehension of danger. 'Nothing,' says Burke, 'is security to any individual but the common interest of all.' Is the Legislative Council as it is now constituted that security? The majority of its members are not of the people. The Indians, who are of the people, are in a minority. The former are indeed conscientious and mindful of the interests of the people, according to their lights. But they form the foreign governing power of the land; they represent the ruling race; and, (to cite Burke again) 'when any community is subordinately connected with another, the great danger of the connexion is the extreme pride and self-complacency of the superior which in all matters of controversy will probably decide in its favour.' Hence the value attached to the Indian opinion in the Council and the solicitude for their support shown by the members of Government in that Council, in particular by Sir William Vincent, the mover of the Bills. That being so, of what use will the Rowlatt Bills be, if in disregard of Indian opposition in the Council, they are passed into law by the British majority in it?..... The Rowlatt Bills, passing into law under such circumstances, will be no different, as to the source of their authority, from the Regulation of 1818 or the Governor-General's Ordinance. In reality they will be the laws of the Executive, though in name only the Legislative Council will be their parent—the voice Jacob's, the hands Esau's. Why place the Legislative Council in this unenviable position? It is these considerations which ought, I think, to move the Indian members to oppose these Bills and decline to take any responsibility for them so long as the Legislative Councils are composed of an official majority and so long as the Government is not *representative* of the people."

61. "'I have no confidence in the deputation. Rowlatt Bills block all progress.' Thus has Mr. Gandhi wired to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, President of the Indian National Congress, in reply to the latter's inquiry as to when he would start for England as a member of the Congress deputation. That brief but characteristic message is symbolical at once of the clamant need and the immediate duty of India. What is that need and what is that duty? To realise this it is only necessary to call to mind the importance of the task on which the Congress deputation is proceeding to England. That task is to win from the British democracy constitutional reforms that will make India feel that she is a free and trusted partner in the British Empire. No generation of Indians was confronted with the responsibility of such a great task as none had a greater chance of triumphantly accomplishing it. For, the greatest war that humanity has waged has ended. The cause—of freedom and justice in every part of the world and for every people—has been won. It only remains to reap the fruits of the victory. Now, while the statesmen of the world are meeting in Paris ostensibly to secure the even distribution of the fruits, if the representatives of India go to England and make her claim heard, it is reasonable to suppose that the claim would be satisfied. There is, however, a rift in the lute. The Peace

Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th Feb.

Conference has already all but thrown overboard the principle of self-determination—the greatest purpose of the war—and the Convention of the League of Nations which has been submitted to it has not been wrongly described as giving the control of the world to 'European monarchs and Asiatic despots.' It may be the Peace Conference may yet see the error of its ways and ultimately prove true and loyal to its original purpose. In that possibility, there is a hope that the constitutional reforms for India would be real and substantial. But that is only a hope. As against this is the stark fact that already the doom of India has been pronounced by her present masters. Of what avail then would that hope be to India even if it were fully realised? The British democracy may give India constitutional reforms; but the British bureaucracy *has almost forged* the most barbarous weapons of repression and coercion. Of what use would any measure of liberty be to India in bondage—except to mock the most sacred sentiments of humanity and to be a perpetual shame to Britain and her Allies? . . . The fetters being threatened at once to be put about her feet, India's clamant need is for her people to rise as one man and resist, with all the constitutional force they can command, the enforcement of this infamous threat. Fortunately the cry of the land has been heard by the people. Throughout the length and breadth of the country the Black Bills have been condemned unequivocally—a condemnation that admits of no compromise, no concession, no modification of any degree and kind. The country demands that the Bills should be dropped altogether. . . . Perhaps in no meeting that has been held in any part of the country was this unanimity, universality and intensity of feeling reflected more impressively than in the meeting over which Sir Dinshaw Petit presided."

*62. Refering to the activities of revolutionaries in Ireland, South Africa, etc., the *Mahrátta* writes:—"All these Governments however are not panic-stricken and faint-hearted as our Government of India is. None of them has appointed a Rowlatt Committee 'to investigate and report on the nature and extent of the criminal conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movement,' and 'to consider the difficulties that have arisen in dealing with such conspiracies and to advise as to the legislation, if any, necessary to enable Government to deal effectively with them'; nor does any of these Governments, so far as we know, consider, like the Government of India, that these movements are 'likely to lead to the commission of offences against the State' even though they are conducted by well-known convicted seditionists like General De Wet, Count Plunkett, De Valera and others! Now why should there be such a difference in the attitude of these Governments and that of the Government of India? The British Government—and especially the Premier of England—are so confident of themselves that they, with supreme magnanimity of mind, allowed the man who had plotted against the life of the Premier to be released on license! The Irish rebels and men like De Wet, who attempted to embarrass the Government in the very midst of the War, were all let loose, and very soon they began to follow the same trade of revolution. And yet there is no attempt to thrust upon the heads of these peoples Bills like the Rowlatt Bills! Why? What is the explanation of this? The only solution of this strange phenomenon can be found in the popular constitutions of those Governments, Ireland excepted. The liberal democratic constitution of the British Parliament, and of the Union Government is a guarantee of their safety and its adaptability to the changed opinions of the people ensures its existence against all revolutionary propaganda. The constitution of Indian Government is the reverse of that of the British and the Union Governments, and its rigidity exposes it to the danger of the revolutionaries. The only way therefore to ensure the lives of the Government and the people here is to broadbase the constitution of Government on the will of the people. It is therefore that reforms, and not repression, is the cry of the people against these Bills. However, it is not that the Government of India are not aware of this. They are not so foolish as not to know that Sir Reginald Craddock has plainly admitted it also in one of his speeches. How can we then say that the Government are ignorant of this solution? And if they know it, how can we explain their reluctance

Mahrátta (7), 2nd Mar.

to drop the repressive legislation? Perhaps it may be that they themselves fear that the Reforms they wish to grant are not adequate to satisfy the minds of the people; and they may therefore be thinking that the dissatisfaction, which is bound to remain by this attitude, can only be nipped in the bud by repression alone. Conciliation with coercion seems to be their motto. They have succeeded in conciliating the moderate section on the point of reforms. There, our Moderate friends have failed and disastrously failed to know this tactics. It is fortunate, however, that they are not going to be won over on the point of repression! If there also they fail to side with us, then the game is won, and all is over. It is only the resolute opposition of the Moderates that is absolutely necessary now. No conciliation on this point, and Government wil be non-plussed. Our Moderate brothers know this, and we hope that they will not play this game which is not worth the candle. Reforms, they know, is the sure antidote to this revolutionary canker, and they therefore must insist on Reforms, more and mere Reforms and nothing else."

Young India (15), 26th Feb.

63. Commenting on the Rowlatt Bills meeting in Bombay, *Young India* refers to the attempt on M. Clemenceau's life and the assassination of the Amir of Afghanistan and writes:—"It is premature to judge, particularly at this distance, with the meagre telegraphic summaries which are being sent to us, about the true inwardness of these events; but there would not be two opinions in this country as to the harm that is done through inevitable reaction by the adoption of similar methods in this country. Everyone who has the interest of real progress at heart would be anxious to do everything in his power to avoid the possibillty of India falling into the grip of these forces, which cannot be excluded by the vigilance of the Custom-house or the military outposts, but which cau only be avoided by a wise and just administration based on law, which respects the sentiments and the feelings of the public. In this connection, it is sad to remark that the Government of India have not yet indicated their intention of stopping their legislative programme in connection with the Rowlatt Bills in spite of the universal outcry against them..... Are the Government of India aware that even a subject population has some self-respect, that not only on matters of religious faith and personal family honour, but even in regard to administration there are certain points in which the people of India will prefer death rather than disgrace arising out of any high-handed interference of this character? A more desperate course than that the Government of India are bent on adopting we cannot imagine..... What is estimated in this world is a natural action on the part of men, but if the Government of India are going to imitate the recklessness of the Tommy in exposing himself with shells flying all round him, if they will play with public opinion when the world-atmosphere is surcharged with revolution and violence, then we fear the consequences would involve grave disaster for this country. ..... No one, who attended the meeting under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Association on last Sunday, who heard the speeches that were made there on that occasion, could prevent himself entertaining the conviction in regard to the utter bankruptcy of the Government of India in the matter of statesmanship even of the ordinary character such as has been known at the capital of this country in the past..... Men, who have been known to be afraid of being seen in any public place with the Home Rulers, who have eschewed Home Rulers from their social clubs, who are afraid of having even business relations with people prominent in the Home Rule movement, now find themselves hand in hand with all former animosities gone, with all other programmes suspended in common opposition to the common danger. Men who had never associated even with the Indian National Congress have now come forward to condemn the action of the Government in unmeasured terms. This is to our mind a happy augury in so far as it destroys our differences; but since we fear the consequences which we have indicated above, we would rather desire that wisdom should prevail at Delhi and that this matter should be put right."

Home Ruler (5), 22nd Feb.

64. Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal contributes a long article to the *Home Ruelr* on the subject of the policy underlying the Rowlatt Bills, in the course of which he writes:—"The real motive of these Bills is, however, not merely to control or eradicate the revolutionary conspiracies in the country, but to put

an effective check upon what the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report call 'unrestrained agitation in India' because the existence of the small revolutionary party makes such agitation a source of serious danger to the Government; it is 'a warning against the possible consequences' of such agitation..... Here we have the whole soul of those two obnoxious Bills fully laid bare before us. There must not be any political education in the country except through such agency that the bureaucracy may be graciously pleased to provide. It means, in plain English, that in future whatever opposition or criticism has to be offered to unpopular or harmful measures or acts of the Government, must be offered through the members of the Legislative Councils, and there must not be any 'outside agitation' in regard to anything that the Government may do. We wonder whether the illustrious authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report believe the people of this country to be so ignorant of the history of the growth and evolution of democratic institutions in the modern world, or even in ancient times, that they will readily swallow all this twaddle; or are they themselves so ignorant of their own national history that they think that what had never happened in their own country will happen in this happy land of ours, and Power will commit suicide for the sake of the people subject to its rule? How did the bonds of freedom expand in Great Britain itself?..... What would have happened in Great Britain itself, though the masses there had more 'political experience' whatever that may mean, than the people of this country are supposed to have, if the Government of the day had tried to put down Chartists and other agitators by such lawless laws as are proposed for the eradication of the revolutionary movement in this country? That would have led to a bloody revolution in Great Britain three-quarters of a century ago..... We must offer every possible resistance to the two obnoxious Bills now before the Viceroy's Council; and should these be passed into law against the unanimous opinion and opposition of every school of Indian Nationalist politicians, then we shall have to seriously think out some constitutional weapon with which we shall have to oppose its administration, whatever may be the suffering or sacrifice that such constitutional and lawful resistance to these lawless laws may involve."

65. "The tooth-and-nail opposition to the Bills not only endangers the reforms, as we pointed out last week, but affords a much-needed encouragement to the inexperienced boys who are prone to be victims of revolutionary guiles. It is the all-powerful sense of themselves being great martyrs to the national cause, the foundations on which India's greatness in the future will stand, that gives the unfortunate young criminals the strength which supports them in their mad careers. The philosophy of the bomb and the pistol, on which anarchism is based, thus finds in these critics exponents and supporters, unwilling in many cases, who are morally responsible for a part of the crimes committed by the political conspirators. In the name of constitutional principles, such critics unconsciously assume the character of the advocates of revolutionary principles. The results are too plain to need recounting. Coercion pure and simple is a dangerous policy, dangerous to the rulers as well as the ruled. But when the Government is willing to concede every degree of liberty which is consistent with the maintenance of law and order, when we find that in spite of the war and the Defence Act we enjoyed as much freedom as any people on the face of the earth, when we find that the prospects of an honourable political career for Indians are brightening up every day and when we know for certain that our political aspirations are steadily and surely in course of realisation, is it not unwise to accuse Government of being desirous of disappointing the people's hopes and to set up extravagant fears of the executive misusing every power given to it and then to threaten with all sorts of agitation which indicate the thinly veiled possibilities of the revolutionary crimes themselves being fomented instead of being checked by the proposed legislation? The leaders of the political classes must bear in mind their own responsibilities in this matter. It is their duty to co-operate with the Government in the suppression of political crime just as it is the duty of Government to see that free and full scope is given to the natural political ambitions of the people. The Government have not so far belied the hopes, the legitimate hopes, of the people. Tkey are fairly on the way to make good the promises given. It is equally the duty of our countrymen to look

Deccan Ryot (4), 27th Feb.

at the question of such legislation as we are considering from the standpoint of the Government themselves. It is trust and confidence in each other which alone will render the growth of responsible Government possible in India. What is the alternative to this? We know that repression does not make the task of the rulers easy. The Government will not benefit by being compelled always to rule with the iron rod in their hands. Nor will the people gain by refusing to co-operate in matters like this. The threats of an uncompromising agitation, with all its hidden possibilities of course, will not avail us aught. It will be a mere frittering away of energies, which are none too abundant, on an agitation which is bound to effect constitutional reforms injuriously. It is not time yet to realise this!"

66. A correspondent writing in the *Rájakáran* says that if the Rowlatt Bills are passed non-official members should resign their seats in the Imperial Legislative Council and people should vigorously put forward the *swadeshi* movement and boycott foreign goods. This will have the effect, the correspondent remarks, of attracting the attention of the people of England to our grievances. [The *Sanjaya* writes that prior to the adoption of the passive resistance movement arrangements should be made to create a strong feeling against the Bills. Government will be compelled to drop the Bills, the paper says, if they are thus opposed by the united voice of the people. The *Kesari* says that the movement against the Rowlatt Bills should not be allowed to flag till both of them are dropped. Even if Government pass them only for a year and press for their acceptance, continues the paper, they should be condemned. For, it says, it is not a question of period but of principle. It would defer consideration of the steps to be taken in case the Bills are passed obstinately after their enactment. The *Chandrodaya* remarks:—Though the people of India have not become like Irishmen Government suppose India to be Ireland and pass severe measures. We have to say therefore with great regret that Government of their own accord are making India an Ireland. Who is able to escape the decree of fate?]

Rájakáran (123), 23rd Feb.; *Sanjaya* (125), 28th Feb.; *Kesari* (114), 25th Feb.; *Chandrodaya* (35), 24th Feb.

67. "The European Association has again appeared upon the scene—this time to moralise on the united Indian opposition to the Sedition Bills, and its statement on this occasion is of a piece with its statement on the reform scheme. Indeed, the views expressed in either are so individual to the Secretary of the Association that it may well be doubted whether they are shared in any degree by the non-official European community in general, for whom the Association professes to speak. We feel confident that the Europeans in India will, as a body, disavow the preposterous opinions propounded in this document, if the question is put to them; and still one wonders that no responsible person from among them has as yet repudiated the monstrosities perpetrated in their name. The accusations levelled in this manifesto against Indians as a whole are too contemptible to require any detailed refutation and may well be passed over in silence; but in ignorant quarters, where the standing of the so-called European Association is not known, it is likely to create mischief, and it may, therefore, not be amiss to notice briefly what it has got to urge against India's politicians."

The European Association on the Rowlatt Bills.

Servant of India (9), 27th Feb.

68. The *Sánj Vartamán* calls upon Government to take into consideration the unanimity of opinion expressed at the public meeting recently called in Bombay under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Association to protest against the Rowlatt Bills, and it appeals to Government to withhold the Bills out of respect for public opinion. It exhorts the people to bring moral force to bear upon Government so that they may be convinced that it is their duty to respect the wishes of the people. It also asks the non-

Comments on the meeting held in Bombay to protest against the Rowlatt Bills.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 24th Feb.; *Hindusthán* (22), 24th and 28th Feb.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 25th and 28th Feb.

official members of the Imperial Legislative Council not to take any responsibility in the matter of passing the Bills upon themselves. [The *Hindusthán* writes :—The very fact that the irresponsible bureaucrats are ready to take the hasty step of enacting these repressive measures shows that they have become intoxicated by power. The autocratic officials have committed the serious blunder of framing the Rowlatt Bills which are fraught with serious consequences to themselves. If Government pay no heed to the warning given to them by the public of Bombay we shall be under the necessity of compelling them to do so. In a subsequent issue the paper asks those who want to resort to passive resistance to warn Government of their intention before taking the step which will inflict untold hardships upon themselves, and it earnestly requests Government to drop the Bills in view of the universal opposition shown against them. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* also asks Government to pay due heed to the well considered opinion expressed at the public meeting held in Bombay and to postpone the consideration of the Bills. In a subsequent issue the paper urges the need of sending a monster petition to Parliament against the passing of the Bills and to test the validity of the Bills by lodging an appeal to the Privy Council in case they are passed into law.]

The Patel Bill and the attitude of the Chambhars towards it.

Jágaruk (43), 22nd Feb.

69. The *Sanjaya* publishes a letter in which it is stated that some people tried to secure the consent of the Chambhars to the Patel Bill by holding before them the inducement that they would thereby get Brahmin girls. But this thing does not require the passing of the Patel Bill. Even without it Chambhars have got Brahmin girls, are getting them and will continue to get them. The Bill is intended to put a stop to such immoral acts. These people don't understand that by opposing it they are indirectly encouraging immorality.

The Excess Profits Tax Bill.

Servant of India (9), 27th Feb.

70. "The proposed tax on excess profits will certainly cause hardship and inconvenience in certain cases, and it is likely that some newly started industries may be adversely affected by it. But we have the assurance of the Finance Member that such cases will be carefully considered, and all sorts of concessions will be granted. We have no doubt that in the Select Committee the bill will undergo suitable modifications and that provision will be made to give relief where it is deserved. Every tax must be just and equitable, and it must be so assessed and collected that it will not hamper the industrial development of the country. With these precautions taken, the tax on excess profits will be rid of its undesirable features and no one can fairly take objection to it. The agitation against the tax has, however, been mainly against its principle, and we are constrained to observe that many of those who have led the opposition have been carried away by the interests of a small class in disregard of the interests of the public as a whole. It is to be hoped that when the Bill emerges from the Select Committee stage, it will prove acceptable to the Council and that its passage will be smooth except for any critieism that may be offered on details. The Bill may be said to be somewhat of a test by which the public will judge the principles which animate non-official members of the Viceregal Council in the matter of financial legislation, and we hope the public will have no cause for complaint in this matter."

Kesari (114), 25th Feb.

71. Why was not the Excess Profits tax levied before? Those jute manufacturers who paid 70 per cent. dividend on account of the war should have been taxed before. It is a mistake to suppose that the tax will affect struggling industries. It is to be imposed only on those making more than Rs. 30,000 profit. Some suggested that Government should issue loans to meet the deficit, but as such a step would have led to increased taxation of the poor in order to pay the interest, it was but right that it was not accepted.

MUNICIPALITIES.

72. "The Ratepayers' Association of Hyderabad, Sind, has effectively demolished each and every one of the charges made by the Government of Bombay against the suppressed Municipality of the city, in the official Press Note of December 3rd last, with a view to bolster up the irresponsible 'Committee of Management' which was set up in place of the Municipal Council.....

The proposed reconstitution of the Hyderabad (Sind) Municipality.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 26th Feb.

The Government Press Note recorded an appreciation of the 'satisfactory results achieved by it (Committee of Management) in the face of serious difficulties' and went on to refer, with glowing satisfaction, to the fact that whereas in the previous three years the Municipality had expended Rs. 1½ lakhs in excess of its current revenue, the Committee of Management had 'by a thorough policy of retrenchment and economy in two years effected a saving of 1¼ lakhs by reducing the current expenditure below its current income'. We are not told, nor are the citizens of Hyderabad aware of, what the 'serious difficulties' were which the Committee had to face. But, apart from that, what are the facts regarding the Municipal finance of Hyderabad? The members of the superseded Municipality conclusively demonstrated at the time that the general current expenditure did not exceed its current income and that if they had applied a part of the Reserve Fund or proceeds from land sales to non-current items of expenditue, they nad done so for very valid reasons and *in several cases with the sanction of the Commissioner in Sind.* ..... Moreover, the so-called misapplication of sale-proceeds was made by the Municipality when the Honourable Mr. F. G. Pratt was its President *with his full knowledge and consent.* It is extraordinary how these official heads of Municipalities who, as every one knows, exercise absolutely autocratic powers, can, when it suits their purpose, turn their backs on their colleagues and disclaim all responsibility for things done with their full knowledge and consent..... To effect retrenchment by any and every means, regardless of the needs of the city, and to enhance revenues by free taxation and thus present a 'satisfactory' balance sheet, is not a difficult feat and, as the Ratepayers' Association says, it could have been achieved by the old Municipality if it had been so minded. If it had done so, the powers-that-be would have come down upon it and charged it with reckless disregard of of public welfare. The whole attitude of Government betrays a lack of true appreciation of the difficulties facing Municipal bodies in India which are kept in leading-strings even when they have passed their teens. There is one other point in connection with the proposed reconstitution of the Municipality to which reference must be made..... It is difficult to understand why, in regard to so large and important a Municipality as that of Hyderabad, the nominated element should be kept so high as one-third. The Government have announced their intention to reconstitute in the near future all the larger Municipalities in the Presidency on the basis of four-fifths elective majority. Under the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of Reforms a radical overhauling of the Municipal machinery will be necessary. Why, then, should the Bombay Government keep back from the citizens of Hyderabad their just due? Since separate and direct representation is assured to Muhammadans, there is no excuse for Government to keep the nominated element in the Municipality at so high a level."

73. Mr. Nilkanthrao Patil of Hubli, district Dhárwár, writes to the *Kesari*:—If a teacher employed under a Municipality with a minimum salary of Rs. 20 is entitled to vote in the Municipal elections, why should not the teachers serving in the Local Board Primary Schools in the Taluka be given a similar vote? It is necessary for safeguarding the interests of these teachers that they should take part in the election of District Local Board members. The present is the time for the primary teachers to make the above demand.

Local Board teachers should have votes in the Local Board elections.
Kesari (114), 25th Feb.

RAILWAYS.

74. Over the dismantlement of the Hyderabad-Badin Railway, the poor villagers of that part of the country have cried themselves hoarse but to no purpose. There are rumours afloat that work of restoring the line will begin in April or at least in March. (*Sic*). But no authoritative information is forthcoming. The railway has been requested by wire to kindly intimate to the people the approximate date of the commencement of the work. About a month has passed and no reply has yet been received. The sufferings which the residents of Badin in particular have borne in the absence of a railway are beyond description. It is reported that about one-seventh of the population of the whole taluka died in the recent influenza epidemic. A few places only could get medical relief; and the rest were left to divine mercy. It is not known what will befall hereafter in these days of famine.

Complaint about delay in restoring the Hyderabad-Badin Railway (Sind).

Hind Vásí (50), 16th Feb.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 7th March 1919.

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NOTE.

Officers receiving the weekly Report on Indian Papers
equested to inform the Manager, Government Central
, the moment they find that the copies have not
properly addressed to them by name.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 8th March 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. "While the opposition to the Rowlatt Bills remains uncompromising we cannot approve of the movement of passive resistance proposed to be started under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi. If the Government is so unwise as to carry these bills on to the statute book in the teeth of the unanimous protests of the country, the politicians must indeed take means to secure the repeal of the measure, but, in our judgment, they must take other means than a resort to passive resistance. Settled facts have been unsettled before with the help of less strong forms of constitutional agitation, and it need not be supposed that the agitation which availed to undo, for instance, the partition of Bengal, will necessarily fail in this instance. Public life has immensely gained in strength during the last decade or so, and the usual forms of protest promise much better results now than they did ever before. At all events, other methods of opposition should be exhausted before battle is joined in the way commended by Mr. Gandhi. Nor do the circumstances of the case seem to us to be at all favourable for the success of such a movement. Passive resistance has proved a success when it is directed against a particular legislation requiring something positive or forbidding something definite, when the matter complained of affects, in an acute manner, a fairly restricted area or population..... But the circumstances of this case are different. Here there is no specific enactment, to which passive resistance can be offered..... It is difficult to see how in the circumstances the campaign of passive resistance is to be conducted. ..... Again, the question arises, what are we going to resist passively? Hardly anything contained in the bills themselves. If resistance is confined to the provisions of this particular legislation, there is little chance of a conflict arising with the authorities. One may passively resist the Rowlatt Acts for years without ever coming in the path of the police. This is recognised by those who have joined the campaign inasmuch as they have to artificially disobey other laws also, in order to get into conflict with the authorities. Mrs. Besant, after her speech in Bombay in a different strain, has agreed to sign the pledge of passive resistance subject to the qualification that she will not offer resistance to any other laws than the sedition laws now being enacted. We for our part consider that the breaking of some other laws is the operative part of the pledge now being taken in Bombay, and we cannot understand how those who do not agree to it are to carry out the pledge in practice. Passive resistance is thus not a suitable remedy, though it may easily prove harmful. We greatly fear that it will hinder the reform proposals and possibly the introduction of the bill in May. There are people who will say, 'What does it matter?' But we believe otherwise and own to a feeling of anxiety on the score of reforms. The failure of Mr. Tilak's case, although Indian sentiment is sharply opposed to the verdict of the English jury, will create a prejudice against Indian leaders, however unfounded it may be, and will be used as an argument against reforms. It is not wise to put another weapon into our enemies' hands."

Comments on the Passive Resistance Campaign opened by Mr. Gandhi against the Rowlatt Bills.

Servant of India (9), 6th Mar.

2. "There are occasions in the life of a community when the duty of civil disobedience arises. No Government which is not based on truth can coerce its subjects into obeying laws against their conscience and, if the Government think that they can suppress this movement by clapping a few hundred people into jail, they will be making the greatest blunder made by any Government in the 20th century. In the words of Thoreau, the proper house for good men in that country in which a government puts innocent people into jail is the jail itself. Passive Resistance is a moral weapon and it has never failed up to now in any country in the world. In India the conditions for its success are already pre-existing. The distrust of the executive methods has been aroused by the misuse of the Defence of India Act and the rules made thereunder and the dominance of selfish political and economic interests in the Councils of the Government of India does not need to be proved. Mahatma Gandhi has referred in his letter to the assurances

Young India (15), 6th Mar.

given by His Excellency the Viceroy to the Indian Civil Service and British commercial interests. If the hidden hand that is working behind the Governmental machinery of this country is the hand of these vested interests, then against it the victory of those who will come for ward to suffer in their own person for a righteous cause and for posterity is absolutely assured..... Do the Government realise that in India a moral movement like this, guided by men who seek nothing for themselves, can spread like wild fire from one end of the country to the other? Before six months are over, we have not the slightest doubt that either the Governmet will have to put thousands of men into jail or they will have to withdraw these laws. Will they still be wise and will they realise that it is the feeling in the minds of millions of men, about the inherent justice of British administration which alone secures the continuance of British rule and it is not the sword nor the diplomacy of the bureaucracy? We say this with the most solemn conviction that the Government by their unwise action are guiding all the forces that actuated the political life and the civic life and numerous other movements of amelioration in the country into a single channel of resistance to these Bills. All this will interfere with the ordered progress which this country had learnt to expect from the announcement of August 20th and from the subsequent official actions. Is it worth the while to create such a disturbance in the body politic in order merely to get a technical acceptance of the official Bills? We feel it our duty again to warn the Government, because if the Bills are put into law, we shall have to support the policy of passive resistance, but it would be better for everybody if the Bills were withdrawn and if a non-official commission is entrusted with the work of checking political crimes..... Are the people of India asking too much from the Government when they ask them to give elementary security to innocent people by an open trial, and yet the Law Member, who seems to have left all notions of law behind him, openly declared that no Government could yield to a threat of agitation. We would ask Lord Chelmsford in all earnestness to look around himself in his Council and possibly he may discover the worst enemies of the State therein amongst such men as Sir George Lowndes, who can officially prostitute his portfolio by flouting public opinion in these unmeasured terms..... In any case a great thunderbolt has been invoked and it will fall with unmistakable force upon all that is sham and humbug, all that is screening selfish interests in the proposed laws and in the entire policy involved therein..... The torch has been lighted already and now what we ask conscientious men and lovers of truth is to pass on the torch from hand to hand."

*3. *Mahrátta* (7), 9th Mar. "The movement of Passive Resistance inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi against the dangerous Rowlatt Bills must receive the hearty support of all true Indian patricts. There are no two opinions on the point of resisting the Black Bills to the utmost by all possible constitutional means. The Moderates, however, are afraid that the stiff drastic dose of passive resistance is uncalled-for at present —we do not know whether they ever think that it is necessary at any time— especially when the Reforms Bill will come before Parliament, and they, therefore, have issued a counter-manifesto opposing this movement. But Madras leaders like Mr. Vijaya Raghavachariar have fully supported Mr. Gandhi's movement. Mrs. Besant, however, is of opinion that although passive resistance is necessary at the present moment, still it should be directed only against the Rowlatt Bills, and not against 'any other laws'. Besides, she thinks that even the method of resisting these Bills should be first approved by a committee appointed specially for the purpose. The essential principle of resisting the Bills passively is thus accepted by her. The Bengal Nationalist leaders have also approved of it, but they say that the form of a concerted action in this matter should be decided by the All-India Congress Committee. The Poona Nationalists have also wired their support to the movement; but they have reserved for themselves the liberty to settle details. So, except the Moderates, the principle of resorting to passive resistance at the present time has been consented to by almost all the leaders. The divergence of opinion on the point of settling the details, however, shows how difficult the problem is, and any hasty conclusion on it will simply be harmful to the movement. It is,

therefore, absolutely necessary that the question should be approached and solved with full consciousness of the tremendous responsibility it involves. We trust that the Committee appointed to settle the details will first elicit the opinions of the different leaders in other provinces and work in full co-operation with them before arriving at a decided conclusion."

*4. "A small body of men of some repute in the community and several others of little or no weight have launched what is called Satyagraha or Passive Resistance..... It is a thousand pities that the attention and energies of the Government of Sir George Lloyd, which are occupied by problems of reconstruction after the war, should be distracted by this unhappy demonstration of patriotism run mad and all the possibilities it involves. The Government, however, may be assured of the sympathy and support of an overwhelmingly large proportion of the community in any measures that it takes to put down this poisonous propaganda. There is reason to believe that the movement will spread elsewhere. We venture to think that a heavy responsibility rests on the Bombay Government, which would doubtless watch the progress of the movement; but timely action to check its vagaries before undesirable developments make themselves evident is even more necessary. There is such a thing as nipping a mischief in the bud.

Sunday Tatler (14), 9th Mar.

5. "The present attitude of Government is a challenge thrown in the face of the 300 millions of India who are 'the gentlest on earth'; and if Indians do not meet the challenge in the right spirit and under the wise *satvic* guidance of the great hero of the South African struggle they may as well write down their epitaph 'Here lies a soulless nation'. It must be remembered that Satyagraha has not now been proclaimed without offering every chance to the Government to retrace their steps..... But Government have flouted public opinion and as Mr. Gandhi has pointed out, speeches like those made by the Honourable Law Member have added 'fuel to the fire'. ..... We most earnestly request the Viceroy—the King-Emperor's representative in India—to pause at this the most solemn and critical moment in our political struggle and consider the crisis which will arise if the Black Bills are passed."

New Times (8), 4th Mar.

6. Mr. M. K. Gandhi, writing to the *Hindusthán*, explains the provisions of the Rowlatt Bill No. 1 and declares that the amendments introduced by the Select Committee in no way modify the spirit of the Bill and exhorts every right-minded Indian to join the campaign of passive resistance to save the people from the fearful consequences of the Bill, which according to the Honourable Mr. Sastri, will create terror in the hearts of the honourable members of the reformed Councils themselves and will enable them to maintain their nominal freedom by becoming mere sycophants. [Elsewhere the paper declares that the boycott of English goods would prove a more effective weapon in drawing the attention of the British public towards the anomaly of the Bill and asks the popular leaders to give it a thought. It is afraid that the people of India will be driven to adopt the drastic measure of boycott as a protest against the Bill. In a subsequent issue, the paper writes :—The present political situation convinces us that it is the policy of Government officials to crush indigenous industries and to afford facilities to foreigners to carry away raw materials as cheaply and as expeditiously as possible. Our merchants look to momentary gains and send orders for foreign goods at high prices and use their influence to reduce the prices of cotton and other raw materials. In order to open the eyes of such people we shall draw their attention to Reuter's telegram which records the proceedings of the Empire Cotton Trade Committee in England wherein Professor Robertson declares India to be a fit place for cultivating cotton for developing British industries. This affords a fresh example of the solicitude for the welfare of their own country shown by the very people who grow fat on this country's wealth. In conclusion the paper asks all piecegoods merchants to write letters to their Manchester agents to the effect that they cannot place any orders unless and until the British officials learn to respect the

Hindusthán (22), 4th, 6th and 7th Mar.

wishes of the people of this country and that, therefore, the latter should use their influence to get the Rowlatt Bills cancelled. In a further issue it expresses confidence that the passive resistance movement started by Mr. Gandhi will ultimately succeed in compelling Government to yield to the wishes of the people. It adds that the passive resistance movement might be strengthened by the boycott of British goods.]

Gujarâti (18), 2nd Mar.

7. The bureaucrats who are fond of exercising uncontrolled authority can never think of the consequences of their own acts. No one had ever dreamt that people in England would behead Charles I or that James II would have to abandon his claim to the throne on account of the fear of the people. Monarchy was supreme in France, but at last people refused to obey the laws passed against the wishes of the people and they got Louis XVI guillotined. George Washington raised the standard of independence when the rulers began to govern in opposition to the wishes of the people of America. In all these cases authority is seen to have ultimately gone into the hands of the people. The Bills that have been recently introduced into the Imperial Legislative Council affect people's lives, property and independence. The passing of the Bills by an official majority shows the weakness of the officials in governing the country. Is it a sign of giving responsible government to the people? Government have roused the sleeping lion by introducing the Bills. We, therefore, think it our duty to give them a timely warning without meaning to threaten them or stir up opposition against them. The partition of Bengal had to be cancelled to conciliate public opinion. Every one is aware of the struggle Indians made in South Africa to maintain their self-respect. Now an agitation has been started in India which does not mean to transgress legitimate bounds. Mr. Gandhi's letter exhorting the people to sign the pledge of passive resistance makes it clear that people are not willing to be passive onlookers of punishment being inflicted on themselves for unintentional wrongs. Government should recognise the gravity of the situation and refrain from passing the Bills by an official majority and putting them into execution at a time when people have been awakened and ask for responsible government. Those who have signed the pledge of passive resistance bear no ill-will against Government and they will now furnish a sovereign remedy in the form of passive resistance to those who consider anarchy as an effective means of securing justice from Government. All the sweet pills so far administered to our rulers have proved ineffectual in curing them of their malady which is of a serious nature. Now passive resistance is to be used as a last resource. The result is in the lap of the gods. The Peace Conference should be apprised of the fact that the British exercise uncontrolled authority in India and that the authority which it means to vest in India for the government of Mesopotamia will in reality be exercised by England and that while India sacrifices her men and money for the protection of Mesopotamia, England will rule it.

Dnyán Prakásh (39), 2nd and 8th Mar.; *Indu Prakásh* (42), 3rd Mar.; *Sudhákar* (132), 2nd Mar.; *Vibhákar* (36), 3rd Mar.; *Prakásh* (122), 5th Mar.

8. There is no doubt that anyone might be deprived of his liberty at any time if the Rowlatt Bills are passed into law in their original form. There is also no difference of opinion as to the desirability of opposing these retrograde measures. We very much doubt, however, whether the passive resistance movement inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi will find universal support. Mahatma Gandhi's good faith is above suspicion and if it ever becomes necessary to start a passive resistance movement there is no one else who is better fitted to be the leader than Mr. Gandhi. But it is a moot point whether passive resistance is practicable in the present case. At any rate Mr. Gandhi should have waited, before taking this step, to see in what form the Bills emerge from the Committees. [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—The question that is at present uppermost in the minds of all is how best to oppose the Rowlatt Bills. Although the Select Committee has made many important changes therein all are agreed that the Bills are based on principles that are

fundamentally wrong. We are sure all non-official members will try their best to secure their withdrawal. It does not, however, appear likely that Government will yield to the extent of dropping the Bills altogether. In all probability they will insist upon passing them urging that they have removed the objectionable features from the Bills in deference to popular opinion and have thus made them unobjectionable to reasonable people. The question therefore arises how to oppose these measures. A consideration of the provisions of these Bills will show that it will not be possible to carry on passive resistance by breaking their provisions, but other laws also must be broken. Mr. Gandhi seems to have recognised this and the passive resisters therefore pledge themselves to break the Rowlatt laws and also such other laws as will be specified by a committee. Mrs. Besant, however, is against breaking other laws, and she is right. The breaking of a law is justified only in exceptional circumstances. The law that we want to break must be so obnoxious that our mind would refuse to obey it. It is unwise, therefore, in our opinion, to entrust the task of choosing the laws that we are to disobey to a committee. The members of this committee will not all be Gandhis. Perhaps there will be many men on it, with whom you will not agree even in small matters. We ask all people therefore to consider this question with an open mind before taking such a momentous step. The *Indu Prakásh*, on the other hand, writes :—The passive resistance movement will throw the whole country into commotion the responsibility for which will rest with Government. They should give up their unbending attitude and we are sure their prestige will in no way suffer. The *Sudhákar* writes :—If the Rowlatt Bills are passed in the teeth of popular opposition we must refuse to obey the orders that may be issued under them and be prepared to suffer the consequences. We are sure the bureaucracy will have to yield in the end as it cannot possibly imprison all the passive resisters. Simple protests will be unavailing and the proposed measures will only be dropped if we dare to suffer imprisonment. We have urged resort to passive resistance because we hold that it will compel the bureaucracy to drop the Bills. At another place the paper exhorts its readers to take the vow of *satyagraha* and communicate other names to Mr. Gandhi. The *Vibhákar* says :—There may be some objectionable sections in the Rowlatt Bills. We think that it is quite absurd to argue that no proper legislation is required to see that anarchism does not spread and that it is put down. Mahatma Gandhi's passive resistance is connected only with Rowlatt Bills at present. That is, a vow will have to be taken that if they are passed they alone will not be obeyed. We do not think passive resistance of this sort will have much effect. The *Prakásh* says Mr. Gandhi's passive resistance movement has created an unprecedented amount of enthusiasm in the minds of young people, and declares that in view of the defiant attitude taken up by Government with respect to the Rowlatt Bills, the only course open to the people now is to join the movement. It also urges the non-official members of Legislative Councils, both Imperial and Provincial, to resign their seats to mark their disapproval of the proposed measures.]

9. It is said of the British that when they have no quarrel abroad they always quarrel at home. We need not, therefore, be surprised if the bureaucratic officials in India manifest to a degree the quarrelsome traits of the English people. Lord Curzon gave an open challenge for a fight to the people of this country by effecting the partition of Bengal. While the struggle was going on, another challenge was given by deporting Lala Lajpatrai, but the bureaucracy had to admit a defeat by quietly restoring the Lala to his home. The original struggle lasted for six years. Some leaders were arrested and incarcerated, some heads were broken and some women were outraged as a result of the bureaucratic onslaught. The popular leaders held fast all along. But the heads of some youths were turned and these formed secret societies, organised robberies and dealt with officials—black or white, when they found them alone and unprotected—in any way they liked. At last in 1912 George V. came to the throne ; the necessity of conciliating public opinion was recognised and the partition of Bengal was cancelled. In this way bureaucracy was baffled for the second time. When the Muhammadans joined hands with

The coming struggle between the bureaucracy and the people.

Anavil Sevak (60), 28th Feb.

the Hindus in the matter of political agitation, the bureaucratic officials began to entertain fears for their very existence. The judge is needed when two persons quarrel. If people do not go to court they do not care for the judge or respect him. The bureaucracy is playing the part of the judge in this country. When the people quarrel amongst themselves the judges find work and are appreciated for their services. But if the people were to cease quarrelling the bureaucracy would have to close the doors of many departments and sit idle. The people of this country thought that since justice prevails in England it would not be a degradation on the part of India to be associated with it—nay, such an association would be a source of greatness. The people have never raised any objection to association with England. If any objection has been shown it is for remaining in a state of subordination to England. Why should not thirty-two crores object to being subordinated to six crores of people? The British people have supported this objection from time to time for they know that it is as humiliating to keep a slave as it is to be a slave. England would gain strength and secure fame in history if she were to raise the people of India to her own level. But the bureaucrats are short-sighted, and so how can they be endowed with foresight? The bureaucrats, therefore, take delight in keeping this country under their foot. The people of this country want to be placed on a footing of equality. In order to achieve this end Mrs. Besant and Mr. Tilak established the Home Rule League. Many people joined the league and the bureaucratic officials became anxious and they got Mrs. Besant and her coadjutors interned. The country was bestirred and the struggle commenced. Old Subramanya took the lead and matters had hardly reached the climax when Mrs. Besant and her colleagues were set free. This was the third clear defeat of the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy had been baffled on many occasions notably in Kaira and Champaran at the hands of Mr. Gandhi. To make matters worse for the bureaucrats the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms came before the public. There is nothing substantial in the reforms, but the bureaucrats cannot tolerate them and they have organised the Indian Civil Service Association. The Association is putting forward its demands on the one hand while attempts are being made to cripple the reform scheme in other directions. The Rowlatt Bills may be regarded as the culmination of these attempts. These Bills are tantamount to cutting the tongue and hands of people and then telling them that they are free to make their complaints. But in these circumstance how can the complaint be made? They can only complain to God with sighs which have levelled empires to the ground in the past. The bureaucrats have given another open challenge to the people. We feel sure that the struggle will end in such a manner that the bureaucracy will never dare to do aught contrary to the wishes of the people. May God vouchsafe success to the people in this contest. [Elsewhere the paper in criticising the provisions of the Bills in detail writes:—May there be no war, but if it breaks out again how will India's help be solicited? Do the officials consider the Indians such fools as to forget the past in every case and be cajoled and won over by soothing words? In section XX of the second Bill the expression "when His Excellency the Governor General in Council is convinced" is wrongly used. Not even a Collector, Assistant Collector or Superintendent of Police, much less His Excellency the Governor General, can be personally acquainted with the details of a case. In this circumstance the following words should be substituted instead: "If a police constable of the lowest grade, a Havildar or a *Dhed* or any Government servant is convinced or if a rascally traitor or a titled sycophant gives information to a Government servant". The amendment suggested should be adopted because the Governor General in Council will issue the notification in accordance with the opinion of the Provincial Government which forms its opinion on the information which comes to it from the sources stated above. In spite of all that we have said against the Bills we have no hesitation in believing that they are for the good of the people. Gold in order to be purified has to be placed in fire, and similarly there is no wrong in the people of this country being lashed at times to be put on their mettle. People should take time by the forelock and take full advantage of their good fortune.]

10. "All the pushing forward of Tilak has failed—and his daring attempt to obtain a certificate of character in the High Court of Justice in England has recoiled on him, inasmuch as he has to pay the costs of the suit brought by him against Sir Valentine Chirol for damages on account of alleged libels in his book 'Indian Unrest.'..... The judgment being not that of a single judge, but the verdict of a jury, it will not be possible for those to whom truth in such matters is unpalatable to make fatuous endeavours to throw discredit on the judge. The tribunal was Tilak's own choice. He preferred to bring his suit in England rather than in India, for reasons which are obvious. And justice has been done. The result of this suit clears the atmosphere and it will be interesting to await developments. Will the Extremists still acclaim the discredited politician as their accredited representative, or will now the Moderates strengthen their position considerably, thus vindicating their secession from the Congress?"

Comments on the result of the Tilak—Chirol case.

Sind Observer (12), 25th Feb.

11. "Mr. Tilak has already had to deposit security for costs to the extent of nearly four thousand pounds. The financial loss may not press heavily on Mr. Tilak, but the moral loss, especially at the present time, would be great. The followers of Mr. Tilak are about to undertake a political campaign in England, and the verdict in the Tilak case comes as a bad beginning to the campaign. Already the position of the Indian Extremists in England has become extremely difficult, and the verdict in the case would make it almost impossible. The bringing back of Mr: Tilak into the active politics of the National Congress was the main work accomplished by Mrs. Besant, and now it looks as if that was the unkindest thing that any one could have done to the National Congress. Mr. Tilak made an attempt to wreck the National Congress at Surat in 1907. He did not succeed. But he can easily succeed now for he has only to continue to remain as leader of the National Congress, and the downfall of that body is assured."

Deccan Ryot (4), 6th Mar.

12. The London *Times* and certain English and Indian journals try to prove the necessity for the Rowlatt legislation on the strength of the verdict in the Tilak-Chirol case. This argument of theirs clearly establishes that they are not lovers of peace and that they take pride in driving India to a state similar to that of Ireland. In this case the strange attitude of the Judge and the counsel for the defendant had already prepared us for such a verdict. The latter of these two, instead of pleading the cause of his client on the merits of the case, biassed the jury by representing that if the case was decided against the defendant, the position of the Government of India and white officials would be in danger! We know that officials in India rely a good deal on the support of the London *Times* and such other journals; but we request His Excellency the Viceroy to consider from the case of Ireland, what the consequences of such reliance would be. [The *Hindusthán* endorses the above views and writes:—The Anglo-Indians will be cheered by Sir Valentine's success, but the Indian people will sympathise with Mr. Tilak. Even the political opponents of Mr. Tilak are sorry for his failure. Our "well-wishers" in England, however, are sure to insinuate on the strength of the verdict in this case that Mr. Tilak is an enemy of the British raj and that the British public should not give any weight to what he says. But the Indian public will be benefitted by what Mr. Tilak will suffer in this case as he himself had said at the time when he was convicted by Mr. Justice Davar. The *Gujarâti* remarks:—The officials had indirectly considered this case as one against Government themselves, as can be seen from the help rendered by the Bombay Government and other officials to Sir Valentine Chirol. Sir Edward Carson, too, has argued the case from the same point of view. The fact that Sir Valentine means to present his exhibits and documents in this connection to the House of Lords with a view to misleading them clearly proves his wicked intention.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 4th Mar.; *Hindusthán* (22), 1st Mar.; *Gujarâti* (18), 2nd Mar.

13. If we consider the character of Reuter's telegrams, Sir Edward Carson's speeches on behalf of Sir Valentine Chirol and the haste exhibited in communicating the decision to the Government of India, one cannot but think that a political and official aspect was given to this private case of defamation and that thus Mr. Tilak's case was made to go against him. Though it was noted that the case was of a political character, there was no idea at its beginning that Government would so openly identify themselves with it. The official hand was first exposed during the sittings of the Commission in Bombay and it was fully exposed while the case was being conducted in England. We can at once realise what was the game being played by the bureaucracy if we read the statements made by Sir Edward Carson and Reuter's telegrams. Mr. Tilak firmly believes that constitutional agitation will not fail to get justice at the hands of the people of England. Some people may feel glad that this confidence was rudely disturbed and badly shaken by the Chirol decision. If we note the confidence with which Mr. Tilak continued to plead his case even after the official hand was exposed, it is clear that Mr. Tilak believes in constitutional agitation from the bottom of his heart and that he is not playing at it. He firmly holds that India's good will not be achieved by severing the British connection and from the beginning of the war he kept himself and his party loyal to the idea. Sir Valentine, however, has called upon the Government of India and the bureaucracy to crush the Nationalist party. In India an attempt is being made to condemn the critics of the administration of the bureaucracy as anarchists and punish the innocent as well as the guilty. The bureaucracy will not fail to make a similar attempt against our agitation for self-determination in England and throw us in the flames. Many times before such an attempt has been made to destroy the Nationalist party, but the party has successfully stood the test. We have no doubt that it will shine all the brighter as a result of the Chirolean vengeance. What wonder is there that the case was decided against the Nationalists as soon as Sir Edward Carson threatened the jury with the consequences a favourable decision would have on the white officials. How could the jury help being overcome by fear when he displayed the bogey of murders and outrages when there were signs that these things would occur in England itself as they had happened in Europe? [The *Indu Prakâsh* writes in a similar strain and says that the British Jury cannot maintain equilibrium in cases of conflict between the conquerers and the conquered. The Irish had experience of this before, continues the paper, and now it has been repeated in the Tilak case. But, it adds, the decision has had no harmful effect on the leadership of Mr. Tilak. All have united to support him sympathetically. The people know that Mr. Tilak lends no support to unconstitutional agitation.]

Kesari (114), 4th Mar.; *Indu Prakâsh* (42), 8th Mar.

14. When Lokamanya Tilak instituted his suit in England many people expressed the opinion that he was making a mistake in relying on an English jury to give him justice. This case clearly shows how far it is possible for an Indian to get justice at the hands of an English jury in a case of a political character. We hope that Mr. Justice Darling's decision will be reversed in the appellate court and that the vast sums spent by Lokamanya Tilak so far will not be wholly wasted.

Sudhâkar (132), 2nd Mar.

15. "The result was foreseen judging from the unscrupulous way adopted by the defence counsel in the matter of cross-examination. All the old bogeys were requisitioned into service and there were retired Anglo-Indian officials of the Bombay Government who came forward as witnesses to give vent to their old prejudices and passions against Lokmanya Tilak. Murders and conspiracies were alleged against Mr. Tilak for which even the Bombay Government did not dare to prosecute him during his long public career. Not only this. Racial passions and prejudices of the judge and Jury were invoked by Sir Edward Carson against the Indian leader in all ways conceivable. And to cap all, the bogey of the prestige of the Government of India was

New Times (8), 2nd Mar.

successfully raised in a purely private case..... As our contemporary, the *Tribune*, points out, the man who last year had been elected as the president of the Indian National Congress by the Indian people will ever continue to have their regard and admiration, in spite of the fact that he lost the case—only an incident in the record of his public life at once honourable and inspiring. We may assure the *Daily Gazette*, which went into violent ecstasies over his defeat, that no court of law on earth can shake the confidence of the Indian people in the great Indian leader."

Sir Valentine Chirol on the war path.

New Times (8), 4th Mar.

16. "Flushed with success Sir Valentine Chirol has now declared war on what some call the 'Tilakite' papers in this country. His ultimatum has been published in the *Observer* of which 'King' Garvin, we think, is still the editor. He will expose all the unpardonable sins of the nationalist papers in India by presenting two volumes of evidence for the defence in the case containing articles in papers supporting Mr. Tilak's policy to the library of the House of Commons. He has now taken the long-suffering Government of India under his arm-pit and will do his best to sweep away this 'curse to the country'. And in this he would first consider the claims of the Bombay Government who placed the whole Secretariat at his disposal to prepare material for his case under the superintendence of Government officers!"

Appeal to Nationalists to help Mr. Tilak to defray the cost of his suit against Sir Valentine Chirol.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th Mar.; *Kesari* (114), 11th Mar.

*17. "The Chirol case means to Mr. Tilak a total cost of about three lakhs. Already he has incurred an expenditure of two lakhs and more and if in the end the decision comes to be upheld he will have to pay the costs of Sir Valentine Chirol as well. Though technically it was a private case of defamation, Mr. Tilak was fighting it on behalf of the country and the British jury has come to a wrong decision misled by the characteristic appeals to prejudice made to it by Sir Edward Carson. The decision in no way affects Mr. Tilak's position as a trusted leader of the country. It rests with the country to help Mr. Tilak in his effort to get justice done to him and, if he unfortunately fails, to pay the costs. An appeal has been issued by a leading body headed by the Honourable Mr. Khaparde and Dr. Deshmukh and Mr. Y. V. Nene is acting as Treasurer. It should be the pride of every Indian to contribute his mite to the fund. We trust that there will be a wide and prompt response to this patriotic call." [Tne above is in effect a summary of an appeal to the 'Nationalist' public which appears in the *Kesari* over the names of the Honourable Mr. G. S. Khaparde, the Honaurable Mr. Belvi, Messrs. S. M. Paranjpe, N. C. Kelkar and others. The appeal adds:—It will be the height of ingratitude if the Nationalist party allows this burden to fall on Mr. Tilak. If evey intelligent Nationalist were to consider Mr. Tilak's difficulties as his own, it would not at all be difficult to raise the money required for fighting the case to an issue.]

Complaint about the Government control of hides.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd and 8th Mar.

18. "There seems to us good ground for the demand that the Government should agree to the appointment of a general inquest into the question of the State control of commodities during war-time, the policy and methods pursued in each case during the past four-and-a-half years, the incompetence or culpability,—if such is disclosed,—and the principles and methods that should be observed in the future. God forbid that there should be another war, but should that dread contingency arise, God forbid that so much stupidity, arbitrariness, wrong-headedness and dishonesty should be allowed to run riot and play havoc with commerce and industry, to say nothing of the unnecessary infliction of grave hardships on individuals. One of the Departments in respect to which there has been ground for very grave criticism has been that of the control of Hides..... A very active figure in the Hides control has been Mr. McFarlane, who, we understand, came out of the 'coal and sundry' department of a South Indian firm. He was appointed first Hides Inspector, then became Assistant Controller of hides, then Deputy Controller,and, lastly, on the

departure of Mr. McWatters for England, officiating Controller. Mr. Clerk, the present Deputy Controller, when he entered the Department as an Assistant Controller, came from military service and was, so we are credibly informed, without knowledge of the Hides industry or experience as to how selections should be made. So much for the officials, whose policy and methods have been the subject of grave complaint. As to this we shall deal in detail in another article, but, in view of the materials that have been placed before us, we are forced to the conclusion that persons engaged in the industry have been treated with a grave want of consideration, not to say actual injustice, and have been made to suffer unnecessary loss, inconvenience and hardship, chiefly in two respects: (1) By the commandeering not only of goods required for the Army and fit for military use, but also of other supplies whereby Government were enabled to make large profits by selling in Europe. These profits legitimately belonged to the Indian trade and the official interference with the trade in this respect was arbitrary, gratuitous and unjustified, and has put innocent individuals to great loss. (2) By the preferential treatment as alleged, accorded to European Hide Merchants in Madras as compared with Indian Hide Merchants in Bombay. These are the two leading features of the case laid before us. But there are many details to be exposed regarding these as well as other curious and, as it appears, wholly undesirable and uneconomic methods pursued by the Department. These extend from broad questions of policy down to the personal treatment meted out to individuals who complain of want of courtesy. We must defer further discussion of the matter however, to our next article."

[In its second article the paper writes:—"Government operations have produced an artificial condition in the market which has resulted in very large profits accruing to them and this is still going on. Now it is clear that if the Government are to enjoy financial benefit from their operations in controlling an Indian industry, the Indian taxpayer is the entity who should enjoy the fruits. But it is not merely the Indian trader who is being robbed; the Indian taxpayer is also in his turn robbed of the proceeds of the robbery which ought to be his, if anyone's. This is the result of the very easy and simple process in which the authorities have engaged in controlling hides, for the hides which are forcibly acquired in India at very low rate, over and above the requirements of the Army, have been allowed to accumulate and huge stocks are now held by the British Government—presumably through the war Office,—in London and are only being released in driblets for the market. The result is the continued maintenance of a very high rate in the market and extremely good business for the Government. We are informed by those who should know, that hides bought at 12 annas and Re. 1 per lb. in India have been sold by Government in London at Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 per lb. and calf-skins bought at Re. 1-4 per lb. have been sold at Rs. 6 per lb. Where are these substantial profits going? They obviously belong to India, whose markets are not here to be bled for the benefit of the British taxpayer under the screen of a Government control for war emergency purposes. Are the Government of India keeping any check on these transactions? Have they any record? If not the sooner the India Office is set in motion with a view to recovering for the Indian taxpayer what is obviously his money the better! ..... From September 1916 to January 1917, Messrs. Matthews and Company were buying for the Government in Bombay. After their selection the surplus was exported to London by the tanners themselves and they enjoyed the high profits accruing from the fact that they obtained in London prices from 50 to 100 per cent. more than those paid by the Government here for the better hides. This did not last long, however, for in February 1917, the Government stepped in and appointed Mr. MacFarlane, then in the coal and sundry department of a private firm, as Hides Inspector for the purpose of buying hides for the Government. This gentleman, as soon as he took charge, issued a circular stating that Government themselves would buy the rejected hides at a rate four annas per lb. less than the selection rates; at the same time the tanners were to be prohibited from exporting any hides at all. It is hardly surprising that the tanners were up in arms against this arbitrary proceeding. They were already selling by compulsion to Government at unprofitable rates and they were to be debarred from reaping

the profits to be earned by selling in the London market goods which Government did not require for their own use, and thus recouping their losses. Mr. MacFarlane's method of treating these protests was short, sharp and brutal. The factories of one merchant were arbitrarily requisitioned under the Defence of India Act rules and others were threatened that if they refused to agree to the Government conditions their factories would be taken possession of. There was no alternative but to submit and the tanners were obliged to agree to these arbitrary terms. Thenceforward the Government bought not only for their own requirements but they went into the trade on their own account, compulsorily acquired the surplus stocks as well, sold in London on joint account at very high rates and collared the profits! On the face of it it would be difficult to imagine a more gross abuse of the powers accorded under the Defence of India Act for war emergency purposes. But there is yet more to be told."

The assassination of His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan.
Kesari (114), 4th Mar.

19. The *Kesari* says that the late Amir of Afghanistan was a true friend of the British till his death and, referring to a mission in Afghanistan from Persia and Bokhara with a view to forming an alliance of Moslem countries, goes on :—Though Persia has been recognised as an independent country, it is very weak, and as the Indian army has occupied Mesopotamia, etc., and as the Peace Conference is likely to require all these places to be under the Indian army's eye, Persia will henceforward be a butterfly caught in the Indian military net. Bokhara is not an independent country like Persia. It will pass under the Allies when the Bolsheviks are defeated next spring and the Government of India will have to manage it like Baghdad for the League of Nations. Afghanistan is not an independent country like Persia. According to international treaties it is in the zone of influence of the Government of India. For these countries to speak of a union of Moslem powers would be to obstruct in a way the military power of the Government of India. It is not a good sign that the Amir should be murdered while these obstructive schemes were being discussed. The Government of India was badly in need of a neutral friend like the late Amir. We hope that the new Amir will follow the example of his brother and earn the friendship of the Government of India and that permission would be granted to construct Railways in Afghanistan and that the Moslem questions relating to Bokhara and Samarkand would be satisfactorily solved by the Government of India with the help of the Amir.

Alleged illegal exactions from rice merchants at Bombay.
Satya Shodhak (126), 2nd Mar.

20. Although the freight on the Burmese rice has been reduced to Rs. 30 per ton, there has been no corresponding reduction in its price. Merchants, on the other hand, generally complain that they will have to raise the present price as they have to pay secretly some 8 or 10 annas per bag of rice at the place of making the purchase in Bombay, in addition to the other expenses attendant thereon, and (that as this extra expenditure is not taken into account along with other expenses by the authorities in fixing the price, the merchants are put to loss. Letters from Bombay brokers, corroborating this were read out at a meeting of local merchants recently held in Ratnágiri. We urge upon the Controller of Prices to forthwith institute inquiries into this matter and remedy it. In these hard days arrangements must be made to make the staple food, *viz.*, rice, as cheap as possible to the poor people of Ratnágiri to enable them to face the situation.

Complaint that the Controller's orders are not observed.
Young India (15), 6th Mar.

21. "'Where is the Controller?' is the question on everybody's lips. It is true in theory that whoever contravenes the rules of the Controller comes under the clutches of the law, but in practice the Controller's rules and notices are a dead letter. It is a fact and it must have come to the notice of the Controller that his orders are observed in the contravention rather than in compliance. Not a single thing can one purchase at the scheduled price. If any one had the temerity to cite the Controller to a profiteering trader,

he would be kicked out and the Controller will have his share of the vendor's vituperation. Where is the much advertised prestige of the bureaucracy gone?"

Scarcity of kerosene in Bombay city.
Sánj Vartamán (32), 3rd Mar.

22. A correspondent writes to the *Sánj Vartamán* complaining of the inconvenience and hardships suffered by the public owing to the scarcity and abnormal rise in the price of kerosene oil in Bombay. The writer is of opinion that there is no real scarcity of kerosene in Bombay and that the trouble is due to a trick played by certain persons who have filled up all the empty tins they could purchase with bulk oil and who now, with a view to profiteering, declare that the stock of kerosene oil in Bombay has become exhausted. The paper urges upon the Controller the need of exercising stricter control over the price of kerosene oil and of taking stock of the tins of kerosene oil cornered by merchants.

Protest against Mr. Lala Lajpatrai's exclusion from England.
Dnyán Prakásh (39), 4th Mar.

23. Every Indian will naturally be grieved at Mr. Montagu's reply in Parliament about Lala Lajpatrai. It will be admitted on all hands that there can be nothing in Lala Lajpatrai's conduct that should come in the way of his coming to England even during the period of war. Every educated Indian will, doubtless, feel indignant at the roundabout way in which Mr. Montagu gave his reply. Indians have a right to demand an explanation from Government as to the reason of imposing this prohibition. We do not understand why Government themselves should not explain the necessity of having recourse to such a stringent measure at the present time.

If Indians were asked to determine their Government themselves, they would pack off the bureaucracy.
Home Ruler (5), 1st Mar.

24. "In answer to the scoffers at the League of Nations in the debate on the Address the Premier roundly declared that the little nations like Czecho-Slovaks and Jugo-Slavs who were being created depended upon the League for their very existence. But what about the other nations in a similar position? Ireland for example and India? 'Ariel' in *Capital* says that 'private advices from Home give the startling news that the War Office at the urgent request of Lord French, the Viceroy, is hurrying troops in large numbers with an abundance of machine guns across St. George's Channel, and Ireland is now a huge armed camp, because the British military authorities refuse to take any chances.' It is a novel way of helping the existence of a little nation by spotting it with machine guns and the case of Ireland imperatively demands the immediate attention of the League which will be nothing but a farce if it can overlook such a strong case directly staring it in the face. The whole Irish race vehemently demands that self-determination should be applied to Ireland and the recent vote of the Irish Americans confirms it. Unless, indeed, self-determination exists only for being applied to enemy subject states or in places where the allies are not interested, it is difficult to understand how the case of Ireland can be neglected, specially in view of the splendid orations on the League of Nations with which Mr. Lloyd George now and then regales his audiances. The case for India is equally strong. Here it is not necessary to import machine guns as the people have been systematically emasculated by the rigid exercise of the Arms Act and the situation here has not yet become so desperate. But if the people were asked to determine their government for themselves, they would pack off the bureaucracy immediately and establish a government of the people, for the people, and by the people. So long as the essential principle of self-determination is not rigidly acted up to the League of Nations will prove itself a farce which will ultimately result in a repetition of the horrors we have just passed through."

Alleged injustice to exporters of pearls.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Mar.

25. "We commented the other day on the harsh order issued by the Government prohibiting the export of pearls from India. That order was sought to be justified on the ground of war conditions. These conditions now no longer exist and in view of the removal or relaxation of restrictions in regard to several other

commodities, it is only fair and just that Government should immediately revoke the order regarding the prohibition of the export of pearls and thus afford relief to a needlessly harassed section of the mercantile community."

Contrast between the political status of the Fillipinoes in Indians

Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th Mar.

26. "The Phillipines and India present a very noticeable and impressive parallel, no less in regard to their immediate political goal than in their present political conditions and it is instructive as well as interesting to learn how the people of the Phillipines think of India and her affairs..... The political progress of the Phillipines under American guidance has been phenomenally rapid. Not even two decades have passed since the country came under the control of the United States. Yet, within such a short period it has been given practically autonomous government, while India—where is she after more than a century of British tutelage?..... The bureaucracy here and British statesmen in England have much to learn from the disinterested manner in which the United States helped and prepared the Phillipines for the demand it now makes for independence. Sir William Meyer, our *ex*-Finance Member, has been recently on a visit to the Phillipines and has delivered himself of the usual bureaucratic platitudes and misrepresentations about India. Of that more anon. At a banquet given in his honour by the local Chamber of Commerce, a very interesting and forcible speech was made by Signor Nieva, Editor of the *Phillipines Review*, as to the identity of goal of India and the Phillipines. Signor Nieva truly said that India and the Phillipines cannot feel themselves as different people because of the place they hold on earth, but that their aspirations being similar, such dissimilarity dwindles into insignificance in the broadening horizon of the Orient; and he hopefully looked forward to the day when the East and the West could meet each other, not the one as a dependency or field for exploitation of the other, but as true friends in unabridged enjoyment of equal international rights. Such high altitudes of practical statesmanship were apparently beyond the reach of Sir William Meyer's bureaucratic vision and it was not surprising that, in his reply, he could not refrain from indulging in the gratuitous and gross misrepresentation that the Indian politicians, who had made no personal sacrifice for the cause of the Allies in the war, were eager to make capital out of what their fellow-countrymen had done in the Indian armies which fought in Flanders, Mesopotamia and other battlefields! Parenthetically we may remark that it is amazing how easily and shamelessly the mask falls from the most sympathetic bureaucrat once the need for dissimulation ceases to be essential to official opportunism. We have still hopes, however, that having seen and studied what the United States has done in the Phillipines Sir William Meyer will become wiser. For the rest, if the war has not been waged in vain, the Orient must come into her own and cease to be a field for political and economic exploitation by European Powers. And as for India, 'Britain,' to quote Signor Nieva, 'would profit more with a free India—thankful to her and bound to her by the bonds of gratitude than an India held through the bonds of armed political dependency."

The Navy that India may be asked to maintain must be really Indian.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Mar.

27. "Lord Jellicoe is due here in a few days and rumours are rife that one of the first results of his visit will be the saddling on long-suffering India of a fresh burden in the shape of a Navy, which will be miscalled her 'own'. The Indian Navy will be her 'own', like many other things that are saddled on her—only, she will have no control whatever over it, nor will Indians be allowed to man it. A vehement and timely protest must be made against such unjust proposals when they take shape. The military burdens of India are more than what she can bear and so long as all control and share is denied to her in the Navy she must resolutely oppose any attempt to impose on her a fresh naval burden. If the East Indies squadron requires strengthening, the British Fleet ought to be able to spare some vessels as it has done for Australia and Canada. In view of disarmament proposals and especially in view of the declared readiness of the Imperial

Government to consider requests for the war vessels, the Government of India should lose no time in moving in the matter in the interests of India. At all events, the representatives of the people should bestir themselves betimes and see that the Navy that India may be asked to maintain should in all essential respects of personnel and control be Indian."

The Irish problem and the duty of the British Government.

Home Ruler (5), 1st Mar.

28. "England has her vested interests in Ireland as in India. The Irish harbours and ports are of an immense value to British commerce and shipping. Besides England has her own political advantages by keeping Ireland under her thumb. With these vested interests and with human nature being what it is, it seems hardly likely for England to relinquish all her claims over Ireland. Ireland in that case seems prepared and well organised to adopt a policy of passive resistance against all British administration in Ireland. And if the British Government play the same old game of coercion and repression which on more than a dozen previous occasions has thrown the Irish people into open revolution, all their professions to stand by freedom and justice and rights of smaller nations will have vanished and the dreams of the Peace Conference and the League of Nations in which England has played such an important part will be nipped in the bud. But English statesmanship should think twice before embarking on such a policy; for Ireland to-day is organised and equipped as it never before was; and the new principles enunciated during this war have inspired every Irish man and woman to openly join the ranks of their political liberators, Sinn Feinners. England must destroy them all before she succeeds in restoring peace and quiet. Is she prepared to do it?"

Comments on the Budget of the Government of India.

Servant of India (9), 6th Mar.

29. "Sir James Meston held out no hopes of any substantial diminution in our military charges in the future and, on the other hand, wanted the country to prepare its mind for a scale of expenditure on this head which "must be very much higher than it used to be in peaceful days'..... Whatever one may think of the immediate future, one cannot reconcile oneself to the prospect in years to come, of heavy outlays on armaments and particularly in a poor country like India. Few will feel inclined to grudge to our railways the £6½ million provided for renewals and repairs in the coming year. This expenditure is absolutely necessary in view of the tremendous wear and tear our railways have undergone during the year of war and in view of the desirability of maintaining railway efficiency at a high level. It is, however, difficult to appreciate the extraordinary zeal with which Sir James Meston has hastened to provide nearly £18 million for capital expenditure on the extension of railways..... This lavish grant is obviously intended to placate the commercial interests which have scarcely a good word to say about the excess profits tax and which will have to be largely relied upon for contributions to the next year's loan. One might have expected the Finance Member to evince some enthusiasm for the cause of social and economic development in the near future which was arrested during war time..... The whole outlook is full of uncertainties and the position of the Finance Member is not one to be envied. But the country had a right to expect much more than a bare reference to the needs of education, public well-being and economy, and the Finance Member cannot be congratulated on the scant consideration which he has shown to this all-important aspect of the problem of reconstruction. We are constrained to observe that Sir James Meston has failed to rise to the height of the occasion and promises only to maintain the old traditions of his department and Government, uninfluenced by the growing needs of the country and strong public opinion with regard to them."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 9th Mar.

*30. "The only bright feature of what the Finance Member himself called 'a hard-hearted budget' in the raising of the taxable minimum for income-tax from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000 per annum. This change will be a great relief to the poorest class of income-tax payers who

have been hard hit by the rise in prices all round. For the rest, there is little in the Budget on which we can congratulate the country..... Quite one half of the expenditure of over 85 millions is on account of the Army..... We are unable to share Sir James Meston's satisfaction at the unprecedentedly large sum of nearly 18 millions which has been allotted to railways..... The Finance Member's eloquence when referring to the sore trials which the country has had to undergo and is undergoing is touching, but it is not much else. A friendly journal takes it 'as a good omen that while preaching the need for economy in all non-essentials, Sir James Meston couples with it courtageous outlay on the essentials.' Judged in the light of his Budget, this can only mean that in the opinion of the *Pioneer* at least, the only essentials are the Army and Railway, and that education, sanitation and all the rest of what are known as nation-building functions of the State are non-essentials. In other words, the people of India exist for the Army and the Railways and not these great institutions for the people!"

Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd Mar.

31. "Whatever may be the conflict of views regarding Sir William Meyer's method of nursing the finances of the country —and special difficulties he had to overcome cannot be overlooked—and whatever his many merits, for which we have always given him full credit, no impartial critic of his policy can deny that the economies which he exercised in regard to expenditure on what are regarded as nation-building activities such as education, sanitation, agriculture and industries, were not only 'unspeakably sordid' for those times but have in the event proved, as non-official critics always prophesied, a means of retarding the natural development of the country and its people. This was never so clearly demonstrated as by the needs of the war, when the Secretary of State and other British statesmen were constrained to deplore the shortsighted policy which left a county, rich in illimitable resources of potential wealth, in such a poor condition that it could not render that measure of material assistance in the war which the adoption of a wise and liberal policy of development during the preceding decades would have enabled it to do..... The financial statement for the year 1919-20, which Sir James presented to the Imperial Council on Saturday, unfortunately, does not show that he has learnt the lesson betimes. In spite of his admission that conditions are infinitely easier to-day than those which faced his predecessors, he has not had the statesmanship and courage to depart from their policy which was not wrongly described as being 'penurious and lacking in enterprise'. The current year, as he said, has been a period of crisis and dramatic change. The war has ended and with it, to a considerable extent, its enormous exaction of money and material. The features of the current year need not detain us. We need emphasise only one point and that is the measure of the assistance which India rendered in the shape of export of foodstuffs to meet the needs of the Allied Countries. Exports of cereals rose by over 50 per cent. to a total in 1917-18 of 5,400,000 tons valued at £36,000,000. In the case of wheat the record figure of 1,500,000 tons was reached. In the earlier months of the current year, India's contribution of foodstuffs was maintained at an even higher level than in 1917. Having regard to the internal economic situation in the country, aggravated as it has been by the prevalence of epidemics, scarcity and high prices and famine, these figures are significant and we hope, their significance will not be lost upon the Viceroy, Sir Claude Hill and others who have repeated so often the parrot-cry that India has not suffered as much from high prices as other belligerent countries..... Turning to the next year, we cannot, of course, prophesy what development may take place as a result of the end of the war. But one thing is certain and it is that the world's expenditure on armaments will be immensely reduced, as compared with the years of war. We are surprised, therefore, at the pessimistic view of the Finance Member, that the scale of expenditure on the military side must be very much higher than it used to be in peaceful days. Even making a generous allowance for the necessarily slow process of demobilisation and the imperative duty of liberally rewarding the services of the soldiers of freedom and of their families, and of the defence of the country, it seems too much that a poor country like India, which has already contributed much more towards war expenditure than was fair and reasonable,

should be asked to bear a burden of £41½ millions for military purposes alone—a burden which represents just a half of the total budget of outlay for all purposes for the next year. To the Finance Member there may be nothing 'wonderful' in this, but to the people of the country who have to pay and who have still no voice in determining what financial burdens they should bear and in seeing that their money is not extravagantly spent, this is an unjustifiable drain on their resources, particularly as the present Finance Member gives no hope either of stringent ecenomies in the other great spending departments or of a liberal outlay on the essential needs of education, public health and material development..... Education and sanitation,—the crying needs of the country—are characteristically treated in Sir James Meston's speech. They are conspicuous by their omission."

*32. "The financial statement presented by Sir James Meston must inevitably cast a saddening gloom all over the country..... With the utmost economy possible, the military charges are expected to consume nearly £ 42·2 millions, *i.e.*, more than half of the revenue of the poorest country on this globe will be engulfed by this department alone!..... One cannot but shudder to think that so much should be required for the protection of the country inhabited by the gentlest people on the earth!.. ..... Of course, we know that much of this enormous amount is absolutely wasted in heavy but unnecessary payments to the foreign troops that are no better than the Indian soldiers in ability, hardihood, resourcefulness, intelligence and courage. Indian man-power can be had for cheaper rates than the foreigners, but the Government of India are so perverse-minded or are so distrustful of Indian soldiers and the Indian people, that they will not consent to have cheaper Indian substitutes of equal merits for the costlier Europeans in the higher ranks of the army. This is a standing scandal of, and a perennial memorial to the wasteful and distrustful administration of the country..... The Railways come next. They will take up nearly £ 24·2 millions!..... The railways and the Army have thus neary 80 per cent. of the total revenue. One can then very easily see how pitiable must be the condition of the 'essentials of progress' such as education, sanitation, industries, agriculture and the like. All these are kept on starvation allowance and are accommodated within 20 per cent. left compassionately to their lot. And yet the Viceroy and the Government members are very anxious to provide for industries in the near future! How they can or intend to do it one is at a loss to know. The financial statement, as it stands, holds out no hope for the realisation of their ambitious programme. Only one realieving feature noticeable is the raising of the taxable minimum of income-tax from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000."

Mahrátta (7), 9th Mar.

33. "What justification is there for arranging the Budget for next year on practically a war basis? In the first instance the consideration of the ultra-legal charges accepted last September, which was promised by Sir William Meyer, if there was agricultural distress on account of famine, has not been undertaken and there is going to be an outlay of £12·7 millions in the current year and £8·7 millions in 1920-21. No one who is familiar with the economic stress through which this country is passing at the moment, with the depression of trade, with famine conditions and impending economic crisis through the weakness of our currency system would say that these burdens would not be too heavy on this country and that the policy involving their continuance even in the changed circumstances is at once unrighteous and harsh. We would indicate further our surprise and amazement at the bonus of £2 millions to British troops. In protesting against this, we are not unmindful of the services rendered by these troops in the defence of this country. But when we see terrible poverty all round, when we see no programmes of sanitation and of every improvement most urgently needed, when we see people dying like rats through the ravages of epidemics, we must ask the Government of India, in all seriousness, whether they think this country could afford to show courtesy or generosity to British troops to the extent of over three crores of rupees at this moment. There is no justification for this, not even the

Young India (15), 6th Mar.

miserable farce which was enacted with regard to £45 millions, and we have no hesitation in saying that under present economic conditions, this is an unwise act of the Government of India and they should have shown the courage to withstand the pressure, brought upon them from the United Kingdom, to safeguard the more urgent needs of the Indian population entrusted to their care. Further, the year 1919-20 in which there is no war expected, in which a League of Nations is to be established, in which armaments are to be reduced all round, this poor country will spend £41 millions, that is to say, 62 crores of rupees on military expenditure! This sum would be half of the gross revenue of the Government of India and more than double of the maximum expenditure for military purposes in any of the pre-war years. This is really monstrous and it seems to us that the question of constitutional reforms pales before the need of severe economy in the Military Department because after all, so long as this department continues to absorb the bulk of available money, all other schemes must remain in suspense..... It is in order to provide for the ultra-legal charges accepted last September—the imposition of which under present conditions of the country seems to us altogether immoral—that Sir James Meston is proposing to levy the Excess Profits Duty from which he expects as a very cautious estimate £7½ millions. We have nothing to do with the question of the justice of taxing those who made money out of the war. It is no consolation to one Indian to be told that the money is going to come out of the pockets of other Indians. The aspect of the programme which strikes us most is that over 10 crores of rupees would come out of the pockets of the most enterprising set of men in the community and this sum will go towards defraying the war expenses accepted at a moment of military crisis but altogether unjust in view of the changed situation since that date. This only illustrates to our mind the absolute helplessness of our people and their inability to influence the financial policy of the Government of India even where the injustice is most obvious and palpable. In no country in the world could such a heavy levy be put for such an object in the midst of economic distress and danger but in India. It seems that there is no going back, once an arrangement has been fixed upon, however much the people may suffer and however much they protest. In a Budget in which military matter looms so large, it is futile to look for any definite scheme of public utility..... While the Budget has been very ably drawn up and lucidly explained, we cannot help feeling that it is altogether disappointing from the standpoint of progress and is coloured very largely by military considerations which the public had a right to expect would not now weigh so much with the Government."

*34. "It is neither fair nor humane to talk about the necessity of 'giant' æroplanes when a severe famine intensified by the high war prices and dire epidemics have produced widespread misery and suffering. It is not a little extraordinary that the Finance Member should readily spare £24 millions for railway renewals, the purchase of rolling stock and railway development, whilst irrigation which is more important to the people should have only one million. Whilst appreciating the urgent requirements of railways, the capital expenditure of £17½ millions is wholly unjustifiable and inopportune. How England has made use of her political domination for establishing her economic domination in this country and how British capitalists, traders and merchants have forced the hands of the authorities with a view to accomplish this object is well known. The latter are interested in keeping up an uninterrupted stream of imports and exports and the distribution of British goods on favourable terms and the huge outlay on railway programmes is eminently calculated to gratify their wishes..... It is monstrous that nearly half the revenue should be spent on the military services and a little less than one-third on an ambitious railway programme in response to the selfish cry of British capitalists, traders and manufacturers, whilst irrigation, education, sanitation and industrial development are treated in a provokingly niggardly and unsympathetic spirit. We gratefully welcome the exemption

Gujarâti (18), 9th Mar., Eng. cols.

of incomes up to Rs. 2,000 from the operation of the income-tax. That is the only bright feature of Sir James Meston's first budget, but the rest is full of grievous disappointment and we confess we cannot congratulate him on it."

35. "Heavy military expenditure is the feature of Sir James Meston's first budget. He has not given an extra pie for education, sanitation and irrigation upon which alone the progress, the health and wealth of the people depend. He has given instead very sweet promises for the future. But man cannot live by promises. He wants something substantial and this he has not got..... Even in England, during the terrible war, expenditure on education was greatly increased and never curtailed..... Here the first call to curtail expenditure on account of the war was made on education. ..... If it cannot obtain the necessary money by curtailing expenditure Government must be prepared to raise loans for education, sanitation and industry. The whole nation will co-operate with them..... And with fresh commitment in Mesopotamia and East Africa India is made to pay for the luxury of Britain being their mandatory. It is England that must pay for her armies in these countries, or her capitalists who wish to keep them for their exploitation. We must protest against this financial injustice."

New Times (8), 5th Mar.

36. The *Kesari* complains that Indian Finance Ministers have been addicted to the practice of under-estimating revenue. It notes that Sir James Meston seems to have made some improvement in the practice and budgetted revenue from the Railways at 80 crores and from Customs at 20 crores. It appears to the paper that Sir James Meston wants to break the practice in vogue and it commends it if persisted in. It considers as satisfactory that no new tax has been imposed except the Excess Profits Tax and that the assessable limit for income tax has been raised from 1,000 to 2,000. It is very regrettable in its eye that only 144,000 persons should be found in the whole of India liable to pay the income tax and that two-thirds of them should be Europeans. It makes a protest against the military expenditure which amounts to 63 crores, that is, 52 per cent. of the revenue. It points out that the military expenditure of other countries is being reduced, and declares that the ambitions of the Imperial Government are responsible for the heavy burden. Another objectionable feature in its eyes is the money lavished on Railways while next to nothing has been allotted to irrigation. The Inchcape Commission, says the paper, had fixed 18 crores for Railways whereas Government propose to spend 36 crores on that item and only 60 lakhs on canals. The statement of the Finance Minister that the poor have not been taxed is objected to by the paper which says that the increased rates levied by the Railways, and Postal and Telegraph Departments press upon the poor and the middle classes. These increased rates, says the paper, yield an additional revenue of 25 to 30 crores which have been annexed by the Military Department alone. The cause of the increasing military expenditure is, according to it, increasing military ambition and the Imperial policy. It is untenable economically and from the point of view of justice and on principle, argues the paper, that poor Indians should have to satisfy the unbounded ambitions of the Empire. [The *Indu Prakásh* recognises that greater military expenditure is inevitable as demobilisation can proceed slowly and as rewards will have to be paid to the brave, but it says that greater economy could have been practised in other matters. The *Dnyán Prakásh* says that Government were exhibiting unnecessary haste in laying down the Railway programme as they will have to make arrangements for paying off short-time loans. It further says that Government do not seem to consider matters dear to the people as of very great importance as otherwise Sir James Meston would have prominently referred to economical and educational reforms and the disappointment felt by some regarding the policy of the new Finance Minister, says the paper, is to be attributed to this feature.]

Kesari (114), 4th Mar.; *Indu Prakásh* (42), 6th Mar.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (39), 6th Mar.

37. The Budget is unsatisfactory on the whole except that it affords some relief to middle class people engaged in service by raising the minimum for the Income-Tax. It does not afford any proof of a change in the angle of vision of Sir James Meston. We have to say nothing against 9¾ crores being ear-marked for effecting improvements on Railways. But over and above this amount 26¾ crores have been set apart for Railway extention! Everyone is aware that Government spend the maximum amount on Railways and the minimum on irrigation. But the new budget surpasses all the past ones in its partiality for Railways. We fail to understand why Government should have thought of spending such a large amount on Railway extension in a single year. It is to be regretted that not even a crore of rupees have been set apart for irrigation which is far more needed in India than Railways. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed*, the *Bombay Samáchár* and *Shri Venkateshwar* also express disapproval of the vast sum budgetted for Railways as compared to the sum set apart for irrigation. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* discusses the Budget at great length and finds fault with Government for what it considers as an inordinately large amount earmarked for Railways compared to the apparent neglect of irrigation, sanitation and education. The *Hindusthán* writes:—Had the Finance Minister set apart for agriculture and industries even five per cent. of the amount earmarked for the Army and Railways there would have been no possibility of the occurrence of famine and pestilence for another twenty-five years. A stone is given to Indians when they ask for bread. In these circumstances, is it to be wondered that friends of India like the British Prime Minister himself should protest against Indians being made hewers of wood and drawers of water?]

Sánj Vartamán (32), 3rd Mar.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 3rd Mar.; *Bombay Samáchár* (63), 5th Mar.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (85), 4th Mar.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 3rd Mar.; *Hindusthán* (22), 3rd Mar.

38. The scheme of reforms is now under discussion and the Muhammadans of India are not adequately represented on the India Council. While Mr. Montagu is once more the Secretary of State for India, the Under Secretary is our follow-countryman, Sir S. P. Sinha, which is a matter for gratification. Thus there will now be so to say three Hindus and one Muhammadan on the India Council. The Muhammadan gentleman is Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan who regards himself an Indian first and a Muhammadan afterwards, and is even opposed to communal representation being given to Muhammadans. It is he who now represents the Muhammadans of India in the discussion of the Reform scheme. In view of the fact that communal representation has been discredited in the Report on Indian Reforms one can realise what consideration will be shown to Muslim claims in the India Council. In this connection we would also point out that no Muhammadan has been appointed to represent Muslim interests at the Peace Conference. Having regard to these facts the Muhammadans have reason to complain of the inadequacy of their representation. It is hoped that the Government will consider the matter and satify the Moslem claim.

Grievances of Muhammadans in the matter of representation on the India Council and the Peace Conference.

Aftáb-i-Sind (141), 22nd Feb.

39. In a further article on the question of the Khaliphate, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* writes:—If you believe Sultan Wahiduddin to be your Khalif, then put this belief into practice, and the only way of doing it is to hold meetings in every town with a view to bring home to the authorities this (fact) that the Musalmans look upon the tricks of Sherif Husain as mere deceit. His Imperial Majesty Sultan Wahiduddin being alive, another man's claim to be the Khalif, however much his lineage be noble and however much his claim be based on reason and tradition, is totally false. The only Khalif of the Musalmans is Sultan Wahiduddin, and he alone is the true servant of the Spiritual Head of the Muhammadans. [The paper then exhorts the Moslems of Bombay to give up sloth and convene a public meeting on a grand scale, and adds:—It is of the utmost importance that its president should be a learned man, well-versed in

The future of the Khaliphate.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (150), 2nd Mar.

the laws of Islam. The following items should be discussed in the meeting: — The only Khalif of the Muhammadans is Sultan Wahiduddin; the Powers professing other faiths have no right according to Islamic Law to interfere with the question of the Khaliphate; hence none of the belligerents is entitled to intervene in the question of the Khaliphate; the Holy Places of Islam subject to the Khalif should be evacuated, as a promise was made before the war about their honour, protection, and non-intervention; the Sultan should remain (as before) the guardian and patron of Mesopotamia, Syria and the Hejaz; the Sharif or any other person has no right to separate a province from the kingdom of the Ottoman Empire and bring it under his rule, as it is necessary for the Sultan to be a Servant of Mecca and Medina; the Musalmans of India abhor the claims of Greece and Italy and declare it publicly that any change in the present status of Turkey would cause dissatisfaction throughout the Muslim world; finally prayers should be offered for the Sultan's success and prayers should also be offered that the relations of friendship between Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire might be improved and strengthened. [Elsewhere the paper reports that a meeting of the Musalmans of Bombay under the chairmanship of Seth Mian Muhamad Haji Janmuhamad Chottani will be held by the 15th March to discuss this question.]

Comments on the claims of the South African Union to be mandatory for the German East African Colonies.

Home Ruler (5), 1st Mar.

40. Referring to the future of the German African Colonies and to 'the claim of the Union of South Africa for mandatory right over the conquered German territory mostly inhabited by coloured races and Indians, on the ground that it was the Union's troops and Miltary organization that were engaged for the conquest,' the *Home Ruler* writes:—"We are not able to understand why this greed for territory and on such flimsy grounds of reward for services, specially as the Union in consonance with other parts of the Empire and the allies has proclaimed from the housetops that their troops have fought for Liberty, Freedom and Justice and for no other gain. By the bye, is this claim of the South African Union, like that of the British 'conquerors' of Hindustan for the trusteeship of coloured races and Indians, inspired by a geniune desire to promote the welfare of the natives of the conquered lands with a view to gradually bring the native in the healthy amosphere of self-government and self-determination? And will the progress and prosperity of the native and Indian in the new territory be pursued on the lines adopted in the treatment of Indians and coloured people in the very heart of the Union itself?"

Comments on the reported relinquishment by Lord Sinha of his seat on the Peace Conference.

Mahrátta (7), 9th Mar.

***41.** "'Pax' writing from London to the *Leader* of Allahabad, makes the astounding statement that 'Lord Sinha has relinquished his position at the Peace Conference, as one of the Indian delegates' and that the Right Honourable Mr. Montagu has been appointed, or rather has appointed himself, to represent Indian interests at the allied Peace Council!' This has also been corroborated by the London correspondent of the *Searchlight*. 'Pax' says that he was 'told by an Indian authority' that 'Lord Sinha as Under Secretary for India cannot take precedence over his immediate chief, hence it was found necessary to call him back.' 'Thus ends,' he says, 'the first chapter of the Indian Peace Delegation Drama.' If what 'Pax' says is true, then we cannot but strongly condemn the British Government for adding this insult to our injury. In the first place they injured the cause of India by refusing to her the right of sending elected delegates to the Peace Conference, and asked the Government of India to send 'nominated' members instead. And now when a nominated Indian takes his seat in the conference, they quietly ask him to withdraw on a frivolous excuse! Is it not an insult to India and to Lord Sinha also? We do not know how and why the latter pocketed it, but pocket it he may or not, India cannot but feel that she is deeply humiliated by this official chicanery. Will the Government of India throw some light on this question and ease away the minds of the public?"

42. "We are no less enthusiastic about the work of the District Officer than Mr. Montagu himself. He is the pivot of the administration. All his qualities of head and heart are familiar to us. But Mr. Montagu forgets that the District Officer has now lost his personality and become part of the bureaucratic machine, registering only the orders of the Secretariat. The District Officer has, at present, no initiative. The District Officer, about whom Mr. Montagu wrote in such an enthusiastic vein to Sir J. D. Rees, existed in prehistoric times. Whatever plan Parliament may ordain in the fulness of its wisdom for the political progress of India, no doubt the District Officer will be essential, as Mr. Montagu says, but it is better that he should know and realise his position. Is it open to him to say now that he does not agree with such and such a view of Government and that, therefore, he will decline to be a party to it, while remaining in service? Just as he at present obeys Government or resigns, in future also he will have to obey Government or resign. He cannot be allowed to block the progress of India on imaginary grounds of his status and position. Just as permanent service in England has nothing to do with the fact whether the ministry is Liberal or Tory and has to serve faithfully and honestly all the ministries, so also district officers in India cannot be allowed to make any reservations, in case Government become partly or wholly Indian, by the admission of Indian ministers and they must obey all orders without distinction."

The duties of the District Officers under the new Reforms Scheme.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th Mar.

43. Commenting on the Government Press Note on famine in the Bombay Presidency, the *Praja Bandhu* says:—Government would accept the existence of famine in a particular district only if the people resorted in sufficient numbers to the test works opened by them, otherwise they would accept the existence of scarcity only, no matter how high the prices might go and how insufficient the supply of food-grains and fodder might be! This way of ascertaining famine and scarcity is defective, and as a result Government are not able to organise prompt and effective measures to mitigate the actual distress. They are not taking steps as effectively as they should for importing foodstuffs from other parts of the country. They ought to use their authority in commandeering steamships for importing rice from Burma, or the heavy freight charges should be paid for from the public treasury as a famine measure so that the public may get rice at cheaper rates. Control of transport and high freights have caused considerable hardships to the public for the last three or four months. The condition of cattle in the Deccan is extremely pitiable. We thank Government for what they have done to ease the situation, but we note with regret the absence of promptitude which Government ought to show to mitigate the effects of famine. [The *Káthiáwár Samáchár* asks Government to reduce the freight on rice and hopes that Government will provide funds for opening cheap grain shops. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* expresses its gratification at the Press Note and requests Government to ask their officers to work in co-operation with the Famine Committees in different parts of the Presidency.]

Comments on the Government Press Note on famine conditions in the Presidency.
Praja Bandhu (29), 2nd Mar.; *Káthiáwár Samáchár* (73), 5th Mar.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (26), 2nd Mar.

44. "A Press Note issued by the Government of Bombay states that 'in view of the failure of the last monsoon and the prevailing scarcity, the Governor in Council has decided to extend up to 31st December 1919 the current free season in respect to dealings in mohwra flowers in the Kaira district.' The mohwra flower has always, even in normal times, served as a staple article of food for human beings and fodder for cattle in the Kaira District and the hardships caused by the restriction of the use in these trying days of famine—which the Secretariat scribes in their ineptitude still persist in describing as 'scarcity'—could easily be imagined. We congratulate the Government in recognising the wisdom of removing the restriction, though their decision is rather belated and has not been taken on their own initiative."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th Mar.

45. Almost all the provinces of India are in the grip of famine. It is natural, therefore, for people to inquire what steps Government have taken and are going to take to combat it. It appears from the statement made by the Honourable Sir Claude Hill the other day at the Imperial Legislative Council meeting that Government are moving in the matter. Unfortunately the steps taken by them so far do not appear to have materially altered the condition of the poor. The only credit that we can give them is that their measures may have prevented the situation from becoming worse. People will not derive any substantial benefit from these measures unless they are liberally conceived. The Travancore Durbar supplies food-grains to its subjects at a loss of 25 per cent. Should not our Government also be prepared to suffer at least so much loss if not more? Their decision, however, to obtain wheat from Australia in sufficiently large quantities is satisfactory and will help considerably to ease the situation. We would also urge them to arrange for an adequate supply of waggons for the free distribution of foodstuffs.

Jdgaruk (43), 1st Mar.

46. "The Civil Sub-Assistant Surgeons are amongst the most miserably paid Government employees of similar standing and educational qualifications..... No doubt, his general educational qualification is a little lower than that of the Assistant Surgeon, but that is no reason why so useful and efficient a class of medical assistants should be kept in chronic poverty. To-day, however, we are concerned with the grievances of those who have volunteered—or rather, who have been forced to volunteer—for military duty, especially of those who are doing military duty in India at the various war hospitals, camps and so on..... They have been hit the hardest. They are not only not getting any adequate compensations for their harder duties, but their position has been rendered in many degrees worse off than that of their brethren in civil employ. ..... We hope Government will recognise that these men, whom they have transferred to military service against their inclination and who stand to lose a good deal, financially and otherwise, in comparison with their brethren in the Civil line, deserve some adequate compensation for their loyal service and for the hardships they have been called upon to face. They should be given (1) at least two months' pay as bonus, (2) permanent exemption from grade examination, (3) accelerated promotion by one year for every year of military duty and (4) compensation for loss of professional practice at the rate of Rs. 50 for the last grade and proportionately for higher grades. The Indian commission should also be thrown open to them as a measure of special recognition of their war services."

Grievances of Civil Sub-Assistant Surgeons.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Mar.

47. "Recently Government announced substantial increments to the higher branch of the Telegraph Department. The omission of the junior and clerical branches from the benefit of these increments has naturally created considerable discontent among them. So far as Indians in this department are concerned, this is not the only ground of grievance. A correspondent draws attention to a standing grievance. He writes:—'Now the first question that arises is why is the Telegraph Department kept as a preserve for one class of His Majesty's Indian subjects and that, too, on a higher scale of pay with an additional allowance in the shape of house rent, while only a limited number of the other class, *viz.*, Hindus and Mussalmans, are allowed admission on a lower scale of pay. It need not be mentioned that there is absolutely no difference in the nature of the duties performed by either class. The one class draws higher pay *plus* house rent allowance, while the other class draws lower pay with no house rent. The higher scale of pay is not based on any higher qualifications of the candidates, but solely on their creed..... Now the worst feature of the present system is that a higher scale of pay is allowed to one class based not on merit, but on colour or creed, which is clearly against the great Proclamation of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria. Now what the Indians in the local service urge in the first place is that there should be one scale of pay for all men to be recruited by open

Grievances of Indians in the Telegraph Department.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Mar.

examination. Secondly, as an alternative temporary measure, till the first proposal is given effect to, they urge that at least those of them who serve in Presidency offices with their attendant evils of high rents, costly living and more arduous duties during night and day, some substantial allowance in the shape of house rent or Presidency allowance should be given to them.' The grievance is obviously a just and crying one and Government should see that it is soon redressed, without seeking refuge in the fatuous and familiar plea about the special qualifications of the favoured class. The public is in no mood to tolerate racial bar in any service."

Grievances of District Sub-Inspectors of Police.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th Mar.

48. "A correspondent writes:—'In the Bombay District Police a Sub-Inspector of Police is in charge of a Police Station. There are five grades, *viz.*, of Rs. 50, Rs. 60, Rs. 70, Rs. 80 and Rs. 100. Promotions are given as vacancies occur, and hence a sub-inspector who enlisted in 1909, is to-day in the grade of Rs. 70 after 10 years, and he cannot expect to reach the grade of Rs. 100 even after 10 years. Before the days of the last Police Commission a sub-inspector started with Rs. 60 per month, but since then the minimum has been brought down to Rs. 50. The maximum pay of Rs. 100 was fixed 30 years ago. A sub-inspector as a Police Station Officer is solely responsible for prevention and detection of crimes, and must always be on alert and watch every movement in his jurisdiction which stretches over 10 to 20 miles, and even more. He gets a conveyance allowance of Rs. 15 a month. But even if he travels beyond five miles from the headquarters, he gets no subsistence allowance nor mileage though he covers even 30 miles in his charge within 24 hours. There is a material difference between living of to-day and that of 30 years ago, but the pay of a sub-inspector is the same. Not only this, but even in these hard days of war and famine no allowance at all has been granted to sub-inspectors. Existing miseries were further increased by stopping the house rent allowance of sub-inspectors who are not supplied with free quarters, since March 1916. Will the Government kindly see to this, and relieve the existing discontent amongt the Police Station officers who are the backbone of the Department?' The sub-inspectors manifestly labour under a grievance. The cause of such grievances—and they are numerous—has often been pointed out in these columns. It is this, that the organisation of the Police Department is top-heavy. It is not merely that there are too many superfluous posts in the higher grades, but that the salary allowed is excessive in most cases. On the other hand, the rank and file are underpaid with the inevitable results—discontent and corruption. The decision of the Secretary of State, recently announced, granting substantial increments to high Police officers has only aggravated the existing unfair and uneconomic arrangements."

Appeal to the Police authorities to suppress the 'bucket-shops' started in Bombay in connection with horse-racing.
Akhbár-e-Islám (59), 5th Mar.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (26), 2nd Mar.; *Muslim Herald* (151), 7th Mar.

49. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* draws the attention of the Bombay Police to the bucket-shops in connection with horse-racing started in various parts of the city and apprehends the rapid spread of this kind of gambling among all communities unless the police try to eradicate the evil promptly. The paper thinks that these bucket-shops will do much mischief among the school-boys as their allurements are likely to attract the greatest number from amongst them. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind*, writing in the same strain, adds that it is the duty of the authorities concerned to save the poor and ignorant classes from this disastrous evil. The *Muslim Herald* regrets to note that a very large number of Musalmans, high and low, have taken to betting at the races, and affirms that the poor scrape up money by mortgaging furniture, clothes, and ornaments in the hope of winning a few hundred rupees, but that they never win anything. It also reports that 'bucket-shops' have been recently started in Bombay where those who cannot attend the races satisfy their craving by a little wagering and refers to the remarks of the *Akhbár-e-Islâm* drawing the attention of the police towards them.]

50. Commenting on the judgment of the Second Presidency Magistrate in the case in which a Bohra was charged with publishing objectionable literature, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* opines that justice has been dealt out to the accused in this case and maintains that despite the accused's denial of the charge he was justly convicted as he failed to produce the author though responsible for doing so. Had the accused escaped conviction in this case, the paper remarks, such objectionable writings against spiritual teachers and their followers would in future have gone beyond all bounds among the various Moslem sects. It hopes the judgment will be received with satisfaction among the various Bohra *Jamats*.

Comments on the conviction of a Bohra for publishing literature likely to hurt the susceptibilities of his community.
Akhbár-e-Islám (59), 3rd Mar.

51. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* protests against the proposed introduction in Bombay of the auction system for granting licenses to the retail vendors of toddy. It is of opinion that the introduction of the auction system will entail hardships on the present licensees who have held the licenses for years past and asks Government to fix the license fee within reasonable bounds so as to enable the present license holders to purchase licenses and to avoid incurring additional losses by cancelling the contracts they may have entered into with owners of toddy trees. The *Bombay Samáchár* lends its support to the petition submitted by the license holders of toddy-shops in this matter and expresses a hope that Government will give it the careful consideration it deserves.]

Protest against the proposed introduction of the system of auctioning toddy shop licenses.
Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 3rd Mar.; *Bombay Samáchár* (63), 4th Mar.

52. "The sinister developments of the situation in South Africa, indicated in Mr. Gandhi's *communiqué* to the press, will fill Indians with dismay. The Precious and Base Metals Act, if the interpretation put upon it by the court is true, means ruin, Mr. Gandhi tells us, for merchants and for those residing in the whole of the gold areas, and the Act itself must be changed and the Indian community saved. The refusal of temporary permits to Indians, which is another serious grievance, in spite of the understanding to the contrary at the time of the settlement, is also in pursuance of the policy which the Union Government seems to have decided upon, *viz.*, to reduce the Indian settlers to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water. The 'ruthless extermination' which is thus threatened can only be averted by prompt and effective action by the Government of India and if necessary by the public also..... Will the Government of India act courageously now, as it did in the time of Lord Hardinge?"

The position of Indians in South Africa.
Servant of India (9), 6th Mar.

53. "It is with considerable amazement that we have perused Mrs. Besant's account of her tour in Sind published in *New India* of 17th February. It seems that Mrs. Besant has completely misunderstood the public feeling in this part of the country and if she thinks that the splendid receptions which she received here mean that her policy of severe criticism of the Congress and her pet idea of a blank cheque for negotiating on behalf of India are endorsed by the people she never made a worse mistake in her life. None were more enthusiastic in her reception than the members of the Home Rule League; and none are more strongly opposed to her present policy. Mrs. Besant tried at Hyderabad and again in Shikárpur at meetings of the members of the Home Rule League to get a resolution endorsing her policy carried, but encountering strong opposition she had to give it up. Some of Mrs. Besant's statements are really bewildering, as for example her round declaration that the 'opposition' was a complete failure' and about the deputation that 'almost every one agrees that it should be allowed to negotiate,' when as a matter of fact the opposition completely succeeded in defeating Mrs. Besant from getting an endorsement of her policy passed by a single branch of the League; and on the question of deputation almost every one agrees that it should not be allowed to negotiate.

Mrs. Besant and Sind.
Home Ruler (5), 1st Mar.

Mrs. Besant concludes her article by wondering why she alone 'should be singled out for invective out of the minority in the Congress.' Mrs. Besant must know perfectly well that the criticism levelled at her is not due to the fact that she voted with the small minority in the Congress even though she leads that minority; but it is due to the fact that she has elected to carry on a regular campaign of strong, hostile criticism of the Congress which compels every supporter of the Congress to rally round it."

Alleged need of modifications in the Sind Fallow Rules.
Sind Vâsi (54), 22nd Feb.

54. Zamindars in Sind must be thankful to the Commissioner for his remitting to them the fallow assessments for the current revenue year. It is a pity that Press Notes are issued in connection with matters of trivial importance but not with important decisions such as the remission of the fallow assessment. Surely, we cannot imagine that the Government wish that the zamindars should be at the mercy of the Revenue Department. What we are now concerned with is, the desirability of making a general provision in the fallow rules remitting the follow assessment in a year of low inundation without zamindars making representations and running the risk of forfeiting their holdings. Under the rules as they now stand it is left to the Commissioner to grant or not to grant a general remission. The existing fallow rules are very unjust for zamindars and the earlier they are modified the better. But care must be taken to see that they are not made worse than they now are. We would request the Sind Government to publish the draft rules and invite objections from the public on them as is done in the case of rules on other subjects. We know from personal knowledge that there are several zamindars who are in every way qualified to express their views on questions relating to agriculture. Zamindars have suffered greatly from the fallow rules and it would be an act of injustice for the Government to amend these rules without knowing their views. We hope that the present Commissioner will certainly adopt the usual procedure and invite objections.

Comments on the Education Inspector's scheme for improvement of Mulla Schools in Sind.
Aftâb-i-Sind (141), 22nd Feb.

55. Commenting on the scheme drawn up by the Educational Inspector in Sind for the improvement of Mulla Schools, the *Aftâb-i-Sind* remarks:—If this scheme is sanctioned, the usefulness of the Mulla Schools will be assured. The drawbacks that have hitherto retarded the progress of such schools were just those which are now being removed. We would at the same time point out the desirability of converting Mulla Schools into Local Board institutions, retaining the Mullas and the existing arrangements for imparting religious education. It is of the utmost importance that Hindu-Sindhi should be taught in Mulla Schools, for Muhammadans have been ruined for want of a knowledge of it. If the boys learn some crafts also, they will have learnt all that was necessary for them to learn and all objections which are now raised against the Mulla Schools will have disappeared. It is at the same time necessary that the authorities should think of improving the Educational Department in Sind. To this end the number of Muhammadan officials in the department, which is very small, should be increased, and the courses of instruction, which are being added to from time to time, should be made simpler. The paucity of the Muhammadan masters and Inspectors is a great bar to the progress of Muhammadan education. If Mulla Schools alone are thought of much improvement cannot be expected.

Complaint about frequency of thefts at Hyderabad (Sind) and the inadequacy of the local Police force.
New Times (8), 4th Mar.

56. "This week a cry has been raised from every quarter of Hyderabad complaining of thefts..... A correspondent draws attention of the authorities to the insufficient and ill-paid Police which he alleges is the chief cause of frequent thefts being committed at Hyderabad. Only 150 Police sepoys for such a big and growing town of Hyderabad! Think of the wages given to the protectors and keepers of peace; the Police Constable gets less than annas eight per day. Is it not a wonder that when the emoluments of the Higher Grade services

are being revised the poor underlings are left to keep their body and soul together by hook or crook?"

57. The new Income Tax forms have subjected many a merchant to hardship, but in this connection the vow of resorting to "Passive Resistance" taken by Mr. Tahilram Mulchand, the editor of the *Lárkána Gazette*, is particularly noteworthy. Mr. Tahilram says that the tax of Rs. 25 has been unjustly imposed on his press as according to his belief it has been imposed on him simply with the intention of punishing him for protesting against the authorities in connection with the Larkana House Tax. We hope patriotic persons will sympathise with this Passive Resister and help him in case his property is attached and sold on account of his present vow.

The passive resistance vow of the editor of the *Lárkána Gazette*.
Hitechhu (71), 23rd Feb.

58. "There is a general hue and cry amongst merchants in Karáchi against heavy assessment of Income-Tax. The curious way in which the Income-Tax Collector has assessed the Tax shows that there is a good ground for complaint against these arbitrary assessments..... The appeals of several merchants against heavy assessment have been thrown out on the ground that no form was filled in! We invite the attention of the authorities concerned, and urge that a just view of the matter be taken in each case. The right way to assess, if the official will not trust the merchant's own statements, is to carefully look into the account books; and not trust the reports of rival businessmen and underlings of the 'Enquiry Department'."

Complaint about income-tax assessment at Karáchi.
New Times (8), 2nd Mar.

LEGISLATION.

59. "How long! Oh how long we ask, will the British Government humbug the world by its hollow pretentions of making the world safe for democracy? While the Peace Conference sits at Paris to formulate a scheme for maintaining a permanent peace, for the substitution of the principle of self-determination in place of foreign dominations, shakles and fetters are being forged in the Imperial Council in the form of Rowlatt Bills. This sort of coercive legislation appearing as a sequel of the war, sends a thrill of horror and fear through the minds of even the sober-minded section of the community. India lavished profusely her treasure and blood in helping the Allies to replace militarism by democracy but to her surprise she stands outside the arena of free nations..... And did not Mrs. Besant the other day aptly remark that 'the price of loyalty is freedom.' But the bureaucracy in India sets at naught all the dictates of conscience and tramples upon the rights of Indians by instituting a measure detrimental to the health of the body politic of the nation. Coercion is a short cut to revolution. If the bureaucracy intends to generate discontent by coercive legislation they are sowing seeds of a future revolution that will be subversive of good order and peace."

Comments on the Rowlatt Bills.
Sind Advocate (10), 20th Feb.

60. "Those who want to remove the suspicions so vaguely expressed by Mr. Gandhi from the minds of the Indians who entertain them must first of all try to have a clear grasp of the ideas which lie at the root of those suspicions. Although nobody was willing to put it in that way, everybody in India who agitated for a great advance towards Home Rule, just when the War was at its worst, thought that all the talk of the changed angle of the British people towards Indian aspirations was in reality the result of the grave situation on the various frontiers of the War..... As the War suddenly took a turn so favourable to England, people of this way of thinking became extremely nervous about the prospects of the agitation they were carrying on..... The successful termination of the War, therefore, made them anxious about the fruition of their political ambitions which were based upon the misfortunes of the British in the war..... With the success in the War, England's liberalism must have vanished into the air. That was the con-

Deccan Ryot (4), 6th Mar.

clusion that this class of our politicians were already drawing when the Rowlatt Bills were introduced into the Council. Britain cares a pin for her promises to grant a large measure of responsible Government to India. Her statesmen have not always been, some would say have never been, too scrupulous in keeping the promises given. Our only hopes were the continued difficuties in the military situation..... What remained for Indian patriots was to create fresh difficulties for England, if not through a War, through the instrumentality of a fresh agitation which must be sufficiently threatening. Such an agitation must be launched upon as soon as it is certain that nothing of a substantial nature comes out of Mr. Montagu's effort. It is while people were in this frame of mind that the Rowlatt Bills were announced. What is their immediate aim? They are born of a determination on the part of the *Sarkar* to offer only a shadow of powers to India and repress any agitation that might spring from disappointment. If one looks at the Bills as a sure indication of the hollowness of the reforms that are to come, the point which Mr. Gandhi wishes to make out by referring to the 'setting' of the Bill is quite clear..... Then we have the Viceroy declaring from his high position that the civil service will not be adversely affected by the powers of the Ministers which may mean that the Ministers will be invested with only a sham responsibility. He is also assuring the European commercial interests of perfect safety under the new *régime*. Does it not mean that the process of exploitation now going on in India is to be continued for ever and that Indians must continue to supply raw materials to the European manufacturers who must subject us to an economic bleeding process? If the Viceroy's assurances referred to by Mr. Gandhi do not mean all this—we hope they do not—the only remedy is to cease beating about the bush and launch upon a bold and comprehensive policy of industrial, genuinely Indian industrial expansion..... We are sure that the suspicions so far described are considerably unjust and unmerited. We have absolutely no doubt at all that the Reform proposals are the result of a genuine feeling of friendship towards Indians. We think that those who have been thinking otherwise are doing a grave wrong to the great democracy which is perfectly sound at heart, as much as to the majority of those who are concerned with Indian affairs in the Parliament. There is every reason to look to the future of our country with cheerfulness and hope. But we have tried to depict the feelings of our political classes as they actually are at this moment. It is no good holding back the fact that these classes have grown intensely suspicious about the sincerity of those who will control high politics. It is not wise to be quite satisfied with your own convictions that you are just and righteous. In the Government of a country, you must also take into account populiar feelings and fears. We see no harm in proceeding with the Rowlatt Bills a little bit slowly till the reforms proposals are out. If they prove to be what we feel sure they will, capable of satisfying *really* moderate Indians, we think that the back of the present agitation against the Rowlatt Bills will be well nigh broken. The Government rightly thinks that the two are wholly unconnected. What harm is there in proving that this is *in fact* so as the Government is so streueously contending?"

61. "To-day is the second anniversary of the Press Deputation that waited on the Viceroy and it is pertinent to note that the abhorrence with which the whole Indian Press, without exception, looks upon the Press Act of 1910 has in no way abated with the progress of years. Indeed the case against this hated piece of legislation is growing stronger every day and now that the war has ended, it is imperative that the fetters on the Indian press should be knocked off without delay. That the bureaucracy in India are in no mood to see these fetters removed goes without saying. Indeed, if anything, they seem disposed to tighten the shackles and the Rowlatt Bills contain provisions which are bound to prove a greater menace to the freedom of the press than anything hitherto enacted. Internments without trial, trials without publicity, searches and arrests without warrants, forfeitures of documents and punishments for possession of so-called seditious documents and such other acts of executive

The Rowlatt Bills are a greater threat to the freedom of the Indian Press than the Press Act itself.

Young India (15), 6th Mar.

zoolum are aimed no less against Indian journalists and press proprietors than against other political workers in the field. The forces of reaction which are gathering from all sides in this country spell the doom of all honest journalism and an independent press in India, as they spell the doom of civic liberties in many other ways. It goes without saying, therefore, that the emancipation of India from the menace of the Rowlatt legislation will mean at the same time the emancipation, to a very great extent, of the Indian press too from the galling chains which prevent its free growth. In the coming struggle, the Indian press will have to play a prominent and courageous part, keeping fully in the van of the fight. We have little doubt that the ordeal will find the Indian press fully prepared to make all the sacrifices demanded of it in the holy struggle."

Comments on the report of the Select Committee on one of the Rowlatt Bills.
Servant of India (9), 6th Mar.

62. "The report of the Select Committee on the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill is now out..... The two points in respect of which improvements have been made or objections removed are, first, the limitation of the duration to three years, as to which an undertaking had already been given by the member in charge of the Bill; and, secondly, the restriction of the measure expressly and unequivocally to 'anarchical and revolutionary crime.' It is idle to pretend that both these are not important improvements..... This precludes the possibility of the contention that the measure 'might be used or rather abused for the purpose of suppressing legitimate political activities,'—a contention which the original wording of the Bill gave reasonable ground for urging. In this respect, therefore, the Bill as now worded is a distinct improvement. Although the proposed measure is thus specifically restricted to offences connected with anarchical and revolutionary movements, its provisions are open to objection on the main ground that the whole framework is based, in some of its most vital parts, on mere executive order..... This feature of the Bill is repugnant to a judicial conscience, and in so far as the Select Committee have declined to obliterate it and have persisted in retaining it, the 'policy and principles' of the Bill cannot but be disapproved. It is perhaps not easy for those who are used to exercise executive authority unchecked and uncontrolled by the parliamentary correctives and safeguards of removal from office by a vote of the legislature, to appreciate the force of the critics who are averse to invest the executive with more power even though it be ostensibly to suppress anarchical revolutionary crime, so long as the executive is not responsible to the elect of the people. Extraordinary weapons of great potency and far-reaching range, if made easily accessible in the armoury of the executive, are apt, by their very sight and facility and swiftness of execution, to tempt the possessor into ill deeds..... The provisions of the Bill, therefore, which give practically unrestricted power to the executive make it a drastic measure. That the proposed legislation is unnecessary at the present moment and is not urgent, as the operation of the Defence of India Act will continue for another nine months or a year, is a contention which has not been challenged. The opposition, therefore, to the 'principles and policy' of the bill remains, although the bill has been improved in two important particulars by the Select Committee..... As to the procedure for a judicial trial embodied in Part 1, while it may be conceded that it is in some respects an improvement over the provisions of the original Bill, the principle of giving an accused person the option of offering himself as a witness on his own behalf is open to grave objections..... The conditions in England differ vitally from those which prevail here in two fundamental respects which have a direct bearing on the question. The first is that in England the trial is by a Jury, so that the very fact that an accused person has volunteered to prove his own innocence by going into the witness box himself is bound to produce an impression favourable to the accused in the minds of laymen of ordinary commonsense, upon whose robust sense of fairness and justice, untramelled by legal technicalities, the fate of the accused depends..... The second point in respect of which there is a vital difference between conditions which prevail in England and in India, is as regards the composition and *personnel* of the judiciary, which in England is recruited entirely from the ranks of the practising lawyers..... We think, therefore, that this innovation of

allowing an accused person the option of offering himself as a witness on his own behalf is not desirable in this country in the interest of the accused himself, however much it may be hedged round by apparent safeguards prohibiting an inference adverse to the accused being drawn from his not having availed himself of this option."

*63. "On Saturday before last the Select Committee's report on the Criminal Emergency Power Bill, which is one of the two Rowlatt Bills, was presented to the Imperial Legislative Council. The two important amendments introduced in Committee are that the duration of the Bill is proposed to be restricted to three years, and words are inserted to the effect that the provisions of the Bill shall apply only to anarchic and revolutionary crime. There are a number of other amendments giving a little more rope to the accused person than did the original Bill, but nothing is done to make the roping-in process more in accord with the principles and forms which invest it with a judicial character. The objection being to the discarding of judicial methods in dealing with a person accused under the Bill, changes in regard to the police station at which reports should be made or in the length of time that an order under it should be in force, do not affect the character of the Bill from the subjects' point of view. What does it really matter to a man punished under this Bill whether the rules made for the guidance of visiting committees are or are not published in the official *Gazette*? And what difference does it make, whether the period contemplated by clause 40, sub-clause 3, is thirty days as in the original draft or twenty-one days in the Select Committee's revised Bill? 'It will be observed,' says the Select Committee's report, 'that all the amendments we have made in the Bill are amendments in favour of the subject and that, on the other hand, the main scheme of the Bill has not been materially altered.' The last part of the sentence is perfectly true, but as for the first part, the favours conferred on the subject are not likely to avail him much in proving his innocence if he happens to be innocent."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 9th Mar.

64. "We are surprised to find that the three Moderate leaders who disapprove of the recommendations of the majority report in each of the important clauses, have chosen to sign the latter report content only with a minute of dissent. Unfortunately the fact, of which the majority report makes a good deal, that the Bill is now limited in duration of legislative efficacy only to three years, and that its objects have been restricted to offences connected with anarchical and revolutionary crime—this amendment, we are afraid, is illusory—has apparently influenced them in its favour so much that tacitly they seem to consent to its being placed on the Statute Book. They tell us they are against it in principle. Are they, then, for it for three years with the full willingness to surrender their objection to it on principle for a definite amount of time? Are they so sure that the phrase 'revolutionary crime' will not embrace, in the wider applications of it by the C. I. D., incitement to disaffection, which will eventually lead again to that most mischievous of discursions—what is disaffection?..... The dissenting note looks upon the presence of clause 21 with great suspicion. It says, 'it is part of our general objection to the Bill that no restriction should be imposed on the personal liberty of a citizen, except as the result of a conviction in a court of law.' This is, indeed, an extremely satisfactory manner of stating the case for the Indian people; but Messrs. Surendranath, Sastri and Shafi fall back into the moderate mire. 'Assuming, however', they proceed to state, 'that it is necessary to give the Executive Government such extraordinary powers we indicate below certain points on which we differ from the majority report.' We can only express our deep regret that we should, at this time in the political history of India, have in her highest house of legislature men who are ready to entertain such an hypothesis." [In its next issue the paper writes:—"The notes of dissent of the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the Honourable Messrs. Patel and Khaparde which were ruled out and not included in the Select Committee's report on the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill on the technical ground that only members signing a report are entitled to append

Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th and 6th Mar.

such minutes, embody in the most emphatic and unequivocal manner the verdict of the country on this coercive measure which the Government seems determined to place on the Statute Book against the unanimous opposition of the people..... Mr. Khaparde has gone to the root of the question in describing the Bill as being based on departures from principles which are the foundation of civilised government. As such, it cannot commend itself to any citizen who has any sense of personal self-respect, if not of national honour. That is the only valid point of view from which the Bill can be regarded. There is no other except that which would sanction a sinister design to stifle and, in time, to destroy, all political and public life worth the name in the country. From this point of view the attitude of the Moderate members of the Select Committee in recording their opinion that they disapprove of the policy and the principles of the Bill and must reserve their right to oppose it altogether and then proceeding to sign the report, is not only inconsistent but is calculated to lead them into a trap from which their constitutional difficulty of clearly distinguishing between co-operation with the bureaucracy and duty to the country may make it impossible for them to extricate themselves..... The step which the moderate Members have taken may have been prompted by a misguided anxiety to proclaim to the world their 'sobriety' and 'mature judgment,' but it is obviously not based on sound adherence to the attitude which they adopted in the Council towards the Bill. They were all unequivocal in their condemnation of it, as being subversive of all principles of justice and criminal law. That attitude could bear only one interpretation: That the principle of the Bill admitted of no compromise. How then can any modifications, short of the total rejection of the principle of the Bill, be consistent with their attitude?..... The issue is a simple one. The Bill is wrong in principle and monstrous in its conception. The whole country is opposed to it. If the bureaucracy is determined to force it on the people, let it to do so and reap the inevitable harvest of coercion. No patriotic and self-respecting Indian can make himself a party to this measure. 'A Government that contends that the country cannot be governed even in ordinary times without the assistance of such unconstitutional laws,' as the Honourable Mr. Patel says, 'forfeits its claim to be regarded as a constitutional Government.' The country has decided how it should bring this unconstitutional Government to its senses. It expects its representatives in the Council to do their duty."

*65. *Mahrátta* (7), 9th Mar. "The Emergency Powers Bill or Black Bill No. 2 has emerged out of the Select Committee with only some minor changes here and there..... As the Bill has remained practically unchanged our opposition to it remains as uncompromising as ever. Our first objection to it is that the Government have not at all made out a strong case for the introduction of this Bill. For we can successfully, convincingly and conclusively prove that they have failed to prove any 'emergency', and therefore no emergency powers are necessary. The third ground of opposition relates to the legislative powers of the Government of India..... In our opinion, the Indian Legislature is incompetent to over-ride the Parliamentary enactments and, therefore, laws like this Rowlatt Bill, if passed by the Indian Legislature, will be *ultra vires*. The fourth ground of opposition, *viz.*, that this remedy will rather inflame the disease than subdue it, has been amply proved by such an high authority as Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. The last but not the least ground of opposition is that the Bill menaces the peoples liberties to an alarming extent. Innocent political workers will not be free from suspicion under such draconian laws..... The powers which the executive and the police officials will derive from the Bill are thus sure to be abused by an inefficient and unscrupulous police, and the innocent sufferers will have no remedy in courts of law. And under such circumstances will not the Government forfeit its claim to be called a civilised and a constitutional Government? Is this not a process of degeneration and autocratism? Is this not a revival of the old Inquisitions and Star Chambers to the prejudice of the innocent?..... We hope that Government will not pursue this mad course which is the very negation of what they want to give by one hand in the name of reforms. Thus if this Bill is passed reforms will become a mockery, and the Government a butt of ridicule."

66. The *Kesari* says that the changes made in Rowlatt Bill No. 2 by the Select Committee, though important, have not removed its drastic character. It trusts that the non-officials will oppose it in a body in the Council as its necessity has not at all been proved and there is no guarantee that it would not be used against ordinary political movements. It refers to the passive resistance movement announced by Mr. Gandhi and says that co-operation would be possible between Government and the people if the former without driving matters to extremes withdraw the Bills. Otherwise it is unable to say how far the consequences of the movement will reach. It is dissatisfied with the Moderate manifesto issued against the passive resistance movement and wants to know why Messrs. Shastri and Banerjea were in a haste to repudiate the movement when there was no compulsion for them to join it. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* says that important changes have been made by the Select Committee. It sees no occasion for any fear that the Bill will affect constitutional political agitation when it has been limited to anarchical offences. The paper, however, supports the changes suggested by the Honourable Messrs. Shastri, Sapru and Banerjea in their minute of dissent.]

Kesari (114), 4th Mar.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (39), 7th Mar.

67. The power of the Rowlatt Bills has become apparent while they are still in embryo. We cannot but pity the short-sightedness of the framers of the Bills looking to the hostility of all persons towards them including the Moderates. A decade ago Government could enlist the support of the Moderates to such measures as the Press Act, the Seditious Meetings Act, etc. But times have changed. The Moderates have learnt a good deal from the harsh and reckless manner in which the provisions of the Press Act have been enforced, people have now got full experience of how Government use weapons of repression when once they are armed with them. The Willingdon Memorial controversy is fresh in the minds of all. Mr. Cowasji Jehangir was one of the ardent supporters of the memorial movement and Mr. Horniman led the opposite party. The contest was so bitter that if anyone had predicted at the time that these two men would ever agree on any question he would have been dubbed a mad man. But such is the magical effect of the Rowlatt Bills that they have succeeded in uniting men of all shades of opinion including the bitterest opponents. If therefore Government still persist in passing the Bills they alone will be responsible for the unrest that will ensue. [The *Jágaruk*, on the other hand, says that the anarchical movement is a canker in the body politic. It should be treated in the same manner, remarks the paper, as a diseased limb of the human body which calls for the use of the surgeon's knife.]

Rájakáran (123), 2nd Mar.; *Jágaruk* (43), 1st Mar.

68. Commenting on the Select Committee's report on the Emergency Powers Bill, the *Sánj Vartamán* declares that with all the amendments introduced in the Bill in the Select Committee the objectionable nature of the Bill remains altogether unaltered and observes that no self-respecting Indian, who has the good of his country at heart and who has any feeling of mercy for the innocent persons that may fall victims to the provisions of this Bill, can ever accept it. The paper thinks that the whole country will cordially welcome the proper course adopted by Messrs. Patel, Malaviya and Khaparde in refusing to sign the report and opines that the Moderate members have committed a blunder in signing the same, though they have reserved their right of opposing it. Referring to the Moderate Manifesto, in disapproval of the Passive Resistance Campaign, the paper remarks that it is not possible that the major portion of the country would accept the advice contained in it. In its subsequent issue the paper emphatically asserts that the Indian Legislature has no power whatever to enact such laws to the prejudice of the liberty of His Majesty's subjects and refers to the Government of India Act of 1915 in support of its assertion. The laws, it adds, that aim at taking away the people's rights of citizenship can be regarded as a breach of the sacred promises contained in

Sánj Vartamán (32), 4th and 5th Mar.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 6th Mar.; *Bombay Samáchár* (63), 6th Mar.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 6th Mar.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (85), 7th Mar.

the Proclamation of 1858. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes :—The Honourable Mr. Malaviya was not allowed to discuss the Bill in the Council, clause by clause, on the ground that such discussion was to be made in the Select Committee ; and when he tried to do the same in the Select Committee he was told that the Committee had no power to entertain the amedments suggested by him ! Government have not done wisely in refusing to annex to the report the dissentient notes of Messrs. Malaviya and others. The *Bombay Samáchár*, while thanking Government for the amendments in the Bill, says that as Government have failed to recognise the importance of open inquiry the Bills are likely to encroach on the liberty of the people. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* asks Government either to republish the Bills for the opinion of Local Governments and other public bodies instead of passing them very hastily or to drop them altogether for the present. The *Shri Venkateshwar* writes :—The happy days of passing lives free from anxiety are gone from the British *ráj* even for the most innocent person ; for he does not know when he may be arrested and punished either on account of the displeasure of some officers or on account of the malice of some other persons.]

69. The *Hindusthán* declares that the Emergency Powers Bill, as it has emerged from the Select Committee, will fail to give any satisfaction to the public and fully associates itself with the minutes of the dissenting members. It expresses its indignation at the manifesto issued by certain Moderate leaders who have disapproved of the passive resistance movement and dissociated themselves from it. It wishes that the Moderate leaders had kept their own counsel and asks them what other better method they would suggest to bring the officials to their senses. [The *Sánj Vartamán* publishes a poem eulogising Mr. Gandhi for starting the passive resistance movement. The *Shri Venkateshwar* declares that the people of India have no alternative but to resort to passive resistance. It also disapproves of the Moderate manifesto. The *Deshodaya* approves of the passive resistance pledge and expresses the hope that His Excellency Lord Chelmsford will recognise the gravity of the situation and respect public opinion by dropping the objectionable Bills. The *Hind Vijaya* also approves of passive resistance as a protest against the passing of the Rowlatt Bilis. It expresses confidence in Mr. Gandhi, and agrees with him in saying that the ultimate result lies in the lap of the gods. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* on the other hand considers it very harsh and impolitic on the part of Mr. Gandhi to start the passive resistance movement and, while fully associating itself with the Moderate manifesto, it hopes that Mr. Gandhi will be induced to retrace the steps taken by him in the interests of the country.]

Hindusthán (22), 3rd Mar. ; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 3rd Mar. ; *Shri Venkateshwar* (85), 5th Mar. ; *Deshodaya* (68), 4th Mar. ; *Hind Vijaya* (70), 5th Mar. ; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 4th Mar.

70. " One would be curious to know what Rowlatt Bills have been passed in South Africa to prevent the Boer Republican leaders from spreading their Bolshevism. None ; the Rowlatt Bills are only designed for meek India. We have in India not a desire to separate from the Empire but to become a self-respecting partner in the Commonwealth ; the desire to make a bulwark of the Empire. For such a desire, now that the war is over, our reward is the Black Bills."

Rowlatt Bills are imposed only on meek India and not on a turbulent Colony like South Africa.

New Times (8), 28th Feb.

71. The European merchants need not oppose the Excess Profits Tax Bill as Government have provided them with loopholes to escape from the operation of this measure. It is sheer partiality to impose the tax on Indian merchants and to exempt the European merchants because they pay a similar tax in England. Since the European merchants earn their incomes from Indians the tax paid by them should go into the Indian treasury. Our representatives in the Imperial Legislative Council should see to it that European merchants do not get advantages that are denied to Indians. [The *Jágaruk* says Government are perfectly right in levying an additional

The Excess Profits Tax Bill.

Rájakáran (123), 2nd Mar. ; *Jágaruk* (43), 1st Mar.

tax from merchants who have made large profits during the war. In the opinion of the paper the tax should have been imposed from the very commencement of the war. It is emphatically against floating a new loan because, it says, the burden in the shape of interest will fall mainly on the poor.]

Hindusthán (22), 5th Mar.

72. Sir James Meston has informed the Imperial Legislative Council of his intention of exempting certain European Companies, whose offices are in England, from their liability to the Excess Profits Tax on the ground of their paying a huge tax in England. Is it just to exempt them in this country simply because they pay a huge tax in England? As a rule, tax should be paid in that country in which the profits have been made; then, what kind of justice is this that they should make their profits in India, should carry away riches from this country and should not contribute their quota towards the expenses of India? This step of Government is opposed to the interests of India and we regret to say that not a single non-official member has raised his voice against it in the Imperial Council.

MUNICIPALITIES.

Comments on the Bombay Government's proposals regarding reforming the Bombay Corporation.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th Mar.

73. "The letter addressed by the Government to the President of the Corporation inviting the views of that body on the proposals that the Government suggest in the way of an early enactment of reform has been long overdue..... For bringing the work of the Corporation to 'a more thoroughly democratic basis', it is necessary to consider the responsibility of the Commissioner to the popular body, especially in view of the oft-repeated and, in some respects, justifiable criticism that the Commissioner is an autocrat with shadowy responsibilities to the Corporation itself..... The Corporation should have the final voice in the selection of its chief Executive officer; in any event, as a representative body, it should have some definite voice in eliminating a candidate for Government nomination in whom it primarily has no confidence. We do not want Civilians stepping into the Corporation as a wayside platform in their own career, but we want men who are remarkable for their sense of co-operation with and responsibility to popular bodies..... The old accretion of the J. P. college of electors deserves to be excised, but the letter observes an ominous silence about it. Equally unnecessary is the old practice of nomination which in first-class local administration has no place at all. There are no nominations in the London County Council, and for an advanced city like Bombay, the system of nominations will be an archaic survival and a veritable nuisance. If the practice of bureaucratic patronage in endowing odd men with memberships is discontinued, it will be a great gain both to the Corporation and also to some of the officials like the Commissioner of Police who are now installed in the place. If any non-elective element is desirable at all—that is non-elective by the general body of voters—we would suggest that the practice of the London County Council and other English Municipalities might be imitated and a system of selection of aldermen by the Corporators itself might be introduced. The franchise proposed is to comprise 50,000 voters; the qualifications given do not necessarily exclude women voters. The number is a great improvement, but it amounts only to 5 per cent. of the population..... The suggestions of the Government are welcome, though not full enough for thorough reform. They indicate, however, a gratifying realisation of the need for reform on progressive and democratic lines and we are grateful for them."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 7th Mar.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 7th Mar.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 8th Mar.

74. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* thanks the Bombay Government for their liberal policy in announcing their intention of reforming the constitution of the Bombay Municipality and remarks that with these reforms the Corporation will be more representative and more independent than before. The paper considers it expedient to introduce the system of voting by

ballot. [The *Sánj Vartamán* suggests that of the twenty seats reserved by Government ten should be filled by Government nomination while the remaining ten should be filled by two representatives of each of the following five bodies: the Chamber of Commerce, the Indian Merchants' Chamber, the Bombay University, teachers of the primary schools of Bombay, and Labour. It further suggests that those graduates, who would not be qualified to vote as rent-payers, must be allowed to vote as graduates. The paper considers the policy of Government to be sufficiently liberal except that it is silent on the election by Justices of the Peace, which in the opinion of the paper, should not be allowed to continue on the reformed Corporation, as the public opinion is quite against it. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* thinks that this announcement does much credit to His Excellency the Governor and observes that if progress continues at the same speed during his regime of five years, his name will deserve to be written in golden letters.]

M. K. SHAIKH,

Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 14th March 1919.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. Commenting on Mr. Gandhi's interview with His Excellency the Viceroy, the *Shri Venkateshwar* observes that Mr. Gandhi's assertions that the British Government in India should rest on soul-force and not on mere physical force is sure to influence His Excellency whom it requests to try to convince himself of the truth of this assertion by consulting his own advisers. The paper contends that the past history of British India clearly establishes the necessity of not adopting the policy of force and threats and remarks that no sensible Englishman with a sense of his responsibility in the matter can afford to ignore this historical fact.

The interview between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi in connection with the Rowlatt Bills.
Shri Venkateshwar (85), 12th Mar.

2. "We have always described Mahatma Gandhi as the reserve force of Indian politics; and in this unprecedented situation we have naturally to fall back on our reserve force. Mahatma Gandhi has proved himself equal to the confidence reposed in him by his countrymen..... It was after deep deliberation that Mahatma Gandhi has recourse to this last resort, and if previous experience counts for anything, apart from judging the question on its merits, we have not the slightest doubt that Mahatma Gandhi will win a triumph more glorious than any of his former achievements..... We have implicit confidence in the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi along this difficult path and we cannot entertain any doubts about his ultimate success. Meantime it is the duty of all of us to join this movement which promises the salvation of the country. While we would earnestly welcome any signs of returning sanity on the part of the Government of India even at this eleventh hour, we must prepare ourselve to meet the issue with all its suffering and service, its sacrifice and its rich reward." [Elsewhere in noticing the adhesion given to the Passive Resistance movement by a large number of Indian women and by men like Mahatma Munshiram, the paper remarks :—"The fact is that all that is highest and noblest is irresistibly attracted to the vow of suffering and service. If anything could open the eyes of the bureaucracy this would; but in the language of *Truth* 'their hides are as hard as their heads are thick', and so they successfully resist the penetration of a gleam of sanity within those thick heads."]

Comments on the Passive Resistance movement started by Mr. Gandhi.
Home Ruler (5), 8th Mar.

3. "While we do not approve either of the limited pledge of Mrs. Besant or the wider pledge of Mr. Gandhi, we must say that it is necessary to organise an agitation against the Rowlatt legislation. The agitation may be in an intensified form, but it must be carried on along the usual lines. A prayer should be cabled immediately after the passage of the Bills that the Crown may disallow the Acts. The deputations sailing for England a month hence will be able to do a good deal. In this and other ways we must work for their abolition." [In the course of an article on Passive Resistance the Honourable Mr. R. P. Paranjpye writes :—"The path before all thinking men is clear. They must, on the one hand, make it absolptely plain to Government that they have no part or lot in this legislation and that the responsibility for unexpected evil consequences from is it not theirs. On the other hand, they must make it clear to the passive resisters that they do not approve of their campaign, that they think it as mischievous in its consequences as it is ill-judged in its inception, that it is calculated to retard our political progress. We fully believe that the one efficacious remedy for political disorders of the revolutionary kind is the immediate grant of liberal reforms without being afraid of these sporadic outbursts. Make the people themselves responsible for the preservation of law and order and then let them if necessary pass these laws themselves. For our own part we ought to realise that a people habituated

Servant of India (9), 13th Mar.

to set law and order at defiance for one great cause are not likely to be law-abiding when that cause has disappeared and may do so again for a frivolous or at least a small cause. A time may arise when even this risk may have to be taken. But we ask in all seriousness whether on the eve of political reforms we should take it for resisting the Rowlatt Bills."

*4. "The *Servant of India* observes that public opinion is slow in expressing itself on Mr. Gandhi's passive resistance movement. This is quite true. It is worth while to enquire into the reasons. Public opinion is highly incensed at the introduction of the Rowlatt Bills, and the way in which they are being forced through the Legislative Council has not tended to mollify it. It feels that there must be some way of effectively demonstrating against this extreme instance of executive self-sufficiency. It feels that it cannot be that some thirty English gentlemen, most of them officials of Government, who are, for all practical purposes, exempt from any fear of the evil consequences of these Bills, can make a law, in the teeth of the unanimous opposition of Indian non-official members, exposing men, women and children in this country to serious penalties without the benefit of an open and regular judicial trial. Mr. Jinnah voiced the general opinion when he characterised the proceedings in the Legislative Council prolonged appropriately till past midnight—the Bill cannot stand the light of day—as a farce. 'Whom do you wish to deceive, God or me?' runs a line of Browning's. We have been asking ourselves several times, whom do the Government wish to deceive by making believe that the Bill is being passed by a Legislature on which the Indian people are represented by their elected representatives, when as a matter of pitiful fact the majority is almost wholly composed of their own officials who must vote with Government? Public opinion feels that something must be done to resent this gross affront..... When and if the Bills become laws, those of us who hold that the procedure of the Bills is inequitable, and that the method of passing them is farcical, will be bound to regard persons subjected to restraints and penalties under these Bills as victims of a vicious law and not as offenders justly suffering the penalty of their wrong-doing. They will excite our sympathy and not our reprobation. If Government imagine it a small thing that a large section of the population should regard as martyrs the men whom they intern as criminals, they must be very little conscious of the fact that moral forces are more powerful than physical: the very mistake of revolutionary anarchists. Of this we are sure—the victory of Government in forcing these measures through the Council will be a pyrrhic victory. They will lose much more than they gain by it."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 16th Mar.

*5. "Passive resistance had been talked of and referred to many a time in the past but was never pursued seriously till now. It seems that the cup of the sins of the bureaucracy has been full to its brim and at last a way is being found out of the impossible position in which the leaders were placed so far as the Rowlatt Bills are concerned. Since the introduction of the bills a sense of profound uneasiness and disappointment has spread throughout the country. The public press and platform vehemently protested against the bills, the representatives of the people in the Council exhausted all possible constitutional methods in opposing the passage of the bills; but all those things seem to be of no avail. The only reply that was vouchsafed to all this agitation was a challenge thrown out by Sir George Lowndes to the representatives of the people that they should do what they would and could, the Government will not swerve an inch from their path, and this determination of the Government has been strengthened by the premature declaration of Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons that the Government, meaning thereby the Government of India and the Secretary of State in Council, were determined to get the bills passed. This adamantine stand of the Government at last proved to be the last straw that broke the back of the camel and Sir George Lowndes' gauntlet is enthusiastically taken up by Mahatma Gandhi and other thoughtful leaders in the country..... India ought to hail with joy the advent of *Satyagraha* in the constitutional struggle she is carrying on. It is a divine weapon placed into the hands of the weak and is the last resort of all honest and truthful

Mahrátta (7), 16th Mar.

men. We have come to a stage in our constitutional struggle when we must suffer passively and show our resentment against unjust laws by keeping ourselves aloof from the ordinary contact with the bureaucracy, we must refuse stoutly to co-operate in the exercise of these unjust laws and show our sullenness; we must go even to the extreme length of refusing to pay taxes if matters come to that."

6. "The die is cast. The country has arisen, and under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi the Passive Resistance movement is going ahead against the Rowlatt Bills, unanimously renamed in India as the Black Bills. The vow of the Passive Resister is both short and comprehensive. From this it will be seen that the people, as a last resort, have taken in hand the last and only weapon to prevent these Bills from fouling the Statute Book. The combined voice of the whole of India has fallen upon deaf ears. The people have cried in the wilderness and the authorities by their callous indifference have shown that we might go on shouting in the wilderness till the crack of doom, for ought they care about our cries or entreaties. Thus, matters have come to a pass, when a distinct challenge is thrown out to the people that in the struggle between the Powers and the People the Powers (that is the Olympian gods of Delhi) were going to win and that the people, however just and equitable their claims may be, were to come the worse out of the struggle. No self-respecting people, in the world, could refuse such a challenge. The gage is taken up."

Sanj Vartáman (32), 8th Mar., Eng. cols.

7. Barristers, Vakils and other respectable persons are joining Mr. Gandhi's passive resistance movement. The Rowlatt legislation has thus received the proper answer. Sir George Lowndes who arrogantly flouted the opinion of the non-official members in the Supreme Legislative Council should now make ready to crush Mr. Gandhi's movement. Of course no one doubts the ability of the Government of India to crush Mr. Gandhi and his movement. But how are we to protect our rights when the country is being saddled with such fiendish laws? Should we not even bite the feet of those who crush us under their heels like insects simply because we are mild? All your talk of self-determination is mere sham since you are forcing these laws upon us against our will and we must, therefore, safeguard our rights as human beings in whatever ways that may appear suitable to us. We have no other alternative but to carry on the agitation until these laws are repealed. No sooner was the war over than the administration of the Government of India began to be carried on solely with an eye to the interests of the fat-salaried bureaucrats. President Wilson may not attach sufficient importance to our grievances. But India contains one-fifth of the whole population of the globe and the question whether these millions of Indians should or should not be allowed to enjoy the most elementary rights of citizenship has to be solved. Why should President Wilson indulge in tall talk about the world's happiness if he is not able to find time to listen to the grievance of thirty crores of people? The passive resistance movement will make him and the world at large acquainted with what is really happening in India. The passive resisters are prepared to suffer persecution at the hands of the authorities. Moderates may hanker after peerages and High Court Judgeships but the task of subduing the temper of the bureaucracy can only be accomplished by men like Mahatma Gandhi. [The *Sudhákar* says Indians can accomplish their object by denying the bureaucracy their co-operation. It is no exaggeration to say, the paper remarks, that England is able to rule over India on the strength of this co-operation alone. It asks its readers to read what Professor Seeley has said about the matter in his "Expansion of England". The *Prakásh* exhorts Indians to join the passive resistance movement without delay. It says resort to *satyagraha* is an ordeal through which they have got to pass. The *Vrittasár* asks Government to pause in view of the determined attitude of the people. The *Jágaruk*, on the other hand, expresses its surprise that

Rájakáran (123), 9th Mar.; *Sudhákar* (132), 9th Mar.; *Prakásh* (122), 12th Mar.; *Vrittasár* (138), 10th Mar.; *Jágaruk* (43), 8th Mar.

Mr. Gandhi should resort to passive resistance since he does not deny the correctness of the information given in the Rowlatt report.]

8. The *Jain* dwells upon the alleged hideous nature of the Rowlatt Bills and asks the Jains who generally follow mercantile pursuits to cast off their lethargy and exhorts them by implication to follow the lead of Mr. Gandhi in the passive resistance movement.

Jain (81), 9th Mar.; *Kdthidwdr Samdchdr* (73), 12th Mar.

[The *Kdthidwdr Samdchdr*, on the other hand, warns the people of the evil effects of passive resistance on the political situation of the country and asks the organisers of the movement to desist from taking a step that will involve the country in serious trouble.]

9. "In Bombay the Extremists have taken the extraordinary step of seeking Mr. Gandhi's aid, in drafting a vow, which is named the *Satyagraha* vow. It is inexplicable in what way any individual can 'refuse civilly to obey these laws'. To refuse to pay a tax is understandable, but the only way in which one could become liable to be dealt with under the Rowlatt bills, when enacted, would be to commit an act or so conduct ourselves as to be considered seditious. Passive resistance can only be offered by an individual not doing something which he is required to do by law. For this he may be arrested and dealt with. But when the individual is merely required to refrain from doing certain things, how can he be said to be offering passive resistance if, for instance, he prepares a disloyal tract? Surely that is active resistance. It is but another instance of getting hold of a catchword or phrase and misusing it."

Sind Observer (12), 4th Mar.

10. Mr. N. D. Patel writes the following in the course of a poem under the heading "Heroes! rally round *Satyagraha*":—

A poem on *Satyagraha*. *Hindusthán* (22), 14th Mar.

You, having suffered starvation, gave your wealth in the world-war and shed even the blood of your hearts; still (you get) the reward of fetters! Why this fetter on the hands and feet of the helpless mother? Are you 33 crores traitors to your Mother? Lions, not jackals, roar in response to the thundering of a cloud. If you are lions why do you not yet spring? The tiger, not the dog, growls when pointed at with the finger. Why, O heroes, do not you roar even though (your) whole body is pierced through? On hearing a martial musical instrument the blood of a true Kshatriya begins to boil; Gandhiji is playing the instrument, why don't you rally (round him)? Valiant Mahatma Gandhiji has thundered from the towering tops of the ancient Himalayas, O heroes, this is the command of the Father: The demons inflict wounds on the heart of a brother and cause blood to flow; but the sons of the Father, bear (patiently) and resort to truth. If fire fly from your eyes on seeing the tears of the Mother, seeing the stream of blood, then plunge into Satyagraha. When tyrant rulers press a people under foot, will you yield to Death by being pressed down?

11. "Whilst fully appreciating the greatness of the Satyagraha Vow of Mr. Gandhi and his followers we cannot but feel and express our view that the Passive Resistance movement is not effective enough. What is effective? it might be asked. The answer is, 'An effective measure is that which vitally touches the other side'. Now judging from this point of view, Passive resistance is not effective, because it will not vitally touch our rulers..... And what is the best way of touching them vitally? It is to touch their pockets!..... Therefore, if we want our rulers to feel that we do not want the Black Bills to be placed on the statute-book, we must *organize a boycott movement* on a large scale. The Indians must all unite in refraining from buying, selling and using all goods of British manufacturers. When the British manufacturers in Great Britain realize this, realize how their pockets are touched, and when their agents in India realize that they can do no business in this country, they will, both in England and India alike, unite with the Indians in running down the Black Bills."

A boycott of British goods is the best means of influencing the British. *Hindusthán* (22), 9th Mar., Eng. cols.

12. One Waman Sitaram Mukadam of Godhra writes to the *Hindusthán*:—The perversity shown by the officials in persisting in getting the Rowlatt Bills passed into law and showing scant respect for the popular opposition against them affords us stronger grounds for making up our minds to encourage *swadeshi* and to take a vow to boycott all foreign goods than were afforded at the time of the partition of Bengal. Such a vow will be specially advantageous to us inasmuch as it will encourage indigenous industries and enable India which is growing poorer day by day to hold up its head among the nations of the world. It is hoped that Indians will take the vow and bring credit to their motherland. [The paper in its editorial columns writes:—Everyone should join the passive resistance movement as a part of his duty. But those who for one reason or another cannot associate themselves with the movement have another way open to them to bring the bureaucracy to its senses. This can be done by taking a vow to boycott British goods. The farce of the Holland Commission was enacted during the time of the war and its recommendations are still under consideration by Government. The Anglo-Indians are doing all in their power to exploit India in the interests of British industries. India is now confronted with a new danger that might manifest itself in the employment of British capital in building up British industries in India and sapping the life of indigenous industries. This will lead to Indians permanently being made hewers of woods and drawers of water in spite of the probability of India being made an equal partner as a self-governing dominion in the Empire. The evil can be averted by means of *swadeshi* and boycott. Indians should, therefore, be ready to come forward to serve their motherland and make use of the triple weapon of passive resistance, *swadeshi* and boycott. In a subsequent issue the paper makes certain verbal corrections in Mr. Mukadam's letter as it appeared in its issue of the 8th. The original appeared to advocate the "use of arms", while the corrections supply missing words which change the sense into advocating the "use of this weapon of *swadeshi* and boycott".]

Hindusthán (22), 8th and 11th Mar.

13. "So far as his countrymen are concerned Mr. Tilak will not suffer one jot in the enthusiastic admiration with which he is universally regarded..... For the obvious reason that the judiciary here is not sufficiently strong and impartial, Mr. Tilak was obliged to have recourse to an English court of law. And there he was encountered by a volume of ignorance and prejudice which is not easily conceived..... And what is the net result of this trial? It comes to this that the much advertised British sense of fair play and the inestimable benefits of a trial by jury vanish when the political prejudices come into play; and as these prejudices will exist in every Indian political case, Indians in future need not trouble themselves to seek British justice in England. The case of India is steadily coming to be on a par with Ireland; and as no Irishman expects political justice from an English jury, so must the Indian do in future. The next result of the trial is that the Indian people have acquired a concrete idea of what British justice is like."

Comments on the verdict in the Tilak-Chirol case.

Home Ruler (5), 8th Mar.

14. It is not a private matter; it bears a political character. The moment the decision was pronounced, the Viceroy was confidentially informed of it by Reuter. Why did the Viceroy wait so anxiously for it? Sir Valentine Chirol is not a near relation of the Viceroy; Mr. Tilak had not in any way come in the way of the Viceroy. A particular colour was to be manufactured out of the case in order to draw the political picture. As the case went as expected by Government, Reuter made such haste to wire to the Viceroy. The reader might judge for himself what the refuge taken by Sir Valentine in the house of the Viceroy and his attempt to attack Indian political aspirations and the facilities given by the police, the Kolhápur Darbar and the Bombay Government for collection of evidence, indicate. To speak openly, as the bureaucracy does not like the growing political aspirations of Indians, they have resolved to destroy the freedom of the Press that encourages such ideas. The August declaration has added fuel to the fire and the severe political conditions we are experiencing have arisen out of it.

Shubhodaya (94), 7th Mar.

15. It was evident from the line of argument adopted by Sir Edward Carson that no English jury would return a verdict in favour of an Indian in a case of this character, Lokamanya Tilak entertained high hopes that he would get justice in an English Court of law but his hopes have not been realised. Sir Edward Carson's plea that a verdict in favour of Mr. Tilak would have an unfortunate effect on the bureaucratic administration of India must have adversely affected the judgment of the jury. The appointment of the Rowlatt Committee and the publication of its report before this case was finally decided cannot be accidental. When Sir Valentine visited India he generally enjoyed the hospitality of Government Houses. All these circumstances show that the present struggle was between the bureaucracy and the popular party and not between two individuals. It is not surprising, therefore, that the countrymen of the bureaucrats decided the case in their favour. [The *Jágaruk*, on the other hand, remarks:—Those who are acquainted with Mr. Tilak's past life never had any doubts as to what the decision in this case would be. The utterances of Mr. Tilak's counsel show that even he could not find moral justification for all his client's acts. The case will clearly show to the British what sort of people those men are into whose hands Mr. Montagu wants to deliver the Indian masses, and thus prove the necessity of granting the right of communal representation to them.]

Rájakáran (123), 9th Mar.; *Jágaruk* (43), 8th Mar.

16. Mr. Tilak is one of those patriots who are destined to suffer in this world. He has been several times dragged to court and sentenced because the British people could not know his heart. No one can believe that he is disloyal to the British. He always praises the just and impartial actions of the British. He has faith in the purity of British justice and it is this faith that carried him to England to conduct his case. It is to be regretted that he has met with a bitter experience. In spite of this, there will be no loss of respect towards him on the part of those who can appreciate his heart.

Gujaráti Punch (20), 9th Mar.

17. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* bitterly complains of the failure of the Controller to check the rise in the prices of foodstuffs and declares that the grain dealers do not sell food-grains at the prices indicated by the Controller in his weekly notices, and openly defy him. It draws the attention of Government to the hardships to which the Bombay public is subjected owing to the present scarcity of kerosene oil and asks them to take prompt measures to afford them relief. [The *Deshi Mitra* ascribes the present scarcity of foodstuffs to the freedom allowed by Government to the exportation of food-grains and oil-seeds out of India and to their showing more concern for the development of railways than for irrigation. It warns Government against the evil consequences of the scarcity of foodstuffs and expresses the fear that it might lead to untoward developments.]

Complaint about abnormally high prices of foodstuffs, etc.

Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 14th Mar.; *Deshi Mitra* (67), 13th Mar.

18. "In spite of the very best of motives, the measures one sometimes adopts prove to be a great and crying evil. We are afraid that the food-control as at present exercised is an illustration of this truth..... We are told that rice will be supplied from Burma at controlled prices; but we are now face to face with a situation in which the 'controlled' prices are only nominal prices and the buyers are paying much higher prices than those set by the Controller! Then, we have still the same sharp difference in the prices prevailing in neighbouring provinces, and export of rice from one to the other, though it may be plentiful in the former, is not being allowed. All grains except rice, wheat and gram are said to have been freed from the control system. Nevertheless export of Jowari from whole districts of the Madras Presidency is still prohibited! What does all this mean, if not a succession of measures which are causing very serious, and also very unnecesseary, public inconvenience?..... Under this system, the fortunate few who can secure passes, certificates, etc., to import grains or hold those that are imported by

The control system should be removed at once.

Deccan Ryot (4), 13th Mar.

Government, are free from all danger of competition, and can, therefore, impose their own terms on the poor buyers..... The result is that the poor or middle class consumer is not only not the better but is actually the worse for all this system of food control. The only gainer is the 'influential' merchant—and we have no hesitation in saying that money is the chief part of the influence!—who holds the stock of grains..... At present the whole system is being misused from end to end and the impression is abroad that it is primarily directed towards enabling the Government to pursue its own objects with better ease than otherwise it could command. The war was probably some justification for this. Now that it is over and we are in the grip of what is a universal rising of prices to famine levels or higher still, the Government ought to restrict all its energies to increasing facilities for shipping and railway traffic and controlling the sources of supply in such a way as to prevent exports to non-Indian destinations. We believe the faulty system in vogue at present has placed the whole country in a very inconvenient situation by killing all trade competition, which reduces the chances of profiteering."

19. Commenting on the Imperial Budget, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* declares that the Indian Customs Tariff shows an unusual amount of care for the development of the commerce and industries of foreign lands and writes:—No principle of economics would justify that kind of free-trade policy which would tend to hinder the development and stifle the growth of the native industries. In the time of the war certain Indian industries were commandeered by Government while Japanese and other foreign goods were freely allowed to be imported here at abnormally high rates, as a result of which these foreign goods have obtained a permanent footing in the Indian markets at the cost and sacrifice of the native industries. We, therefore, desire that the customs tariff for India should not be different from that for Great Britain, that is, in raising the necessary revenue for the country no duty, howsoever high, should be objected to on the ground that it would prejudicially affect the trade of foreign countries.

The Indian Customs Tariff shows more anxiety for the industries of foreign lands than those of India.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 12th Mar.

20. Referring to the agitation being carried on by certain Musalmans against an Arabic book entitled Zu-un-Noor-ul-Haq-ul-Mobeen published by the High Priest of the Bohras the *Akhbár-e-Islám* says:—This book was published by the Mullah Saheb exclusively for his own sect and the comments contained therein have nothing to do with the Sunni Muhammadans. They were possibly directed towards those Dawudi Bohras, who, having separated themselves from the body of the sect, had set up a new creed of their own with a a view to damage their original sect. In certain cities of Gujarát meetings have been held in this connection and false excitement has been created therein by representing that these comments were aimed against the Sunni Muhammadans. We do not know whether the holders of these meetings were tools in the hands of some one, but we think it necessary to say that they have taken a very rash and hasty step in the name of religious zeal in holding these meetings which tend to cause excitement among several communities. Our contemporary, the *Political Bhomiyo* of Ahmedabad, has played the most deplorable part in inciting the Sunni Muhammadans against the Mullah Saheb. We will hereafter try to show how the protest raised by the *Political Bhomiyo* and a handful of other Musalmans of Gujarát against the Mulla Saheb is altogether baseless and impotent.

Comments on the protest meetings of Musalmans held at Surat, Broach, etc., in connection with an Arabic book published by the High Priest of the Bohras.

Akhbár-e-Islám (59), 10th Mar.

21. "Though all the other strikes have ended there are one or two strikes going on still. It is a matter for deep regret that the strike of workmen at the Mint is still continuing. Surely Government can afford to show the same spirit of generosity as millowners and other employers of labour. The Honourable the Finance

Comments on the Bombay Mint strike.

Hindusthán (22), 9th Mar., Eng. cols.

Minister in his recent speech in the Council introducing the Financial Statement paid a tribute to the staff of both Mints for the loyal way in which they have responded to the further call made upon them, in spite of the continuous strain under which they had worked throughout the year. The present lockout and strained relations appear to be a reward for this splendid work which saved the Government and the people of this country from a state of things which would have amounted to a catastrophe. Surely the present trouble at the Bombay Mint has reached the attention of the Finance Department."

22. "A Congressional Committee of the United States will visit the Philippines to determine the true will of the people as to a protectorate or absolute independence of the Philippines. President Wilson, "God's greatest gift to this generation", cannot act otherwise after his pronouncement on self-determination. He is prepared to make the Philippines an independent nation like Japan or France if the people desire it. Here in India we are told that the I.C.S. monopolies and European trade interests must take precedence over the happiness of the people— a dictum laid down by the King-Emperor's august representative himself only 40 days ago."

The treatment of the Philippines by the American contrasted with that of India by the English.
New Times (8), 8th Mar.

23. Referring to Lord Jellicoe's visit the *Kesari* says:—Some Anglo-Indian newspapers had raised the cry that India wants a navy of her own and that India should bear its expense. The meaning of the cry is, not that India should have a navy of her own, but that she should bear the expense of part of the British navy. Nobody would complain if the Government of India were to create a navy of Indian sailors under Indian officers and charge India with the expenditure thereon. It is proper that India should bear the burden of naval education of Indians and should spend the money needed to make India able to protect her own coast. But it would not be just to saddle India with new naval expenditure by assigning part of the British navy to India and allowing it to cruise in Indian waters. Really speaking India needs no navy and no big army after the war. What ships are going to trouble the Indian coast? The German navy is altogether destroyed. France and Italy form part of the *entente* and India need not be afraid of their ships. America will cruise in the Atlantic and the Pacific and the Indian Ocean is not desired by it. After two or three generations the Japanese navy may act as a menace to India. If ever the time comes of an Anglo-Japanese war, America will join England and a rump of the Japanese navy left after a fight with America may trouble India like the "Emden". But the remedy is not to allow the Japanese to fatten themselves at the cost of the Indian trade but to wrest it from them and hand it over to Indians. When India will become rich by these means an Indian navy may be created.

Reflections on Lord Jellicoe's visit to India.
Kesari (114), 11th Mar.

24. In its third article on the subject the paper writes:—"We showed, in our last article on the subject of the Government control of hides, the manner in which the operations of the authorities have not only inflicted unfair and unjustifiable hardships and losses on the Indian trade but have also resulted in grave injustice to Indian tax-payer. In the former case not only were the tanners in Bombay forced to sell to Government goods for ordinary use at arbitrarily fixed prices, much below what would have been the case in an uncontrolled market—that may or may not have been desirable in the interests of the State—but by the fiat of Mr. MacFarlane, then Hides Inspector, they were compelled to hand over to Government on injurious terms the surplus stocks, out of which they might have reaped some profit on the London market. The Government stepped in, however, and collared these profits for itself. All this was done by a series of coercive measures which had no more legitimate sanction under any reasonable system of control than the principle itself of Government arbitrarily collaring the market for goods, *not required for its own purposes*, and making a corner in them for the benefit, not of the Indian tax-payer, but some nebulous authority in England,

Complaint about the Government control of hides.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th Mar.

through whom, presumably the British tax-payer will ultimately reap the benefit. The troubles of the tanners, however, did not end there. Incidentally, we may mention one extraordinary act of what can only be described, on the face of it, as sheer oppression on the part of Mr. MacFarlane. In February 1918 a large consignment of wattle bark from Africa, which had never before been used either in Bombay or Madras in tanning cow hides, was lying in Bombay. It had been allowed to lie in an open space since June 1917, merely covered with tarpaulin, and had become damaged with rain-water, and, it is alleged, was practically useless. The factory owners were asked to buy this bark at the price which Government had paid for it, but this they refused to do, as apart from its damaged condition, they had never before used it. The tanners, however, were dependent on the use of turweed bark which was then being supplied to them by Government. Mr. MacFarlane's short way of dumping his useless African wattle bark on them was to intimate in February 1918 that those who refused to take over the latter would not be supplied with the former. In this way the unfortunate tanners were forced to buy the damaged wattle bark at a cost of lakhs of rupees, in face of the alternative of their hides, under process of tanning, being ruined for want of the turweed bark. We are informed that those who used the damaged wattle bark had their hides spoiled and the colour marred, with the result that they had to sell them to Government at a lower price than they would have otherwise realised. In October 1917 Mr. MacFarlane was appointed Deputy Controller and Lieut. Clerk was appointed Assistant Controller. The latter, it is alleged, had no experience of selection and, in fact, no knowledge at all of hides and tanning business. However, there were these two gentlemen in control of a great trade and their rule became more arbitary and autocratic, while those who complained were made to feel the tightening of the screw. A representation of their grievances,—the heavy losses and the arbitrary treatment by the officers concerned—was to no purpose. It led to the production of a new scheme, which was shown up by Mr. Watters, the Controller—who was in Calcutta—on the advice of Mr. MacFarlane, but this tended to make the authority of the latter more arbitrary and supreme than ever. The other complaints as to discourteous, not to say insulting treatment, etc., were ignored. This scheme, we understand, has remained in practice in spite of protests. According to it, the factory owners themselves make the selections, pack the hides in bales, and send them to the godown of the Deputy Controller. If they are rejected they have to be taken back for re-selection and re-binding; if rejected a second time they have to be taken back altogether. That is the arbitrary power placed in the hands of two gentlemen, who, it is alleged, were without previous experience of the art of selection of hides and it is not difficult to believe that it constitutes a well-founded grievance. There is a certain grim irony in the fact, as reported to us, that the wrong-headedness of the whole scheme has been crowned by the appointment of an individual as head of the selection department, who is blind in one eye, and has working under him, as selectors, persons of no experience at all!"

25. "On Thursday, Sir George Lloyd presided over a meeting at the Wilson College on the occasion of the annual 'College Day.' In the course of his speech, Sir George claimed that the deciding factor in the Victory which, after many viscissitudes, crowned the Allied arms in this war was 'the quality of character which was so hard to define but which was so vitally important to appreciate, that spirit of self-sacrifice and that doctrine of service which sprang in England at any rate from school discipline.' Proceeding, he told his youthful audience: 'All your learning will avail you nothing if you cannot get from your school life those qualities of character which will make you behave as men of force, honest conviction and of reasoning unafraid.' Excellent advice this. But where do we find under the benevolent despotism of the Indian Education Sorvice the opportunities of developing those qualities of character on which Sir George Lloyd built his grand theme? Under the notorious education Circulars, every school-

Comment on His Excellency the Governor's speech at the annual gathering of the students of the Wilson College.

Young India (15), 12th Mar.

master is a spy as is your every other class-mate. And in this country at any rate the way to success in life does not lie so much in ability, honesty of conviction, or the capacity to reason unafraid as in deferential mediocrity or a base spirit of sycophancy. The man of 'force, honest conviction and of reasoning unafraid' is branded as an anarchist, a revolutionary or a sedition-monger and rarely finds a place in the cosmos of a bureaucracy-ridden country. Such men are subject to the wearisome and annoying attentions of an unheard-of system of espionage which promises soon to beat the old Russian or Prussian systems."

26. "The speech of His Excellency the Governor on Wednesday is probably the shortest opening address heard in our Council, or for the matter of that, in any other Council in India; and we hope the avoidance of length and diffuseness is an indication of the earnest business-like attitude of Sir George Lloyd in approaching the problems of social reform, which he is determined on tackling without delay..... We hold firmly that the cure for most of our social and economic distress lies in the transfer of State-power to the representatives of the people, who are best qualified by intimate knowledge and sympathy to introduce social reforms at a pace which it is inherently impossible for the present bureaucratic Government to equal. The Governor's assurance that the local administration will do all in its power to put into practice any scheme of reforms passed by Parliament in a spirit of genuine sympathy and anxiety to overcome difficulties, is welcome, as the success of transitional makeshifts, with all their known anomalies, will depend almost entirely on the honesty and goodwill of the bureaucracy itself. Both the public and the press are bidden to encourage the experiment, whatever it is, with support and fair comment. We would in turn remind His Excellency that just as half-measures are perilous in social reform, makeshifts in political reform may have in them the elements of failure, and the case is peculiarly so in this country, where the success of schemes depends largely on the exercise of invincible goodwill on the part of the officials..... His Excellency was reticent to the point of silence about the smaller political questions affecting the Presidency, which cannot be ignored, but we trust that he avoided expatiating on them for the sake of present brevity. In Bombay, the habit of passive supervision over the administration of districts has brought a tradition of loose control, and friction between the authorities and the people in some areas has often been left to go on without intervention. The dilatory procedure of 'circumlocution offices' has to be simplified with a drastic hand and time saved in the disposal of questions that agitate the public. Along with all this, there should be a liberal policy of respecting public opinion, and a change of feeling on the part of the Government that outside criticisms are impudent heresies that have to be tolerated and at times suppressed. We have already had too much of this hardening sense of infallibility and impatience, along with a habit of panicky sternness in the use and abuse of repressive laws at times when patience and self-scrutiny are essential. The foundations of the British Empire are stronger than some of the bureaucrats, who seek to fortify it with violence of law, imagine. We earnestly trust that Sir George Lloyd will succeed in his present programme of reform and add to it the credit of a sane and liberal administration."

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's opening speech at the Bombay Legislative Council sessions.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th Mar.

***27.** "His Excellency Sir George Lloyd presided for the first time at the Bombay Legislative Council on Wednesday and in his opening remarks he indicated that the key-note of his administration of this Presidency will be social reform..... No Governor of Bombay, so far as we are aware, set before himself in such a concrete, crystallised form the end towards which it will be the fixed purpose of his Government, and the central and inspiring principle of its measures, to progress. We congratulate the Presidency on this declaration of policy by the new Governor at the threshold of his Indian career..... His Excellency wisely said that

Indian Social Reformer (6), 16th Mar.

no Governor or Government that aspired to personal popularity or desired a quick dividend of praise would dig deep into the soil of these questions. The besetting fault of the Anglo-Indian administrator, however, is not a passion for popularity. We think sometimes that some of our best Anglo-Indian administrators are tormented by an uneasy feeling that they are not true to their salt unless they keep treading on the toes of English-educated Indians. If there are two ways of doing a thing, one of them less unpopular than the other, they would prefer the more unpopular method. The Rowlatt Bills are a good instance. Now, courting unpopularity is quite as reprehensible as running after popularity. Sir George Lloyd will find that his policy can be best promoted by taking Indians into the confidence of Government in preparing measures, and not merely after they have been prepared and published and have become involved in the self-esteem or official prestige of their authors. India wants western ideas, but they must first pass through Indian minds in order to fit naturally into the Indian scheme of things."

28. We would like to thank His Excellency for announcing his policy and for showing solicitude for the social and economic progress of the people and, while wishing him success, would take this opportunity of assuring him of the hearty co-operation of the Press of the Presidency. His Excellency has shown wisdom of a high order in giving prominence to education and sanitation, and we would like to draw his attention to the source of the unsatisfactory state of affairs which lies in the bureaucratic officials persisting in their own policy and considering themselves all-knowing and all-wise. His Excellency will attain the maximum of success if he shows the courage to refuse to bow down to the wishes of the officials and to co-operate with the non-officials members of the Council. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* thanks His Excellency for his speech, which it considers as instinct with sympathy and solicitude for the welfare of the people. It regards progress in education and sanitation as the preliminary steps towards *Swarájya*. The paper is grateful for His Excellency's assurance to do all in his power to carry on the reforms which may be passed by Parliament. The *Bombay Samáchár* gratefully acknowledges that His Excellency's pronounncement will go a great way in satisfying the political aspirations of the people.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 13th Mar.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 13th Mar.; *Bombay Samáchár* (63), 15th Mar.

29. "Last year in commenting on the Budget, we spoke of caution being overdone, and there is no symptom of Mr. Carmichael's intention to be a spendthrift this year either. However, according to him, a proposal is under consideration that provincial balances should be used as the source from which *tagavi* and other advances should be financed. Surely at a time of famine, when people rightly expect large-scale remissions and direct aid, it is not too much to suggest that the money owned by the province should be made available to the poor. Famine and high mortality are still with us and it may take a longer time for us to get out of the wood than the Government seems to expect..... Mr. Carmichael's account of the Excise Budget was not full. It is of course now the largest single head in the provincial Budget. The Excise estimate to-day is roughly 4 crores of rupees! Before the war it was just $2\frac{1}{4}$ crores. This is a sign which no well-wisher of the country will observe without pain. We are told that 'the increase in revenue is not due to any special increase in consumption', but we have the admission that there was a rise in consumption in 1917-1918. Mr. Carmichael also observes: 'The figures for the current year, so far available, indicate that there will be a decrease'. We have no figures given to us, but in judging of quantitative consumption we had better remember two uncertain elements. The first is that the auction system, which has been in vogue since last year, must be bringing uncommon consequences in India, if the licensees failed to push their trade as monopolists with a stake, making their service attractive to all. Secondly, if quantitatively there was a decrease, what allowance has been made for the days when the cellars of the licensees lay dry on account of the bunging that took place in connection with a notorious contract?

Comments on the Budget of the Bombay Government.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th Mar.

We refuse to accept the possibility that has been propounded, namely, that the heavy duty on intoxicants reduced consumption. It is after all not the cost of vice which dissuades a man from it; the advertisement and accessibility which it is allowed to have lures men to ruin. We cannot accept comfortable and exploded theories about minimum consumption and maximum revenue in the matter of liquor traffic. No one will congratulate Government on the sordid receipts of 4 crores which they have got out of drink and drunkards..... On the whole, if we ignore the fact of plethoric surpluses and the growth of drink, we have a normal and cautious budget for next year. We appreciate what the Government are doing in the face of famine; but the Government has still to render its reserves of help more mobile and bring them within the reach of the suffering and to inspire its machinery with a more human spirit. In spite of the deficit in revenue, there is a budget for more than ten crores—a 'prosperity' budget in the midst of famine!"

*30. "The budgetted expenditure for 1918-19 on education was Rs. 1,21,42,000, but the actual expenditure incurred was only Rs. 1,11,91,000, which means that Rs. 9,51,000 were expended less than budgetted for. We cannot understand why the Government should choose the department of education out of all other departments for economy..... Of all the departments selected for less expenditure are the two, namely, education and sanitation. Every year we witness in the Council the fight that is put up by the representatives of the people for increasing the expenditure of these two departments and it is a matter of grave concern to all to see that after giving stingily the Government surreptitiously decrease the expenditure even from what little is sanctioned at the time of the budget. At the same time we cannot understand why the expenditure on Forests should be increased enormously and out of porportion. ..... As to the expenditure that is budgetted for the next year, exceptions are already being taken, by the representatives of the people, to many items. The Honourable Mr. Parekh raised the question of the propriety of expenditure that is budgetted in case the district of Thána is divided in two parts for administrative purposes. The discussion on this point gave rise to a new theory which is advanced by His Excellency the Governor. The arguments of the representatives of the people were met by the Honourable Mr. Charmichael and the Honourable Mr. Pratt who laid stress on administrative convenience. But His Excellency went out of his way and remarked that:—'It was not the practice in Parliament or any Legislative Council to give honourable members in matters of administration more information than what had been given in the revised budget statement.'..... This is a new theory that is advanced and if budgets are to be discussed in this spirit, then the representatives of the people would be left no other duty but that of nodding assent to all administrative items of expenditure."

Mahrátta (7), 16th Mar.

31. The large reduction in the Imperial grant to this Presidency when it is passing through the hardships of famine is sadly to be deplored. We fail to understand the utility of swelling the unexpended balances aud we would like to see them used towards meeting the most urgent needs of the Presidency—sanitation and education. We must thank the Government of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd for making some provision for meeting these needs, but the extra grants sanctioned in the Budget are altogether inadequate to meet our requirements. We would, therefore, ask His Excellency to appoint a Committee consisting of the non-official members of the Council to suggest the best means of utilising the whole of the balance at the disposal of Government during the next three years. [The *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—The Budget does not seem to have been framed in a sufficiently satisfactory manner so as to be in consonance with the high ideals laid down in his opening speech by His Excellency the Governor. The grant for education may, to some extent, be said to be satisfactory, but that for sanitation and sanitary schemes is altogether miserly. The grant made for opening new hospitals in the Presidency is also inadequate. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* expresses gratification at the additional grants for education, sanitation and medical inspection

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 14th Mar.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 14th Mar.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 14th Mar.

of school children and asks Government to be liberal in their measures for famine relief.]

32. Commenting on the Bombay Government's replies to the interpellations regarding newspapers in the Bombay Legislative Council the *Hindusthán* writes:—Do Government mean to deny the existence of a paper simply because its circulation is not sufficiently wide? In the case of a mofussil paper it cannot be said that it is less influential only because its circulation is limited. Goverment should provide such papers with copies of their publications with a view to enable them to have correct information. Government have stated that in selecting a paper for Government advertisements, they are guided by the test whether a paper has sufficient circulation to be a proper medium of advertisements. Is this statement of Government true? In our Presidency a paper having the widest circulation has never obtained any Government advertisements. Their distribution is regulated solely by one's influence with Government; otherwise why should the *Gujaráti* inspite of its wide circulation be boycotted? It is the misfortune of the *Muslim Herald* that it has not been selected for Government advertisements though it twice requested them for the same. Upto this time we were under the impression that the selection of a paper for Government advertisements depended on official favour, and that it has nothing to do with the circulation of a paper. But now when Government themselves have declared otherwise, we hope they will see that no injustice is done to any paper in this matter and that their officers stick to the principle declared by them. Further, why do Government order the High Court that the Probate and such other advertisements, which are paid for by private individuals, should not be allowed to be published in certain papers? Cannot the Attorneys of the High Court make a proper choice in this respect? Why should these advertisements, which are paid for by private individuals, be prohibited from being published in certain papers? The Bombay Government should inquire whether their officers adhere to the principle now declared by them in reply to the Honourable Mr. Jaffer's interpellation and we are sure the enquiry will definitely reveal that the principle has not been consistently acted upon by the officials.

Comments on the Government replies to interpellations in the Bombay Legislative Council regarding newspapers and Government advertisements, etc.
Hindusthán (22), 14th Mar.

33. "We do not agree with Sir George Lloyd in holding that Dewan Bahadur Godbole's resolution on feeder railways travelled beyond the scope of the Bombay Legislative Council. The Honourable Member did not ask the Local Government itself to move directly in the matter. He wanted the Government to bring to the notice of the Government of India the necessity of revising the terms of freeder railways and encouraging them. If a stickler for mere regulations and rules finds that under the present rules such a resolution as this even cannot be discussed in the Council and voted upon, the rules had better be changed without delay. The Bombay Government, however, have promised to address the Government of India on the subject. The Madras Government long ago found out an easy method of encouraging feeder railways by permitting District Local Boards to construct them. We are rather surprised that neither the mover of the resolution nor the local Government referred to this ready agency at hand to take up the work of feeder railways. We were expecting an amendment of the District Local Boards Act in this direction. But as yet the Local Governrment has not been pleased to introduce the measure in the Council..... The Local Government will no doubt write to the Government of India; meanwhile, would it be too much to ask the Bombay Government to amend the District Board Act in the way suggested?"

Comments the Honourable Mr. Godbole's resolution on feeder railways.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th Mar.

34. "In ruling that a dissenting minute from the member of a Select Committee who refrains from signing the main report is unacceptable, the Viceroy has at best committed a 'pious fraud', but the fervour of his bureaucratic piety has made his explanation bear its own condemnation. The object was of course not the meticulous interpretation of a non-existent rule, but the finding of a way out of the whole bother. What, however, is the justification? Firstly, it has been the practice for all members of

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's ruling that a member of a Select Committee who refuses to sign its report cannot make a dissenting minute.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th Mar.

Select Committees to sign the main report: to which there is the admission of an exception which once took place in the Council. For it, there is the halting explanation that on the particular occasion no question was raised and the president's orders were not taken. The excuse has not even the merit of ingenuity, which makes the 'fraud' not only pious but decidedly raw. If any more condemnation is needed, it is that the absence of many occasions for strong dissent in the past does not justify the crude inference that the right is inherently nullified according to practice. The practice appealed to is no evidence at all, since the only occasion which can be cited as relevant supports the claim of Mr. Patel..... The minority has the right to offer independent minutes and no decent code of procedure will question it. The refusal to submit the point to the sense of the Council itself completes the 'pious fraud'."

35. "There is no justification for the ruling of His Excellency the Viceroy in respect of the dissenting minutes of Messrs. Malaviya, Khaparde and Patel, particularly in view of the fact that the Indian Council rules are silent on the point and the rules of the Provincial Councils are expressly adverse to the ruling. The public have, therefore, a just grievance in the matter, but it is amusing to find that those critics who thought that the honourable members should have nothing to do either with the Select Committee or its report should now complain that the minutes of the three members, which we think ought to have been admitted, have been excluded. This surprise is only enhanced by the fact that Mr. Malaviya's minute, which does not adopt the purely negative attitude of the minutes of the other two, makes constructive suggestions which, to quote the *Tribune*, are 'absolutely identical' with the suggestions contained in the minutes of Messrs. Banerjea and Sastri."

Servant of India (9), 13th Mar.

36. "The Financial Statement which Sir James Meston presented to the Imperial Legislative Council on 1st instant, while it is disappointing in the extreme, is characterized by some very outstanding features of the bureaucratic regime..... It would be interesting to know whether Sir James regards military expenditure as 'the essentials of progress' and if not on what basis he has allotted such a monstrously disproportionate share of our revenues on what is, by common consent, the essentials of non-progress..... And the irony of it is that Sir James specially thanked the Commander-in-Chief for his moderate demand and his unflinching determination to insist on economy! Perhaps but for 'the most cordial and helpful co-operation of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief' on which Sir James dilated with such enthusiastic appreciation the military expenditure would have absorbed the total revenues of the country..... And when we bear in mind that India is the poorest country on the face of the earth the expenditure appears to be criminally extravagant..... The other items of the budget are in every respect as disappointing as the military expenditure..... On this background of complete blackness there is only one redeeming feature that the income-tax minimum has been raised from Rs. 1,000 to 2,000. And so it comes to this that while our revenue is wasted on useless and extravagant military expenditure and not much needed railway construction or extension, all the nation-building departments of education, sanitation, irrigation and the rest have been systematically starved."

The Indian Budget.
Home Ruler (5), 8th Mar.

37. "While Sir James Meston's failure is not surprising, the failure of non-official members to safeguard the interests of the people and compel the Government to recognise the error of their ways by an adequate, rigorous and drastic condemnation of the glaring defects of the Financial Statement is especially deplorable. The speeches of non-officials with one or two exceptions, are gravely disappointing. We cannot for a moment agree with Mr. Banerjea, who characterised the budget of the year as a 'people's budget' and we are certain that the features of a 'people's budget' will not be put so low by the public as Mr. Banerjea is disposed to do..... A close and searching analysis of the budget there was none, and we note with regret that none of the non-officials rose to the occasion in a manner worthy of their office as vigilant critics of the Finance Member..... The three days' examination of the Financial Statement and the fate of non-official resolutions have brought into relief the fact that the new procedure permitting non-official resolutions in the beginning has not been of any use,

Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th Mar.

as the operation of official obstinacy and majority is there as a block at all times. As long as the bureaucracy are content to give schemes of public amelioration the secondary place, the old difficulties will exist. We are glad that in the general discussion Mr. Patel took a candid view of the urgent problems that await solution in the country. The shame of poverty, illiteracy and high mortality is with us, and till the Government take adequate steps against the gradual overcoming of these appalling evils, there is no warrant for speaking of a 'people's budget'."

38. "In spite of the encomiums showered on it by Sir Dinshaw Wacha and Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, the Financial Statement will be received generally with feelings of profound disappointment..... The cessation of the war has brought about no welcome change in financial policy. Services with the development of which true progress is bound up have received no attention..... Of economy there seems to be no sign, and of 'courageous outlay on the essentials of progress' not a single item gives any indication. European countries have felt the shock of the war far more intensely than India. Their losses in men and money have been much greater than ours, but they are alive to the importance of making immediate provision for their educational and economic development. In India, however, the consideration of all those social problems, which are in the forefront of the programmes of other countries, has been relegated in practice to a distant future..... The features of the Budget that overshadow all others are the scale on which military and railway expenditures are to be incurred..... The figure which has been arrived at 'with the most cordial and helpful co-operation of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief,' is simply staggering..... That military expenditure cannot be maintained at the present level is certain, but one may entertain legitimately the apprehension that its reduction may not be as substantial as it is expected to be ..... To what extent it will be reduced is uncertain, but if the Finance Member continues to receive 'the most cordial and helpful co-operation of His Exeellency the Commander-in-Chief', one shudders to think what the results will be. In relation to the economic condition of the people, the burden of military expenditure was heavy enough before the war. It will be simply crushing hereafter..... The other item of expenditure which calls for criticism is the railway expenditure..... Nobody doubts the utility of railways, but some proportion has to be observed in regard to everything. Besides, roughly speaking, railways can help only in carrying things from one place to another. But, as has been repeatedly observed, the difficulty that one is faced with in India is not the insufficiency of food, but the inability of the people to purchase it. He will be a bold man who will say that the railways have cheapened the food of the people or increased its production, or, except as affording employment to clerks and labourers, added materially to the resources of the masses. The Rowlatt Bill is to be passed to satisfy the I. C. S., and money is to be spent lavishly on railways in order to placate European merchants; but no measures have been undertaken to ameliorate the condition of the voiceless millions. Another striking feature of the Budget is the complete absence of 'courageous outlay on the essentials of progress'. Education, sanitation, medical relief, agriculture and industries have received hardly any attention. In reply to criticisms in the Legislative Council, the Finance Member stated that it was utterly wrong to say that the expenditure on education had not been increased, and pointed out that the increase exceeded a crore. But this is due entirely to the action of the Local Governments..... If the education budget for next year exceeds that for the current, it is not due in any way to the generosity of the Government of India, which has made no special grant for education. To defend the absence of grants for education, agriculture, etc., on the ground that the system of doles has proved utterly demoralizing is to add insult to injury..... The Government of India itself has so far stood in the way of an equitable apportionment of the revenue between it and the Provincial Governments. Special grants are at present the only means by which the resources of the Provincial Governments can be made, and the Government has no right to discontinue them on principle before it reconstructs the existing financial system." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—"It came out in answers to a question in the Council that provision was included in the Budget for the enhanced salaries which the Secretary of State had promised the Police, Medical and other services. It was a pity that these items were not attacked with vehemence in the course of the debate. For the increments that have been allowed are perfectly unjustifiable and have not been sanctioned with a proper regard to the finances

Servant of India (9), 13th Mar.

of India..... The raising of the minimum taxable income evoked just praise from non-official members, but a caution must be entered here against denying in reality the concession granted on paper. For it is known that on an earlier occasion, when the minimum had been raised from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000, the overzealous income-tax officials in several provinces discovered that most of those whose incomes had been put down as below Rs. 1,000 were really in the enjoyment of incomes above that figure. We wish the Finance Member were specially warned that the present concession really reached those for whom it was intended."

Gujarâti (18), 9th Mar.

39. Economy is at great discount in the Budget. Neither the Commander-in-Chief nor the Finance Minister has shown or suggested any means of reducing the burden of military expenditure. This expenditure is increasing by leaps and bounds and still the Finance Minister calls the Commander-in-Chief kind! We have no hope that even the League of Nations will save India from this monstrous item of expenditure. The military expenditure swallows up half of India's revenue, and what guarantee is there that it will not be increased under the pretext of protecting her seas? The army in England is being demobilised but the factories are asking for orders in order to enable them to give work to their operatives. The reason for adopting the bold policy of lavish expenditure on railway extensions is, therefore, self-evident. The Budget does not provide a pie for the intellectual and physical welfare of the people and is content with recommending the Provincial Governments to draw upon their surpluses for the purpose! The Budget on the whole is unsatisfactory. While it asks the people to be economical it has not provided them with the means of making money by developing industries.

Kesari (114), 14th Mar.; *Dnyân Prakâsh* (39), 11th Mar.

40. Commenting on the Budget estimates the *Kesari* echoes the criticisms of the Honourable Mr. Patel that more attention has been paid to the military and railway expenditure and that sanitation and education and industries have been neglected. It adds:—The Honourable Mr. Sarma moved resolutions for increased expenditure on education and sanitation. Government admitted the principle of these resolutions but the principal excuse that Government have no money was brought forward. Influenza carried away 60 lakhs in one stroke though it took plague 20 years to come up to a crore. It shows how unhealthy people have become and they have lost their stamina. Government acknowledged the principle that if needed a loan should be issued and that a big amount should be spent on sanitation. If Government had issued the loan earlier they could have saved so much of man-power, and from the increased revenue which they could have ultimately derived therefrom the loan could have been paid off. Though the war is over, the military expenditure is not over. All the enemies have been vanquished. What need is there of a hurry to buy new weapons and munitions? Moreover as soon as the League of Nations is established, conscription is to come to a speedy end. The war with Bolsheviks should not in any way entail any expenses on behalf of India. We do not say that the Indian army should not be employed against the Bolsheviks. But those who will derive advantages from the war should pay the expenses. [The *Dnyân Prakâsh* complains of the heavy military and railway expenditure and says that education, sanitation and industries are starved.]

Sânj Vartamân (32), 10th Mar.; *Praja Mitra and Pârsi* (30), 11th Mar.; *Bombay Samâchâr* (63), 11th and 12th Mar.; *Jame-Jamshed* (25), 10th Mar.; *Praja Bandhu* (29), 9th Mar.; *Gujarâti Punch* (20), 9th Mar.

41. The Honourable Mr. Madan Mohan Malviya, the Honourable Mr. Sarma and other non-official members moved important amendments and discussed them very ably, but unfortunately two prominent non-official members came forward to oppose them. The Honourable Sir Dinshaw Wacha is of opinion that it is necessary to incur heavy expenditure on railways with a view to reducing the prices of foodstuffs. It is now fifty years that the railways have been in existence in India but they have not been the means of reducing prices of foodstuffs. It is therefore futile to hope that extension of railways will lead to the lowering of prices. It is the standing complaint of the people that Government do not satisfactorily discharge their duty in the matter of education and sanitation. [The *Praja Mitra and Pârsi* urges that since Government are unwilling to make adequate provision for education and sanitation, they should allow the provinces freedom to manage their own

affairs without any interference. It stoutly opposes any expenditure incidental to India's being made a "Mandatory" for Mesopotamia or any other country. The *Bombay Samáchár* while giving qualified approval to the views of the Honourable Sir Dinshaw Wacha in the matter of expenditure on railways and the army, expresses disappointment at the inability of the Finance Minister to make adequate provision for sanitation and education as urged by some non-official members of the Council. In the subsequent issue the paper wishes that the President of the Industrial Commission had supported the non-official members in their demand for an increase in the allotment for agricultnral and industrial development instead of endorsing the views of the Finance Minister. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* associates itself fully with the arguments advanced by the Honourable Mr. Sarma in moving his amendments to the Budget. The *Praja Bandhu* writes :—It is a great injustice to the people of India that a major portion of their revenue is spent on the army and railways while an infinitely small portion of it is devoted towards education and sanitation. The Viceroy and the Secretary of State have accepted the dictum that such injustice gives rise to unrest. No Government should lose sight of this fact. The *Gujarátti Punch* characterises the Budget as disappointing and harps on the heavy expenditure on Railways and the army.]

42. Our expenditure on the army which was less than 30 crores before the war, will, according to the financial statement just presented, amount to 63 crores in the next financial year. A sum of 36 crores will be spent on Railways. This huge expenditure on the Army and the Railways clearly shows that the country is going to be saddled with the cost of the administration of Mesopotamia and the other conquered provinces. The Government of India have no money to spend on Irrigation Education, Sanitation, etc., and it is futile, therefore, to expect any improvement in them. [The *Jágaruk* remarks that although considerable expenditure on the army is inevitable owing to the unsettled state of Russia, Persia and the other border countries, it is rather strange that India should be called upon to spend more money on the army next year than she did in any of the previous years of war. It however welcomes the extension of the taxable limit for income tax from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000.]

Sudhákar (132), 9th Mar.; *Jágaruk* (43), 8th Mar.

43. Commenting upon the action taken by Government under the Press Act in the matter of the *Desha Bhakta* in the Madras Presidency and the *Sanjaya* in the Bombay Presidency, the *Gujarátti Punch* writes :—Why is the Press Act put into operation only in the case of Indian papers? Do not the Anglo-Indian papers ever indulge in inflammatory writings? What can we say in respect of a self-evident fact? We, therefore, object to this tendency shown in putting the Act into operation. We can quote many a passage from the Anglo-Indian newspapers that tend to communal incitement or take Government seriously to task in matters in which these papers differ from Government. It can be said that Indian papers express themselves in a less violent manner than their Anglo-Indian contemporaries.

The Press Act is never used against the Anglo-Indian press.

Gujarátti Punch (20), 9th Mar.

44. "Under present conditions the existence of a newspaper in this country is purely on sufferance and can be doomed by the decree of a District Magistrate. A press in manacles means the nation under manacles and so long as the present distrust, suspicion and even persecution of the Indian press continues, to talk of trust in the people and co-operation between them and the Government is just so much nonsense..... In celeberating the Press Act Day it is interesting to speculate on the future of the Indian Press. That it will be completely free at no distant date no man in his senses will doubt. The strong and growing resentment at the monstrous restrictions on the press, the galling distinctions made between the Indian and the Anglo-Indian press. and the intolerable suspicion with which the Indian press in general is viewed—all these show the impossible state of things existing at present for which the only remedy is to make the press free and independent. But the

Why the Press Act should be abolished.

Home Ruler (5), 8th Mar.; *New Times* (8), 6th Mar.

question is whether the Government will do away with the restrictions by a sensible recognition of the signs of the times or they will not relax their tight grip over the press to the slightest extent until their hands are forced..... The press ultimately will be free; but if a great and strenuous conflict is inflicted on it the result will be a bitterness of feeling which will embarrass the Government in every sphere." [The *New Times* also complains bitterly of the evils and hardships caused by the Act and urges Goverement to repeal it. It hopes that the Executive Committee of the Passive Resistance movement 'will include this sinister Press Act in the list of repressive laws that ought to be passively resisted'.]

Complaint about scarcity of kerosene in Hyderabad (Sind).
Home Ruler (5), 8th Mar.

45. The Hyderabad correspondent of the *Home Ruler* writes:—"The public may cry itself hoarse, but the Government like a marble statue is simply immoveable. Poor men cannot get even a bottle of kerosine oil for 10 annas. It is reported by the *Hindvási* that a tin of oil is being sold at Rs. 12. May the public enquire for what this battalion of controllers, semi-controllers are saddled on the poor Indian tax-payers when they cannot control even to a small extent the prices of the most necessary things of life? Are they meant to be mere white elephants, enjoying the fine breeze of Collector's Banglow? Is there none to wake up these worthies from slumber and make them realize their duty?"

Complaint about inclusion of men of bad reputation and men otherwise undesirable in Benches of Honorary Magistrates in Sind.
New Times (8), 9th Mar.

46. "*Al Amin* (Hyderabad) of 7th instant draws the attention of the local Government to the faulty system of nominating Honorary Magistrates' benches and states that if men of bad reputation, illiterate and those who have had previous conviction are put on the Bench how can respectable men sit with such people and co-operate with Government in dealing out justice to the public?"

Government should raise the pay of the Tapedars and Revenue Department Munshis in Sind if they want to put a stop to blackmail and corruption among them.
New Times (8), 12th Mar.

47. "A correspondent draws attention to the pitiable state of Tapedars in Sind whose pay is Rs. 20 only plus Rs. 10 horse allowance which is quite insufficient to maintain the rider and the horse in these hard times when bajri is selling at 3½ seers per rupee, rice at 3 seers per rupee, ghee ¼ seer at Re. 0-9-0, grass at 5 seers per rupee. The horse requires 2 seers bajri, 10 or 12 seers of grass daily costing from Rs. 2 to Rs. 2-10-0, besides the cost of living for the Tapedar and his family. The wonder is, how does the Tapedar manage to live? And similar is the case with the Munshis of the Revenue Department who get Rs. 30, 40 or 50 each which is quite insufficient in these hard times. If Government want to put a stop to blackmail and corruption in low paid services, the only course left open is to raise their emoluments."

Protest against the high rates for telegrams and postal parcels.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th Mar.

48. "In introducing the Budget Heads of the Commerce and Industry Department Sir Thomas Holland said that, in spite of increased rates, the volume of telegrams received by the telegraphic offices continued to expand, and for some unknown reason exceeded all records during April and May last year. For the first eight months in the year the telegrams despatched amounted to 14 millions as against 12½ millions in the previous year. From these facts it is evident that the receipts have risen considerably and that, in spite of the enhancement in rates, there was a large increase in traffic. Touching the revision of postal rates for parcels, there was the plausible defence that they were meant to keep step with the railway tariffs; but here, too, there is an increase in traffic. Now the question is whether it is not time to alter the scale of receipts for telegraphic messages and postal parcels, regard being had to the fact that to the poorer classes they are a burden while in the total volume of traffic there is a decided tendency

for expansion. There should be no delay in issuing orders for a reversion to pre-war scales of traffic, and the profits of the Department are not likely to diminish on that account."

The future of the Peace Conference.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 15th Mar.

49. The news about the Peace Conference that we receive does not lead one to entertain very high hopes for its future. It appears from the London *Times* that England does not approve of the suggestion made by Marshal Foch in respect of the future of the territory taken from Turkey. The distribution of enemy territory is likely to stimulate the territorial ambitions of European nations. Matters have come to such a pass that these nations do not trust each other. The differences in the American Senate lead us, moreover, to fear that President Wilson's efforts will, after all, come to nothing. While the resolution of the senate in respect of making a separate peace with Germany is to be regretted from the European standpoint, it deserves to be given consideration in the interests of America.

Pretentious chicane of the "mandatory" system.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th Mar.

50. "The *Times* recently disapproved of the Persian delegates preferring 'exaggerated claims'. Now it has entangled itself in crude sophistries about the application of the mandatory system, so that the furtive object of controlling the entire block of the Middle East can be put under the polite mandatory formula. Britain, we are told, has to think of India and wants to see a 'barrier of free peoples' in the Middle East similar to that between the Baltic and the Adriatic. The creation of New Arabia, New Palestine and New Armenia does not stand on independent principles, as, according to the *Times*, the dismemberment of Turkey is being planned with a view to the establishment of a 'barrier' in the Middle East and incidentally, of course, for the maintenance of freedom for all: and the free peoples are to be free not for their own sake or to vindicate the principle of self-determination but to serve the political ends of British jingoes. The *Times* adds, 'That is why the question of Syria is so important to us', which is rather dubious in view of France's candidature for the 'mandate' of Syria. Further, Britain's position in Egypt, it appears, gives her a special interest in Palestine, which, according to the present contention, must 'reach the fullest limits of its natural expansion'. The phrase probably means that the whole of Palestine, including Syria, should be assigned without division. For this amiable and altruistic purpose, the *Times* wants the assistance of America, though it is still doubtful of America's capacity for pretentious chicane. If it is annexation that is meant, why should not the *Times* throw off all reverence for the term 'mandatory' and boldly ask for what it wants? The war is over."

LEGISLATION.

The Select Committee's report on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Mar.

51. "The Criminal Law Amendment Bill has emerged from the Select Committee with some modifications, but the ruling by which the right of dissenting members to attach independent minutes of their own was flouted, has unfortunately destroyed the worth and dignity of the report as a public document. Pandit Malaviya, Mr. Khapardi and Mr. Patel were excluded from the deliberations of the Committee by the coercive ruling of His Excellency the President, that unless they subscribed their names to the main report, their right of presenting separate minutes would stand nullified. His Excellency has been singularly ill-advised in insisting upon a stipulation which, according to all responsible procedure, is absolutely unprecedented and unwarranted. Hectoring procedure of this kind is no doubt a short cut through the inflexible opposition of members in the public interest but in this instance there is, so far as we can see, no shadow of a warrant for prohibiting independent minutes according to rules of Council procedure. If any forbiddal of this right were contemplated, there should have been in the rules of procedure mention of it as a deviation from constitutional practice. The fact that the rules are silent on the point is no excuse for the President to impose a

restrictive order in accordance with official convenience, especially because it is the right of organised legislative assemblies to settle their own rules of procedure or unsettle conventions obtaining in similar institutions. Where explicit provisions happen to exist, as in the Councils of Bombay, Bengal, Madras, the Punjab, and Behar and Orissa, they are in favour of the practice which enables dissenting members to offer their own minutes of dissent without the egregious condition that they should first lend their signatures to the majority. Mr. Patel in offering his note in connection with the Emergeucy Powers Bill exhaustively discussed the rules of procedure and contended that the frustration of the rights of the minority rendered the whole document an invalid one. The ruling of the President appears to be absolutely wrong and only illustrates the official passion of inventing claims of power for setting opposition at naught. Coming to the report of the majority, it is plain that the amendments are not sufficient for the public to relax their opposition to the Bill itself which still requires complete withdrawal..... In the passing of the Emergency Powers Bill through the Select Committee, the officials displayed the most obstinate opposition to non-officials, and there have been no improvements mentioned even by them. The stranglehold of the bureaucracy is, through the Black Bills, tighter than ever, and the duty of the people to oppose them remains as imperative as ever."

52. "Two great objectionable features of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill were penalizing the possession of a seditious document and, in a way, the association of a man with another convicted of an offence under section 124-A or any other section of Chapter VI of the Indian Penal Code. It is a matter of congratulation that the Bill has been now purged of its former obnoxious feature by the deletion of clause 2 in the original Bill by the Select Committee. The opposition of the non-official Indian members to the principles underlying the Bill, however, still remains as solid and uncompromising as at the beginning. The remaining part of the Bill cannot be said to be less objectionable than the deleted part, especially in view of the powers proposed to be conferred on the executive. As Government has accepted the non-official members' proposal for republication of the Bill, further criticism on it may be postponed for some time."

Servant of India (9), 13th Mar.

53. The *Kesari* says that the changes introduced in the Rowlatt Bills by the Select Committee are of a formal character and that the Committee has pointed out for the satisfaction of the British Government and some of the Britishers that the policy kept in view while drafting the Bills has not been changed a whit. It adds:—Government feared an agitation in England against repression. They could do any number of unjust things under the Defence of India Act while the war was on. Government were faced with the problem as to what would become of them after the war. The sanction of the British Government would be needed to keep alive the laws of repression after the war. The Government of India of their own accord or at the instigation of some people thought that the initiatory step may be taken by some English Judge and that if any agitation was set up in England it could be silenced by quoting the Judge against it. So Justice S. A. T. Rowlatt was selected and he decided on the strength of papers prepared by Government *ex parte* and consented to the enactment of repressive laws. Though the suggestion is Rowlatt's, the responsibility is Government's. Government were requested by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to follow the basis of the Irish Coercion Acts but they refused. The great war is over, the Germans are nowhere and England at this day stands supreme in the world, anarchism is destroyed and peaceful and constitutional Government established but still Government's love of repression is not over! The question will be raised as to what should be done if the Bills are passed and a suggestion is made that the All India Congress Committee should be assembled. The Provinces should determine their policy. Mahatma Gandhi has raised the standard of passive resistance, and we hope that all the Provinces will work under Mahatma Gandhi and have

Kesari (114), 11th Mar.

the repressive laws repealed by Government by resorting to passive resistance. [Elsewhere the paper says that Rowlatt Bill No. I has been rendered less harassing by the Select Committee than Bill No. II. 124-B. has been dropped and incriminating association is required. As the Bill is to be republished, it need not be discussed now. In Bill No. 2 a time-limit has been introduced and it is to be confined to revolutionary and anarchical agitation. But as the bureaucracy would not hesitate to stamp even *bonâ fide* agitation as revolutionary people will not be satisfied till it is dropped. Why should people submit to a stamp of insulting slavery for no cause even for three years? There is no other remedy mentioned in history against such slavery except passive resistance begun by Mahatma Gandhi. The Moderate leaders headed by Sir D. E. Wacha say that the agitation should not be made in view of the coming reforms. Who will care for the inducements contained in the Montagu Bill when three years have to be passed in fear of slavery? Moreover who will be allured into accepting slavery by these inducements? The movement of passive resistance has received support from all the Provinces and there are signs that it will be powerful enough to attract the attention of the Government of India and of the great men of Europe and America.]

54. The Rowlatt Bills have evoked fear and indignation throughout India as they are likely to endanger the peace and freedom of the people. The people ought to be thankful to the bureaucracy for having roused them by getting the Bills passed by sheer official majority. The bureaucracy should realise that their conduct which is opposed to the political principles enunciated by President Wilson tends to the loss of their own prestige and the confidence of the people, besides confirming the people in their opinion that their rulers are hypocrites. We wish the non-official Indian members of the Council had refused to act on the Select Committee. [The paper then proceeds to examine the amendments suggested by the Select Committee and expresses disapproval with them. The *Gujaráti Punch* also expresses disapproval of the amendments of the Select Committee and associates itself fully with the Honourable Mr. Patel's minute of dissent. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* while associating itself fully with the opposition to the Bills suggests that they may in the first instance be submitted to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council for its opinion, which, the paper believes, will be beneficial both to the people and the Government. In the subsequent issue the paper regrets its inability to accept any verbal assurances given by the Viceroy in the matter of the operation of the Bills and deprecates the fearful hurry shown by Government in holding the meeting of the Council till late hours of the night. It fears such an action will reflect discredit on the people and Government alike. The *Hindusthán* deplores the lack of confidence shown by Government in their refusal to submit the Bills for the opinion of the High Courts and expresses the hope that Government will show the wisdom of postponing the consideration of the Bills till the reform scheme comes into force. In a subsequent issue the paper expresses its belief that the fate of the amendments moved by non-official members and the dogged perversity of the bureaucracy will lead the Moderates to change their opinions and adds:—The people of India see the hand of God in every occurrence and the obstinacy of the officials will surely lead to some good results. The *Sánj Vartamán* is grieved at the refusal of Government to accept any of the amendments suggested by the non-official members and adds:—When the Bills pass into law the people should protest against them in such a manner and conduct such an agitation against them that the British people would be forced to intervene and get the Acts cancelled. We are of opinion that passive resistance is the most constitutional and effective method of conducting the agitation. The *Bombay Samáchár* fully associates itself with the Honourable Mr. Madan Mohan Malaviya's minute of dissent and reiterates its suggestion that the Emergency Bill may be dropped. In a subsequent issue the paper asks

Gujaráti (18), 9th Mar.; *Gujaráti Punch* (20), 9th Mar.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 13th and 15th Mar.; *Hindusthán* (22), 10th and 13th Mar.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 13th Mar.; *Bombay Samáchár* (63), 10th and 15th Mar.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 14th Mar.

Government to take into consideration the universal opposition the Rowlatt Bills have excited and also to respect the honest convictions of Mr. Gandhi who has taken the vow of passive resistance and to postpone their consideration till the new reformed Council comes into being. The *Akhbár-e-Islám*, on the other hand, deprecates the passive resistance movement and the agitation that is being engineered against the Bills and refuses to believe that they will in any way interfere with the life of peaceful and law-abiding subjects. It is of opinion that every law-abiding citizen should support the Bills.]

*55. "With the Rowlatt Bills on the legislative anvil, creating harassing unrest in the mind of the people, will Lord Sinha from his position as Under-Secretary of State for India interpret with the courage of his conviction the true feeling of the country and save it from the fatal bite of the Black Cobra Bills, which will rob it of the elementary human rights? If he cannot do that, it does not matter whether they have Lord Sydenham or Lord Ronaldshay as Under-Secretary of State for India..... The hideous mockery of the debate in the Imperial Council, dragged on to the early hours of the morning against all precedents, is a crying shame and an insult to the intelligence and the sense of self-respect of the Councillors, and the whole country resents it..... This oligarchic imperialism has run its course for well over 150 years, with the result that a helpless nation has been left without education, sanitation and, last of all, liberty, groaning under repressive legislation which denies the most elementary human rights to its people, and yet they are riding rough-shod with the pestilential notion in their head that their glorious achievements in the interests of this country will be written in letters of gold when the history of the nations comes to be written. The people of India have the patience of Job and they will wait and wait and wait and will not move to stir the British public as to the real state of affairs in this country. When will the deputations go to England?"

Sunday Chronicle (13), 16th Mar.

56. "The Government of India's firm determination to proceed with the Rowlatt legislation, in spite of the threats of the *Satyagraha* fraternity, is really very significant. There must have been overwhelming reasons for Government to proceed with this legislation in the face of the strong opposition in the Council. The threats of the *Satyagrahis* we put on one side, but at any rate there is such a mass of so-called 'opinion' against the Bill, manufactured on a mechanical, gramophone principle, that a Government committed to vast reform measures might well have desisted from proceeding with the Bills. The only conclusions at which the sane public can arrive at are (1) that the Government knows more than it is prepared to disclose; or (2) that possible impending mischief can be nipped in the bud by taking precautionary measures. In either view, the Home Department of the Government of India must be trusted to guide public opinion. There are no other guides—except those who would take us on to and precipitate us into the abyss of anarchy." [The *Bombay East Indian* also supports the Bills and says it cannot believe that the legislation will cast a slur on the sober-minded and educated classes of the people of India".]

Sunday Tatler (14), 16th Mar.; *Bombay East Indian* (2), 15th Mar.

57. The *Vibhákar* does not support the Moderate leaders who have announced that they would oppose the Rowlatt Bills to the end. It says that the drastic character of the Bills has been modified considerably and that it is not reasonable to oppose them merely for the sake of principle. It holds that political reform would not remove anarchy of its own accord. The ideal of the anarchists, it points out, is not reform but severance of the British connection. The paper is against passive resistance. [The *Shubhodaya*, on the other hand, says that it would be folly to suppose that the Rowlatt Bills have been rendered innocuous. It begs Lord Chelmsford to withdraw the Bills. If Lord Chelmsford would not yield, it prays that another Viceroy who was an image of peace should be sent.]

Vibhákar (36), 10th Mar.; *Shubhodaya* (94), 7th Mar.

58. "It speaks volumes for the zeal of the bureaucracy that for the first time in the history of the Imprial Legislative Council night has been made joint labourer with the day and the forging of new chains is proceeding at record speed. Tragic as the situation is, no one can help noticing the farcical nature of the debate. The Viceroy is there with his big stick of arbitrary rulings and a determination to find a short cut at each awkward turn. The official party is there like a trained team, performing at the nod of Sir William Vincent without any expression of individuality or conscience, and ready to allow their heads to be counted against the minority. The Viceroy has the simple job of maintaining order in the fashion of a village school-master, deciding who should stand first, speak next, and keep quiet. It is of course a solemn farce and every one knows it. The officials might as well have gone to bed early, with the injunction that all remaining could go on moving amendments, and making speeches ; only they must consider themselves outvoted on each point by the absent official brigade! Among the non-officials there is something of the levity of despair, and their good humour is mellowed by the hangman's politeness on the other side..... There is an orgy of cant, and we are sorry to say, sheer dissimulation in the Council, which is sickening to a degree. Far better would it be for the Government to repudiate the solemn mockery of its procedure and decree that the members in the Council are tiring themselves out for nothing."

Comments on the debate in the Imperial Legislative Council on the report of the Select Committee on the Rowlatt Bill No. 2.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th Mar.

EDUCATION.

59. "The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye moved a resolution in the local Legislative Council in July 1916, requesting the Government to move the Government of India to allow headmasters full discretion to select text-books, the Educational Department having a veto which should be exercised on general, moral and political grounds with reasons stated. He further moved that, as regards the suitability of a book from the educational point of view, the Department should have the power of making recommendations only. The resolution was accepted by the Bombay Legislative Council, 22 voting for as against 18, after a highly interesting debate in which the petty attempts of the bureaucracy to control text-books were mercilessly exposed by the honourable mover..... But the Government of India, who, inspite of Sir Sankaran Nair, do not seem to have improved a whit in educational matters, cling to old traditions and apprehend that relaxation of the rules in the manner proposed by the Bombay Council, would lead to difficulties owing to the inexperience of school managers and the questionable activities of some publicity firms..... Who is to blame if most of the school managers come to be inexperienced? The school managers are apparently competent to do a hundred and one things connected with the school, but they do not possess discerning powers to choose books for their pupils. Do the Government cherish the delusion that the public can be misled by this palpably absurd excuse? And the second reason assigned that Government are unwilling to make any changes because of the questionable activities of publicity firms intent on profits sounds still more ridiculous. A sort of monopoly has been created by the present practice of introducing a dead uniformity. Which is more to be condemned, the present practice of favouring certain firms alluded to by the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye or allowing general competition? Are our headmasters capable of selecting suitable text-books or not? Should not Government allow them this legitimate concession, reserving to themselves general supervision? These are the questions at issue and no reform carried out in the constitution and working of the Text-Book Committees will satisfy the public. Apart from the active encouragement which the present system affords the I. E. S. to make the output of text-books a profitable industry, it is not difficult to see what is at the back of the mind of Government and why they are anxious not only to bind students by a

The Government of India and the question of allowing Headmasters of schools discretion to select text-books.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th Mar.

rigorous Risley Code of discipline but also choose what they are to read. Political considerations seem to guide the footsteps of the Government of India. They are mortally afraid lest some headmasters choose to introduce forbidden and obnoxious literature..... With the wide powers Mr. Paranjpye wanted to give them which would achieve the object nearest their heart and yet give to the headmasters some discretion, the Government of India are not content. They want to choose text-books for the students, they want to tell then what to read. The result is they have to read Fraser, Marsden and Wren leaving in the cold Shakespeare, Milton and Macaulay. We are afraid none would be found weak enough to congratulate Government on the splendid results achieved."

Government aid to Municipal Schools.
Dnyan Prakásh (39), 14th Mar.

60. The *Dnyan Prakásh* welcomes the decision of Government to fix the amount of grant to be given to a Municipality for education on the basis of its actual expenditure in the preceding year. The paper urges that this grant be made payable at the beginning of a year instead of at the end of it as the financial condition of most of the Municipalities is not satisfactory. It also asks Government to bear themselves the whole expenditure of war allowance to be given to teachers in primary schools instead of throwing a part of it on the Municipalities.

MUNICIPALITIES.

The Bombay Government's letter to the Bombay Municipality regarding reform of the constitution of that body.
Bombay Samáchár (63), 13th Mar.

61. The *Bombay Samáchár* congratulates the Bombay Government on the announcement of their intention of reforming the constitution of the Corporation on a very liberal basis and remarks that the public will not fail to trace the presence of the experienced hand of the Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla at the back of the proposed change. The paper thinks that the popular element in the reformed Corporation will preponderate to such an extent as would render it utterly impossible for any Municipal Commissioner to keep it under his control. It hopes that in view of these changes the present arrangement of Wards should be revised and the assignment of the seats also should be revised accordingly.

Comments on the proposed Building Bye-laws of the Bombay Municipality.
Sánj Vartamán (32), 11th Mar.

62. The *Sánj Vartamán* strongly disapproves of the proposed Building Bye-laws of the Bombay Municipality and declares that if they are put into force and are made uniformly applicable to the whole City, the public will resent them and they will tend to raise the prices of the building-sites and rents in such a way as to hit hardest the poor and middle classes. The paper urges that the application of the 63½ degrees rule and that about keeping an open space of ten feet round a building should be limited to the buildings that may come into existence hereafter, without disturbing the position of the buildings already existing. It also discountenances the proposal of dividing the city into two divisions in applying the 63½ degrees rule, as that would unjustly inflict hardship on some landlords while others would escape.

The desirability of nominating a member of the depressed classes on the Poona Municipality.
Dnyán Prakásh (39), 13th Mar.

63. In connection with the question of filling up the vacancy of a nominated member in the Poona City Municipality caused by the death of Mr. Hari Narayen Apte, we would suggest that a respectable gentleman belonging to the depressed classes should be appointed to it. As some provision is likely to be made for allowing representation of these classes in the new councils, it is necessary that they should be admitted from now to the Municipality of Poona which is supposed to be the centre of educational advancement. The desirability of working on a footing of equality with these outcaste classes has now come to be recognised by many people, but a considerable number of public leaders lack moral courage required for translating that conviction into action. In order, there-

fore, to liberalise the views of the higher classes in this respect and educate the depressed classes on public questions, such representation on the Poona Municipality is desirable.

RAILWAYS.

64. A correspondent writes :—Nowadays while the people are suffering great inconvenience owing to shortage of Railway wagons, railway servants at all stations, excepting some large ones where high railway officers are present, are indirectly making money out of it. Several Station masters frighten the passengers by telling them that there is no accommodation and demand fares in excess of the scheduled rates from them, and the passengers silently submit to this form of oppression by complying with the demand. In the case of goods extra money is also necessarily required to be paid to avoid trouble. We request the Railway authorities to take timely steps to remedy this grievance of the poor ryots already suffering from effects of famine.

How money is being extorted from the public by subordinate railway servants.
Jágaruk (43), 8th Mar.

NATIVE STATES.

65. The *Political Bhomiyo* exhorts the Muhammadans all over India to carry on concerted and continued agitation against the orders passed by the Baroda Durbar in connection with the demolition of certain mosques in Baroda territory and asks them to appeal to His Excellency the Viceroy in case redress cannot be had from His Highness the Gaekwar. It says :—It is reported that in order to commemorate the Viceroy's visit to Baroda, the foundation of the proposed theatre in the place of the mosque will be laid by the hand of the Viceroy himself when he will be there in the course of the next week. If this be a fact it would scarcely be proper, in our opinion, to couple the name of His Excellency the Viceroy with a theatre, the sight of which will ever continue to draw tears of blood from the eyes of the Muhammadans on account of the demolition of the mosque that stood in its stead. We hope His Excellency the Viceroy will not like to see his name coupled with an incident that has hurt the susceptibilities of the Mussalmans. [A correspondent of the paper, while calling upon the Muhammadans of Gujarát to have a Muslim Association of their community refers to the Baroda mosque and adds :—It is rumoured that efforts are being made to demolish a mosque called 'Dhanbai's mosque' at Jamnagar (Káthiáwár). If these mosques are demolished it will cause considerable excitement among the Muhammadans of Baroda and Jamnagar and they will not tolerate this downright insult. The rulers of both the States should inquire into the question and should do proper justice.]

Advocacy of agitation against the reported demolition of certain mosques at Baroda and Jamnagar.
Political Bhomiyo (76), 14th Mar.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 20th March 1919.

*Reported in advance.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 22nd March 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. "The Administration Report of the Bombay Presidency for 1917-18 has made its appearance, but it is, as usual, a dull and belated production..... The Report is in its presentation clourless, but we expected that in the section about 'Politics,' the bias of the writer would give it some vivacity. It is heavy and dull, and where it is most contentious there is some lapse from the truth. The announcement of August 20th, according to the writer, 'served as a strong rallying point to Moderate opinion in India and the result was immediately seen in the shelving of passive resistance for the inauguration of which the Extremist sections had strenuously pressed.' The writer is misinformed in two respects. The announcement of August 20th was not, at the time referred to, a fetish with any party in India; its apotheasis came later, and the writer is only anticipating events. Secondly, Passive Resistance ceased to be a problem on the release of Mrs. Besant, and the announcement had no more to do with its 'shelving' than the discovery of the South Pole. The admission of the so-called Extremists in the Congress and their predominance was an accomplished fact long before the beginning of the period under review. The few sentences devoted to a description of the course of the Kaira struggle are incomplete and inaccurate. A person who depends on the Report for information on the point is likely to be misled by the inconsecutive statements and can realise very little of the history and significance of that movement. During the year 29 warnings were issued under the Press Act and security demanded from five journals, a record which, we hope, has not been improved upon for next year's report. The credit of the Presidency in its loyal support of the war was maintained in the contribution of more than 35,000 men. Deficiency in recruitment is explained by the 'unmartial nature of the inhabitants'—a singularly insolent excuse made in time-honoured fashion and without the slightest reference to some of the impossible conditions under which the men were summoned to the colours and the advice of their leaders, with influence over them, ignored. The province led in the War Loan of the year. The Report has little to say about anything done or achieved by Government, besides the humdrum tasks of the year."

Comments on the Administration Report of the Bombay Presidency for 1917-18.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Mar.

2. "Mahatma Gandhi has every reason to be satisfied that the spiritual force among his countrymen is not only not dead, but that the same, which has been lying hidden and long slumbering, is going to be a living power again among his countrymen, so that India might fulfil her national destiny. The present crisis, therefore, will be welcomed by all right-thinking men because it will demonstrate to the British democracy and the world, whose statesmen talk so glibly of rights of peoples and victory of right and justice, what a true triumph of righteousness means. It will be welcomed also for the reason that it will awaken Indians to their own true heritage which they have so long overlooked..... Those who are at present in control of the destinies of India are disposed to ignore this cultural heritage of India and treat the people as if they were on the same level as some uncivilised and barbarian races of Africa or the Pacific Islands. Their intellect, warped by greed of power and material possessions, cannot pierce beneath the dark cutaneous vesture of the Indian races. For an alien race seeking to mould the destinies of a country like India there could be no more fatal defect of vision than this. In spite of the warnings of the past, the alien bureaucracy is persisting in its wrong course and seeking to impose its will on the people by sheer physical might. If the present spiritual protest of a few patriotic souls should ultimately assume the proportions of a national upheaval, bringing not only the bureaucraey but the whole British democracy into discredit in the eyes of the people of this country as well as the outside world, the

Passive Resistance movement of Mr. Gandhi.
Young India (15), 19th Mar.

responsibility will rest solely with those who are preaching by their example to-day the Gospel of Force from their high official positions."

3. Mr. R. V. Lalit and Mr. R. N. Mandlik write to the *Kesari*:—It is gratifying that hundreds of courageous men and women are at present taking the vow of *Satyâgraha* in connection with the Rowlatt Bills. But this alone is not enough. Real salvation lies in the undertaking of a *Swadeshi*-Boycott movement by all persons whether educated or uneducated, Extremists or Moderates. But for the laxity on the part of our leaders, branches of the Bombay Swadeshi Co-operative Stores would by this time have been opened all over the country and thus England's attention would have been drawn towards India. Why should we not then adopt this simple remedy now to assist the passive resisters to protest against the highhandedness of Government officials and to draw the attention of the English people towards us?

Kesari (114), 18th Mar.

*4. "The outspoken denial given by the Maharaja of Bikaner to the persistent and false rumours published in the British Press about the hostility of the Indian Princes to the Reforms cuts down the last plank of the Sydenhamites' platform. The Maharaja, however, has not only thus exposed the Sydenhamites' mischief, but has also warned them and the British public that 'if the reforms are whittled down a situation of extreme gravity would be created'. The Maharaja has thus done the work of voicing the Indian public opinion on this most important question in a courageous manner, and has done a greater service to the whole of India than perhaps even Lord Sinha. We have been marking for a long time the utterances of both these nominees of the British Government, and we find the Maharaja's utterances more outspoken on reforms than those of the former president of the Indian National Congress."

Comments on His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner's speech at the dinner given to Lord Sinha.

Mahrátta (7), 23rd Mar.

*5. "His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir made a notable speech at a banquet given in honour of Lord Sinha in London at which he presided. Lord Sinha protested against the idea in certain quarters that educated Indians were unfriendly to British rule. He said that educated Indians, without exception, ardently desired to remain in the British Empire as equals of British citizens. The necessity for that emphatic statement in view of the proceedings in the Tilak-Chirol case is obvious. The Maharaja of Bikanir said that the Indian leaders fully recognised that their ideal of self-government was realisable by India remaining an integral part of the Empire..... He denied that the Indian princes were hostile to the contemplated reforms. A heavy responsibility rested with the British Government in connection with the reforms, which, if carried out, would enhance loyalty and contentment in India, but if the reforms were whittled down a situation of extreme gravity would be created. The importance of the last two sentences is unmistakable. The country will not forget the valuable support which our ruling princes have given to constitutional reform in the true spirit of patriotism. If there was any doubt on the point, the Maharaja of Bikanir's categorical affirmation of it should set it at rest once for all. As for the warning in the last sentence, His Highness is not the man to speak in that vein without weighty reasons which everyone who is in touch with Indian public opinion will instantly appreciate."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 23rd Mar.

6. "If it is true it cannot be sufficiently condemned. That Lord Sinha, a Government official and a nominee of the Government of India, should represent this country was bad enough and was keenly resented by the people, but now it seems we ought to be satisfied with being represented by the Secretary of State..... This country welcomed his appointment into the ministry not because an Indian had received an Under-Secretaryship—an honour which he shares with scores of third rate Englishmen—but because he had been appointed to the second important position of the India

Comments on Lord Sinha's reported resignation as member of the Peace Conference.

Home Ruler (5), 15th Mar.

Office which is for our purposes more important than all the other ministries put together. Technically of course Lord Sinha is a subordinate of Mr. Montagu but actually he represents in his office three hundred millions of his countrymen. This gives him a unique position and it will be pure camouflage to oust him from the Peace Conference on the ground of his ineligibility to take precedence over Mr. Montagu. In that case technically as well as actually India will be unrepresented, her tremendous war services and their universal appreciation notwithstanding."

Lord Jellicoe's mission in India.
Home Ruler (5), 15th Mar.

7. "If an Indian Navy is to be formed—and it cannot be doubted that it will be formed—it is fundamentally necessary that it should be thoroughly Indian in every respect. It will be nothing but a farce to have an Indian Navy in which it is sacrilege for an Indian to have a Commission..... We have now arrived at a stage when we must either go forward and be the equals of every one or remain in perpetual bondage not only to our British masters but to the Dominions and all the free countries of the world. That being so the press and public opinion in this country has to be exceptionally vigilant and to closely scrutinise the results of the Jellicoe Mission. It is the last straw which breaks the camel's back and people in this country are so fed up with the Anglo-Indian methods by which India and Indians are to be constantly depreciated, maligned that any further slight will be trying their patience too much."

Complaint about Government's apathy towards the question of the development of Indian industries.
New Times (8), 14th Mar.

8. The *New Times* complains of delay on the part of Government in considering the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission and remarks:—"We fear that at the present rate it may take seven years more to commence practical action in the matter of this country's industries. And yet Government can be swift in action when it is a matter of passing Rowlatt legislation. What is the present position? Sir P. C. Ray, in his illuminating article in the *Modern Review* of Calcutta to which we referred yesterday, alluded to the fact that gigantic combinations are afoot in Britain and America to exploit more and more Indian trade, commerce and industry. Japan is already in the field and has appropriated to herself a world position in commerce which was Germany's before the war. India as she is to-day is helpless against foreign exploitation and she will have to submit to economic serfdom if she does not set her house in order immediately. Past experience in this matter has been most painful..... We know that some years ago the continuance of the Madras Department of Industries was disallowed; we know too that the establishment of the Technological Institute at Cawnpore was vetoed from 'Home'; and the reasons are not far to seek. Lord Sydenham and his friends have collected 'insurance premiums' from British merchants interested in Indian trade as much to oppose 'reforms' as India's fiscal autonomy and industrial expansion..... Will the industrial regeneration of India come to be classed under those pious intentions which are as elusive as quicksilver?"

The bureaucracy is hostile to "National" Education in India.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th Mar.

9. "We learn from *New India* that the Honourable Justice T. Sadasivier of Madras has publicly stated that he resigned the *vice*-Chancellorship of the National University under pressure from Government. The National Education Movement is still in its infancy, but a High Court Judge may be trusted to know of its purpose and legality. Lord Pentland's Government has, however, tabooed it, hoping probably to complete the record of misdeeds for which it has become notorious in India. How the Executive Government could have dared to censure the private and lawful conduct of a Judge of the High Court by 'pressure', and possibly persuasion, cannot be easily understood. Strictly speaking, the responsibility of a High Court Judge as a public officer is derived from the order of appointment made by the King, and it is not for the Madras Government to judge of the misconduct of a High Court Judge or influence his course by 'pressure'. From this egregious attempt at boycotting National Education, it is plain that the

bureaucracy is distinctly hostile to the work. The bureaucracy has never done its duty by the people in the matter of education; it will not allow any one else to do it by a new departure. We know the large sacrifice by which the promoters of National Education are organising it, but now they have, we fear, to reckon with the active hostility of high officials."

The Tilak-Chirol case and the fund started to help Mr. Tilak.

Sudhákar (132), 16th Mar.; *Bakul* (98), 16th Mar.; *Hindu Missionary* (41), 15th Mar.; *Jágaruk* (43), 15th Mar.

10. Although the suit brought by Lokamanya Tilak against Sir Valentine Chirol was seemingly of a private character it marked in fact a phase of the struggle between the bureaucracy and the *swardjists*. Who does not know that the Government of Bombay had placed at the disposal of Sir Valentine the services of a Civilian for some time and that in fact he could command all the resources of the bureaucracy? Everyone should judge for himself if this help would have been available to Sir Valentine if the dispute had been purely of a private character. Sir Edward Carson's address to the jury in which he remarked that a verdict in favour of Mr. Tilak would be injurious to the prestige of the Government of India also supports our view. The duty of the people, therefore, in this matter is plain. Since Lokamanya Tilak launched this litigation out of regard for the good name of the nation it is the duty of the latter to extricate him from the financial difficulties in which he now finds himself. [The *Bakul* says that people should show by subscribing liberally to the Tilak Fund that their confidence in their leader is unshaken by the English Jury. The *Hindu Missionary* complains that all the signatories to the appeal for funds are Brahmins and that it has been issued in the name of the Nationalist party only. The appeal should have been issued, the paper remarks, over the signatures of men of other castes and parties also since the dispute was of a public character and did not concern the Brahmins and the Nationalists only. However, it expresses the hope that the appeal will receive a general response. A correspondent writing in the *Jágaruk*, on the other hand, warns the backward classes against subscribing to the Tilak Fund since the sole aim of the Brahmins is to ensure their supremacy over other castes in social and political matters.]

Comments on Government's refusal to allow Mr. Lala Lajpatrai to return to India.

Kesari (114), 18th Mar.

11. A self-respecting Indian cannot but feel enraged when he sees that there are no prospects of the return of Lala Lajpatrai to his native country. A question was asked in Parliament and Mr. Fisher replied that Mr. Montagu had declined so far to grant a passport to Lala Lajpatrai. Though there is no clear statement that he will never get a passport, we feel sorry that he will remain an exile for many days more. What guarantee is there that the bureaucracy that is not prepared to allow the patriot leader to return to his country will not commit a breach of faith and misuse the Rowlatt Bills? Will the bureaucracy dare to say that Lala Lajpatrai is a revolutionary or a conspirator? If no such objection can be raised, on what ground can he be prevented from returning to India? So long as the all-comprehensive Defence of India Act is in existence, the bureaucracy may play this game but if Lala Lajpatrai will not get permission even after the lapse of the Defence of India Act, the world will witness a plain instance of breach of faith and misuse of the Rowlatt Bills.

Complaint about inflammatory speeches recently made by Home Rulers at Karáchi.

Pársi Sansár (28), 15th Mar.

12. The *Pársi Sansár* strongly condemns the extremist methods adopted by some Home Rulers of Karáchi and the inflammatory speeches made by them in agitating against the Rowlatt Bills. While referring to one Mr. Narsinglal's speech delivered on last Monday (10th March) it writes:—We fail to understand the meaning of Mr. Narsinglal's speech. Surely he did not want to say that if the Rowlatt Bills pass into law, people should unhesitatingly murder officials. Perhaps, he might not have meant it; but we would not wonder if the ignorant audience, before which that speech was made, should understand it in that sense. The speakers certainly

err if they think that Government will be daunted by such speeches of theirs. Only a little while ago, when Mrs. Besant was here, the Principal of the New High School (Karáchi) made an introductory speech in the gathering of that school, which was in no way in consonance with the spirit of an educational gathering. There is no sense in reading a pamphlet containing political matters, before an educational gathering, but in the present age, such things do happen. We do not know whether the reporters of the C. I. D. attend all such gatherings or not; but if such speeches are allowed to be made before the public any longer, the country is sure to come to an unfortunate pass.

Complaint about the exclusion of certain papers from registered libraries.
Hindusthán (22), 15th Mar.

13. Government do not give any encouragement to libraries in this Presidency. Their registration-system has deprived all registered libraries of their independence and has rendered these institutions of public education impotent. We hope Government will turn their attention to this important question and will keep before them the aim of providing each and every village with a public library. Further, the present practice of encroaching upon the independence of libraries under the pretext of registering them must cease. It appears that Government are taking improper steps to hinder the mental development of the nation. Registered libraries are prohibited from subscribing to certain papers, which are considered as 'undesirable' by the Education Department. We fail to understand what benefit is derived from aiming this secret blow at them. We also fail to understand the principle on which they consider a particular newspaper as undesirable. Government officials act in a capricious manner in this respect. Registered libraries are allowed to subscribe to the *Bombay Chronicle*; but they are prohibited from subscribing to the *Hindusthán* as the latter is included in the Government list of 'undesirable' papers. What is the the reason of this? Is it because a paper that is published in vernacular is more likely to influence the opinion of people, a result which the officials would not like? We hope some non-official members will interpellate in this respect in the next session of the Bombay Council. Registered libraries must be allowed to subscribe to all papers except proscribed ones, and they should be given substantial help by Government so as to enable them to spread education among the people effectively.

Contracts given by the Supply and Transport Department.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Mar.

14. "One hears occasionally, in fact very often, curious stories of the manner in which war contracts are dealt with by the various departments concerned. We have given some striking examples in our columns from time to time, but it is not always that circumstances of a very glaring nature can be exposed in the press, as contractors are often, for good reasons, perhaps, loth to enter into an open quarrel with Government departments on whom their future prosperity depends. Some curious facts have come to our notice concerning contracts given by the Supply and Transport Department for the supply of wooden crates or 'shooks' for the army. It appears from copies of correspondence placed in our hands that a certain firm of contractors had been supplying these articles to the Supply and Transport Department at the order of Colonel Dixon, then Assistant Director, Supply and Transport, in considerable quantities and had been asked, as they contend, by that officer to arrange for the continuance of these supplies. They made arrangements accordingly and had a large stock on hand when Colonel Dixon was succeeded by Colonel Geoghegan, the present incumbent. The latter notified that, in future, contracts would not be given out direct to anyone and tenders would be invited. It was stipulated that 'shooks' should be of $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thickness instead of $\frac{1}{2}$ inch as had been hitherto accepted. The contractors, already referred to, were thus left with a large quantity of $\frac{1}{2}$ inch 'shooks' on their hands which they had ordered in anticipation of continuing supplies based on the undertaking which they claim had been given them by Colonel Dixon, which, however, was later repudiated. We are not concerned with that, however, for the moment but with a very curious incident that occurred later. The contractors, already mentioned, whom we may describe for con-

venience as Messrs. A, were left, as we have said, with these stocks on their hands. Tenders for the new supplies of ¾ inch were accepted from other contractors and an appeal to the Assistant Director to take the ½ inch stocks off the hands of Messrs. A, was met with a peremptory refusal and an intimation that they would be given 'the same opportunities as all other contractors, *viz.*, when I am in need of packing cases or boxes, *sealed tenders will be invited for the same* and you will be asked to quote your rate so long as your supplies continue to be satisfactory.' So far so good. Messrs. A, however, were not a little astonished when some time later another firm of contractors, whom we will call Messrs. B, who were known to be supplying Colonel Geoghegan, walked in and offered to take the ½ inch stocks off their hands to supply to the Supply and Transport. Messrs. A pointed out that these stocks had been lying idle, owing to not being according to the new specification laid down by Colonel Geoghegan. Messrs. B, however, remarked that they knew their business and were prepared to take over the whole of the ½ inch crates. A bargain was struck, but owing to circumstances, not immediately relevant here, it was not fully carried out by Messrs. B. Messrs. A then wrote to the Assistant Director of Supply and Transport pointing out that they had been supplying Messrs. B with these ½ inch crates, who were supplying them to the Supply and Transport, and saw no reason why Government should not profit by accepting their very low offer for the remainder of the stocks on hand, since they were taking crates of half inch thickness from Messrs. B. The answer to this of the Assistant Director is interesting and seems to call for further elucidation at the hands of higher authority. He wrote that he 'wanted crates very urgently' and Messrs. B 'came forward' to supply them. This is an extremely unsatisfactory explanation on two grounds. First, we have Colonel Geoghegan's stern refusal to deal with contractors except by sealed tender, in which everybody was to have a fair chance. Then he wants crates urgently and Messrs. B 'come forward'. Why did they come forward? Presumably they had some intimation to induce or instigate them to come forward, unless they telepathically divined the 'urgent need' of Colonel Geoghegan. And if they had intimation why were other contractors not given a chance to 'come forward'? Why should it be 'Come forward Messrs. B' and nobody else? But the urgency of the need is not quite apparent when Messrs. B have to go to a third party to secure what was urgently needed,—a party to whom Colonel Geoghegan, if he was ready in his urgent need, to accept half inch thick wood and knowing as he did of the existence of Messrs. A's stocks lying idle, might have gone himself direct and saved time —an important factor when urgent needs arise. But Colonel Geoghegan, in his explanation to Messrs. A, is conveniently silent as to his reasons for departing from the specification on which he had previously rigidly insisted. Putting the best construction on it, it would seem that Colonel Geoghegan must have lost his business head for the time being in the urgency of the moment, since he went such a roundabout way to get what was lying ready to his hand. He could have gone straight to Messrs. A if he thought the need was too urgent to permit of inviting tenders, or he might have asked all contractors to 'come forward' to meet the urgency. This is one of many incidents in connection with war contracts which suggest that a general *post mortem* enquiry into the methods pursued would be of advantage if waste and incompetence is to be avoided on future occasions. Incidentally, it is of interest to add that Messrs. A are an Indian and Messrs. B, a European firm."

15. The system of control inaugurated by Government with a view to give relief to the people has miserably failed. It also gave rise to an anomalous situation in that while one province enjoyed comparative plenty the adjacent one was starving owing to the restrictions on the free distribution of foodstuffs. No one need suppose from this that the province which enjoyed plenty benefited by this arrangement. Its surplus stocks were purchased by the Military authorities at low rates and shipped to foreign countries thus entailing hardships equally on all the parts of the country. The system of

The system of food control has completely failed.
Jdgaruk (43), 15th Mar.

priority certificates, moreover, benefits rich traders only and as they have very few competitors in the market, they raise the retail rates to any extent they like. This state of things can only be remedied by stopping all export of foodgrains to foreign countries and by removing restrictions on the free distribution of foodstuffs from one part of the country to another.

Inadequacy of supply of foodstuffs in Kelshi (Ratnágiri).
Rájakáran (123), 16th Mar.

16. A Kelshi (Ratnágiri) correspondent writes:—Foodgrains from Bombay are not being received here in quantities adequate to meet the local requirements and sometimes not even a grain of corn is available. If no arrangements are made for supplying foodstuffs for the ensuing rainy season it will then be very difficult to procure corn in the market even for money. Figures about the total requirements of the taluka are being worked out in the Kacheri. I would request Government not to waste time on this matter, but to take prompt measures for an adequate supply of corn. Otherwise the rains may come down at any time and poor people will have to starve.

Complaint about the price of rice sold to Ratnágiri merchants at Bombay.
Satya Shodhak (126), 16th Mar.

17. A Bombay broker writing to a local merchant says "the Controller has fixed his rates for rice at Rs. 11-8 and Rs. 11-14 but no rice is obtainable. The merchants charge Rs. 2-6-6 as 'defence' (*sic*) over and above the fixed rate for every rice bag purchased". It is not known what this extra charge of Rs. 2-6-6 is meant for and Government should inquire into the matter. There was recently a complaint that annas 10 per bag were required to be secretly paid to merchants in this way. Has this charge been quadrupled? If that were the case, where is the good of the Controller's fixing the prices? An immediate inquiry into this state of things is urgently needed. If it is not possible to stop this why there should be the Controller at all?

Comments on the scarcity of kerosene in Bombay.
Bombay Samáchár (63), 21st Mar.

18. Commenting on the Controller's Press Note on the scarcity of kerosene the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—What is the use of issuing this Press Note now when kerosene is available at somewhat cheaper rates than before? Why was it not issued at the time when there was real scarcity of kerosene and when its price used to range from six to eight annas a bottle? What the public wants is not such verbal repetitions of stale information as are contained in the Press Note but real practical measures of relief. All the companies importing kerosene in Bombay should be asked by Government to keep sufficient quantities of the oil in stock so as to ensure its free supply to the public at normal rates. In case a company's stock is likely to be delayed in transport it should be made obligatory on that company to inform the Controller of Prices of the fact in order to enable him to make necessary provision against the deficiency consequent upon such delay.

Comments on the Sherif of Mecca's notification about the *Haj*.
Muslim Herald (151), 21st Mar.

19. While publishing the declaration of the Sherif of Mecca regarding the *Haj*, the *Muslim Herald* says that during the last two years there have been comparatively speaking very few cases of looting and robbery in the caravans bound for Mecca and Medina. If the intending pilgrims receive the same treatment as promised in the Sherif's notification, then the paper hopes that Indians will go in larger numbers than ever for performing the *Haj*. It also urges Government to issue a similar communique notifying arrangements which they propose to make in this connection as Indian Muslims are anxiously awaiting it. It points out that shipping companies have placed most of their ships at the disposal of Government and therefore they are unable to state how many ships they will be able to spare for the pilgrim traffic and it invites the attention of Government to this matter with a view to an early solution of the difficulty.

20. "It was a short, sound and sober speech of which His Excellency Sir George Lloyd delivered himself in the Bombay Legislative Council..... Sir George Lloyd has indeed gone to the root of our evil and he means to set about eradicating that root and planting in its place 'the firm foundations whereby the simple gifts of light, air, health and reasonable leisure were made the natural accessories to daily labour and toil.' This, Sir George Lloyd has assured us with the authority of his position, is not to remain a pious aspiration. Time alone will show whether that is going to be so or not. The public will note with pleasure that His Excellency the Governor has hit the right mark in requisitioning to his aid public bodies, the press and the people; and the deep and earnest tones, the absence of all rhetoric and of elaboration of palatitudes, and the very brief yet lucid representation of the problems that confront us, in the speech of the Governor encourage the strong hope that we are really set on the right track."

His Excellency the Governor's speech at the Bombay Legislative Council.
Kaiser-i-Hind (26), 23rd Mar., Eng. cols.

21. "In introducing the Budget Estimates under the head of Education, the Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah made a statement summarising the schemes of expansion contemplated next year and indicating the lines of progress for the future. The allotment of 132 lakhs of rupees for immediate expenditure marks a considerable advance, but when we consider the closing balances from year to year, the surplus of Excise income and the general policy of under-estimating receipts and over-estimating expenditure, the provision for education is not very much beyond its usual claims. The growth of allotment from 76 lakhs to 132 lakhs in the course of three years is undoubtedly striking, but the phenomenal rise in Excise Revenue, which is exclusively our own, has enabled us to get a considerable share for education. Howsoever we account for the larger provision, the Education Department may well congratulate itself on its own good fortune. As a result of the shocking illiteracy of the people, there is no possibility of our spending too much on education; we may spend all, but we shall be spending less than what is necessary. The first impression that one gets from the speech of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah is that so far as their intentions go, the Bombay Government have abandoned the way of drift. The pace of progress and the means by which it is to be facilitated may be open to criticism, but there is the refreshing impression that there are some definite ideas, which, to say the least, are better than having no ideas at all..... It will be seen that while the aggregate amount set aside in the estimates under education is considerable this year, the ground to be covered for reaching a popular standard of knowledge and efficiency is vast and the only way of attaining it in the shortest time is to proceed at the fastest pace."

Bombay Budget.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th Mar.

22. "Except the three lakhs, out of which two are to be derived from the vice of the poor people, nothing is going to be spent for the millions who are still in the darkest depths of ignorance! While Sir Ibrahim does not forget his Mulla Schools which come in for a round sum of Rs. 30,000 more than before, and while he sanctions Rs. 48,000 anew to meet the further special needs of the Musalmans, nothing is said of our Hindu masses who form by far the largest part of our people and whose illiteracy and degradation are worse than that of the Musalmans! While Colleges and High Schools—the exclusive property of our higher classes—absorb lakhs and lakhs, while the strongest of the Indian communities, the Musalmans, are having thousands if it not lakhs, the Depressed classes are left out without a word of sympathy. If the Kolis and Malis of Hindu society, more degraded as they are than the Islamites, receive no attention, or while not a pie more than before is being spent for the education of the cruelly-neglected untouchable classes, what right has Sir Ibrahim to sanction thousands and thousands for his Mulla Schools and Musalman Committee? We are not jealous of either the advanced Hindu castes whose demands are sought to be satisfied by doles to higher education

Deccan Ryot (4), 20th Mar.

or of the Musalmans who may profit by grants to their Mullah Schools. But when we find that the Government is shamefully negligent of its duties towards the masses who go without even the rudiments of knowledge and is even worse in shutting its eyes to the crying needs of the ever-uncared for Depressed Classes, what else can we say but that the Government and the classes who are powerful in its Council are interested only in seeking their own class interests? Sir Ibrahim, like his former leader Lord Willingdon, is pleased to tell us that at present the idea is to give schools to all villages with a population of a thousand and more. The next step will be to establish schools in all vilages with 500 persons and more. Did not Lord Willingdon hold out the same promise a little while ago? But we may at once tell Sir Ibrahim that these vague promises are utterly worthless. When will all this come to be? That is the question and that is what Sir Ibrahim has not told us. At the present rate, when is our mighty Government going to crawl up to its old ideal of universal literacy in India? The claims of the upper classes who want High Schools and Colleges have been hitherto placed within certain bounds. That amiable nonentity, Lord Willingdon, let loose the Committee on Higher Education to encroach upon the undefended realms of primary education. His Government blessed us with the prospect of a large portion of the educational budget being swallowed by Arts Colleges. His successor has begun with a promise to reverse a settled policy of Government and to let the new High Schools of Government still further encroach on the narrow limits allowed to primary education. Is Sir G. Lloyd going to ameliorate the condition of the masses by following this policy of playing into the hands of those who represent merely vested interests? If the policy outlined by his Educational Minister is the result of His Excellency's deliberate ideas on the subject of the social reform of our masses, we assure him that he will find himself very little nearer his purpose five years hence than to-day."

23. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses its gratification at the Budget of the Bombay Government and requests them to be lenient in collecting arrears of land revenue from the famine-stricken agriculturists in the Budget year. It asks Government to spend about one-half or three-fourths of the balance at their disposal in erecting sanitary dwellings for the labouring classes as His Excellency the Governor has already acknowledged the urgency of this question in his opening speech in the Council. [Commenting on the educational aspect of the Budget, the *Sánj Vartamán* thanks the Bombay Government for the additional grants for education and writes:—The present policy of maintaining only one model high school in each district is altogether unsatisfactory. We wish Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla will permanently give up this antiquated policy of Government and will provide for at least two high schools in each district. The present Grant-in-Aid Code should be revised on a more liberal basis with a view to encourage private enterprise in the field of education. The *Jám-e-Jamshed*, while writing in the same strain, thinks it expedient to have more schools and more colleges for secondary and higher education and hopes that Government will provide more liberally for separate schools and classes for the education of girls as people in general do not like co-education of boys and girls.]

Bombay Samáchár (63), 17th Mar.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 20th Mar.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 17th Mar.

24. "The budget resolutions occupied over a day and led to heated debates on two points. The proposed division of the present Thána District was challenged by several members and a complaint, in our opinion well-founded, was made that such important measures are taken by Government without proper publicity or reference to the opinion of the people concerned. Mr. Parekh's resolution on this subject was, however, lost by a large majority, several members being apparently carried away by the irrelevant fact of police protection in Salsette. The point about a certain item of excise revenue that was raised by Rao Saheb Harilal Desai was even more important, and Government escaped defeat by the casting vote of the President. It came out that the liquor shops in the city of Ahmedabad were taken at auction by several men, who really formed a family syndicate, at

Servant of India (9), 20th Mar.

apparently a high figure. Later, on the motion of these men themselves, three shops were closed and a corresponding rebate, amounting to no less than one lakh and ninety-one thousand rupees a year for three years, was given to them though it was shown by figures that there was no reduction in the consumption of liquor. It was legitimately urged that in this transaction, which Government practically admitted was indefensible, there was a dead loss to the public revenues of over five lakhs. Rao Saheb Desai urged that this sum should be recovered and was supported by practically all non-officials. The transaction has certainly left an unpleasant taste in the mouth and is not complimentary to the officers concerned."

Kesari (114), 18th Mar.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (39), 16th Mar.; *Indu Prakásh* (42), 21st Mar.

25. On the whole if the sums mentioned in the Bombay Budget are spent on the items, the grievances of the employees of many of the departments will be removed. But it will be so only when the sums are actually spent. It is a bad sign that there is again a rage for the partition of districts even when there is no necessity as in the case of Khándesh. All should protest against the saddling of this new expenditure as otherwise it will not stop till we have 52 districts. Though the Honourable Mr. Parekh's resolution failed in the Bombay Legislative Council we should approach the British authorities and put a stop to the new crazes of the bureaucracy. The first Council under the regime of Sir George Lloyd ended without doing any work of special importance. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* narrates the various steps intended to be taken by Government for spreading primary education speedily and praises them for the measures. The *Indu Prakásh* says that while Lord Willingdon tended to side with non-officials Sir George Lloyd seemed inclined to side with the officials. However it hopes that he will carry his assurances regarding housing and other questions of social reform into effect and that he will be as popular as Lord Willingdon.]

Comments on the resolutions moved in the Bombay Legislative Council by the Honourable Messrs. Bhurgri and Naik regarding facilities for the public in Government offices.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th Mar.

26. Commenting on two resolutions moved by Messrs. Bhurgri and Naik in the Bombay Legislative Council, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes :—" 'Chair-holding' is not exactly a birthright-certificate for it may be obtained through the influence of a Sub-Inspector of police and if Commissioner Lawrence of Sind is to be believed, the 'system is thoroughly in consonance with the ideas and sentiments of the people in Sind', an opinion he possibly derived from the elect who may sit in his presence. Mr. Naik moved a similar resolution. The officials in the Council said, 'Tut, Tut' and 'Hush, hush', but when His Excellency suggested that the privilege might be accorded to 'members of the general public', the officials found a way out. Mr. Cadell conjured up a vision of a seething multitude waiting on him, all probably aware of their rights under the resolution for a chair each! Then came a lightning estimate of the cost of chairs. Finally Mr. Curtis came out with that sovereign panacea of all troubles in India, namely, a Committee 'locally to examine the whole question'. The question does not strike us as particularly vast, but by all means let there be a survey of the 'whole' of it, the production of a report, the 'under consideration' stage, etc., etc. Anyway, if Commissioner Lawrence is inclined to preserve the 'ideas and sentiments' of the people of Sind untouched and unhurt, Mr. Bhurgri will find it a long time to wait..... Instead of asking the more conceited among the bureaucrats to behave themselves, that the Government should go about this way to deal with a simple question of manners by a reference of elaborate phraseology should have struck the mind of Sir George Lloyd as very queer, but then this is the scientific and efficient way we run the Empire! The question whether an Act of Parliament can make a man good may be problematical; it is absolutely certain that a resolution of the Bombay Council will not turn cads into gentlemen."

Young India (15), 19th Mar.

27. " It is significant that such a small thing as courtesy on the part of office peons of the bureaucracy should form the subject of a resolution in the Legislative Council in which member after member should get up

and relate incidents substantiating the charge of deliberate and wanton discourtesy towards the public. Ill-treatment of Indians, it appears, is a part of the scheme of prestige on which the bureaucracy seems to think British rule in India is based, while as a matter of fact, British rule lasts only so long as millions of people continue to believe in its being based on just principles of administration..... The Honourable Mr. Naik put forward a modest resolution in this regard and the substitution of the world 'public' for 'respectable gentlemen' at the instance of His Excellency the Governor proves the great and permanent contrast between an English gentleman with an open mind and hardened Civilians like Messrs. Carmichael, Curtis and Pratt..... It was an insult to the public intelligence to be told that Rs. 25,000 estimated for the cost of the measure proposed would be too heavy a finacial burden to be accepted during the current year, during the same period when a bonus of three crores could be voted for white soldiers without the sanction of the legislature..... The entire discussion revealed how in the minds of men, who feel that on the whole the continuance of British rule in India would be an advantage, the real danger lies in the growing discourtesy toward the public. If the officials think that their prestige is their best prop, the non-officials at least think that the notions of discourtesy towards the public are a pitfall which may some day swallow the entire structure. Nor can we congratulate the Government on the attitude which they adopted in reference to the matter of the offer of chairs to interviewers..... A man might be chosen to be the President of the Indian National Congress and thus rise altogether above the rest of the population by a clear and spontaneous homage, and yet a grocer's son in the Civil Service might make him stand or sit down on the ground in front of him. We would like clearly to warn the Government that the days when these things could go on are over, that the non-official public want reasonable and courteous behaviour from public servants."

28. "Two resolutions which led to interesting debates related to the relations between Government officials and non-official visitors. Rao Bahadur Naik proposed that public offices should have waiting rooms for visitors attached to them and many amusing instances of official discourtesy or want of tact came out. This resolution was accepted by Government in spite of one or two speeches in bad taste from one or two official members. The Honourable Mr. Bhurgri drew attention to the so-called chair system in Sind under which some people in Sind are put upon the list of chair-holders and are alone offered a seat when visiting officials, while others, however respectable, are required to stand. To people outside Sind that part of the Presidency appears rather antiquated, and the funny part of the whole matter was that the system was defended by the Commissioner in Sind as non-interference with venerable customs! How autocratic power demoralises the man exercising it and makes him forget the traditions of his own race! But this was too much for the Council to swallow and Government had to yield to the obvious temper of the Council and promised to make an inquiry in the matter, after which the proposer withdrew his resolution. This was the first meeting of the Legislative Council presided over by the new Governor, Sir George Lloyd. He opened with a short speech expressing his determination to help on the reforms, whenever they should come into operation, in the most sympathetic spirit and also insisting on a comprehensive progress in social reform, like the proper housing of the working classes, education and sanitation. This speech made a good impression and was suitably acknowledged by Mr. Parekh, the *doyen* of the Council. It was however remarked that on other occasions he leaned rather more on the official side than the Council was accustomed to under the regime of Willingdon who had at once won the good opinion of all his Council by his ways and speech."

Servant of India (9), 20th Mar.

29. "There was a consensus of opinion on the part of the Indian Members of Council, who took part in the debate, that Government officials were wanting in courtesy and consideration towards Indian gentlemen of even recognised respectability. It may be that, in many cases, the bitter experience of Indian gentlemen at Government offices has been due to the servile and officious zeal of servants and others. But, as Mr. Paranjpye pointed out,

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 19th Mar., Eng. cols.

such a state of things could not exist unless there was an 'atmosphere of discourtesy' towards Indian gentlemen. The subordinates in Government offices, taking their cue from the superior *sahebs*, usually out-Herod Herod in their treatment of Indians. This 'atmosphere of discourtesy' to Indians is observable, not only in Government offices, but in other departments of public services as well, notably at railway stations. The Government owe it to the public and to themselves to put a stop to this. For, the sense of humiliation and irritation which arises in the mind of an Indian from actual or apprehended insult, certainly embitters him against the British..... Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Curtis seemed to defend the durbari system on the ground that it was thoroughly in consonance with the ideas and sentiments of the people in Sind. But a vicious system is not sanctified by usage. Both policy and regard for public feeling require that Government should absolutely discourage all acts and practices, on the part of its officers, that savour of insolence and incivility." [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* strongly criticises the attitude of haughty insolence adopted by officials towards Indian gentlemen, as illustrated by the instances given by many Honourable Members of the Council. It wants to know if European visitors would have been subjected to the same discourtesy which Mr. Paranjpye and Mr. H. Desai experienced. It says in conclusion that His Excellency's Government have shown due respect for popular feeling by accepting the resolution.]

30. "Turning to questions relating to Sind we must confess to a feeling of disappointment when we read that it will take yet another year before the *Rasai* Commission's report sees the light of day. It is a poor consolation to learn that the Commissioner in Sind re-issued the instructions of 1914 to Collectors of Sukkur and Larkana. If these instructions had been strictly obeyed there would have been no need for the Commission of 1918. It took three years to publish the Indian Government's opinion on the Text Books question, three years to issue a resolution concerning Indian students in England, and it will take two years to issue the *Rasai* Report! Sir George Lloyd's military experience should put an end to this system of red tape, so delightful to the heart of the official class. The co-operation of non-officials, which the Government seeks in several things—especially when it is a matter of getting money—ought not to be rejected in the revision of circulars of land revenue administration when it is a matter of life and death to the rural population. The step-motherly affection shown to Sind was manifest when it was stated that the amount budgetted last year for provincial roads was for Northern Division Rs. 5,06,800, for Central Division 10,76,800, for Southern Division Rs. 6,25,600 but for Sind the precious sum of Rs. 1,000! Cannot Government now see why Sind wants an independent existence to work out her own salvation without being dependent upon the tender mercies of the Bombay Government? [The paper then refers to Mr. Bhurgri's resolution about the seating of Zamindars and others calling upon Government officers and remarks:—] Some officials, strange enough, opposed the resolution because it would interfere with a time-honoured custom in that province! Touching respectfully the feet of Government officials by ignorant folk is another 'time-honoured custom' in Sind against which we have received communications from respectable people. We suppose the official will stand up in his place to defend this practice also one fine afternoon! To what lengths official notions of etiquette can go!"]

Sind affairs in the Bombay Legislative Council.

New Times (8), 19th Mar.

31. Commenting on the interpellation on the water-supply of Uran, the *Mahrátta* writes:—"How the interests of the dumb masses are looked after by our bureaucrats, who always pose as their representatives and their saviours, from the oppressions of their own brothers, will be clear from the following question and answer. [Here follows the question and the answer.] What can be more shocking than this indefensible apathy of the officers? A sum of nearly two lakhs of rupees was actually put into their

Comments on replies to interpellations in the Bombay Legislative Council.

Mahrátta (7), 23rd Mar.; *Rájakáran* (123), 16th Mar.; *Kesari* (114), 18th Mar.

hands by the charitably minded persons, and yet for two years and a quarter the compassionate officers, who are always dying a slow death in the hot sun of India for the interests of the people, could not find time to utilise that sum to save the trouble and hardship of the poor people! A more dismal, deplorable and damning incident to show the complete failure of the bureaucracy in safeguarding the interests of the masses is hard to find." [Referring to the answer to interpellation in the Bombay Legislative Council about the subsidy paid to the *Jagad Vritta*, the *Rájakáran* writes:—Government alone know what useful service the *Jagad Vritta* newspaper is doing them to entitle it to an annual subsidy of Rs. 15,000. They must have strange ideas of justice to pay such a large amount to this paper out of the public treasury and at the same time to demand security from other papers and even enhance the amount of security deposited by some. We suggest some honourable member should interpellate Government as to the number of persons who are anxious to read this favourite journal of theirs. The *Kesari* says:—The Government view is a fixed one and they always want to shield the officials and defend their actions anyhow. The bureaucracy are all-powerful and they always report whenever anything is asked that the subject is under consideration. Wharfage dues amounting to 2¼ lakhs were collected and nothing spent for the improvement of any ports or landing places or for the removal of the grievances of passengers. Khan Bahádur Bhiwandiwalla entrusted a sum of a lakh and a half to Government for Uran Water-works at Uran and the bureaucracy has not spent a pie. It will be seen from the figures of licences for arms in the Kolába District how stingy the bureaucracy is in issuing licences for the protection of crops. Mr. Bhurgri complains that the school at Thurusháh has not yet been raised after 45 years to a High School. If what he says is true we cannot recommend sufficiently the despatch, interest in popular welfare and devotion to duty shown by the bureaucracy.]

Indian Budget.
Rájakáran (123), 16th Mar.

32. It is evident the Financial Statement of the Government of India will not give satisfaction to the people. It is a mystery to us why the huge expenditure on the army is not reduced although the war is over. We are aware that a certain amount of expenditure is necessary under this head in the true interests of the country but it is wholly undesirable that the expenditure should show no diminution even when the Empire has won a great victory. It is also strange that a sum of 25 crores should be sanctioned for Railways while making inadequate provision for Education, Sanitation etc.

Comments on the last Government Press Note on the famine situation in the Presidency.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th Mar.

33. "The other day Government issued a Press Note reviewing the famine situation in the Presidency and the various measures of relief that it has taken till now. The situation seems to be growing worse in certain parts of the Presidency and the condition of cattle seems to be the cause of grave anxiety generally in all parts of the Presidency, specially in the Ahmedabad District..... The situation as regards the state of cattle is really grave and gloomy and full of great anxiety. In the Ahmedabad District there has been a very high mortality and in the two talukas of Dholka and Modasa alone some 6,000 cattle are reported to have been lost during February. The mortality is extending to plough and milch cattle. The Government must put themselves on the alert and every available straw of grass must be spared for these cattle. Otherwise, such high mortality among cattle, begun so early, if continued will spell the ruin of the greater part of the agricultural stock of the district and next year proper cultivation will be highly obstructed by the shortage of cattle..... The Government say that, so far as Gujerat is concerned, the supply of fodder is entirely a matter of railway transport. We put it to Government why more facilities for the transportation of fodder should not be afforded, when the lives of thousands of cattle, which are the mainstay of agriculture, are in danger? Still harder days for cattle are to come. In the middle of April and May there will be a shortage of water and a greater shortage of fodder. And if grass is available, Government should make the utmost efforts for its transportation. No red-

services. Let there be, by all means, separate recruitment for the military department, but there should be no differences in pay and prospects based on racial grounds, such as obtain in the present system..... We hope the Committee that is sitting will not read the lessons of war wrongly, but will take a just view of conditions and instead of attempting to create a reserve by hedging round the service with all sorts of restrictions, will seek rather to secure the object aimed at by making the service more attractive for Indians."

*40. "The Indian Medical Service is, in our view, the chief obstacle at present to the wider extension of sanitation and medical relief in this country. It has done good pioneer work in the past. But it has now become largely a means merely of providing bread and butter to a certain number of medical men, mostly English, organized into a close Service. These may seem startling statements. But we make them deliberately and we say that unless we have an independent Civil Medical Service there is absolutely no chance of our being able to carry out any large programme of health saving work. The position is extremely anomalous at present. It is without a parallel in any civilised country. The Indian Medical Service is primarily intended to furnish medical men for the Indian Army. As a matter of fact, a majority of the members of the Service are and have for several years past been engaged in civil duties. They monopolise all the higher appointments in the Sanitary and Medical Departments. They fill most of the professorial chairs in the Medical Colleges. They overflow into the Jails and even Mints. They form a close Service utterly irresponsive to the influence of their surroundings. There is absolutely no chance of any one outside the Service, whether Englishman or Indian, however able and brilliant, getting any one of the higher places in the medical and sanitary line. The officers of the Royal Army Medical Corps who serve with the British troops in this country feel keenly their virtual exclusion from these prize appointments. Government have appointed a Medical Services Committee to consider and report on the reorganization of the medical and sanitary services. The Indian publicist can look at the question of reorganisation from only one point of view, that of the maximum good to the people..... The idea of making the health interests of 250 millions of the civil population subservient to the requirements of 150,000 troops, and of administering the former by means of a 'reserve' to the number of medical officers required for the latter, has only to be stated to be condemned. In no other country in the world is this preposterous notion countenanced. The Royal Army Medical Corps in England is a purely military service, engaged always on duties for the performance of which it exists. If it had, like the Indian Medical Service, developed a bloated civil side, it would have operated, as the Indian Medical Service does, as a barrier to the growth of an independent medical profession which is the only adequate safeguard of civil health interests, and is also an inexhaustible reserve for Army purposes in a time of war. Lord George Hamilton and Lord Morley recognised and laid down the right principle for the medical and sanitary services of India. and we earnestly trust that the Medical Services Committee, notwithstanding its personnel consisting almost wholly of Indian Medical Service officers, will make it the basis of their recommendations..... The Indian Medical Service, military and civil sides together, is next to the Indian Civil Service in size and importance, and the principle of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme applies to it as much as to—if not more than—the premier Indian Service..... If the Medical Services Committee overlook these large questions and deal with the reorganisation question referred to them as a matter merely of settling the differences between the Royal Army Medical Corps officers in India and the Indian Medical Service, they will miss a great opportunity of promoting the health interests of the Indian people."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 23rd Mar.

*41. An anonymous correspondent writes:—"Everybody questions as to who would succeed the present Chief Justice Sir Basil Scott after he retires on pension in the next month. According to seniority as well as merit the Honourable Mr. Justice Macleod ought to get that post. There are no two opinions about the abilities of the Honourable Mr. Justice Macleod.

The Chief Justiceship of the Bombay High Court.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 24th Mar., Eng. cols.

He is quick in grasp of the facts, sound in law, sound in his judgments, courteous to the whole bar, patient in hearing to Counsel or Solicitor, senior or junior. He has a marvellous dispatch for work. His claim for the Chief Justiceship stands first on the ground of seniority as well as ability. There is, therefore, no good or valid reason except that of patronage to supersede him. His appointment as Chief Justice will be hailed with joy by the whole Bombay Bar. However, there are rumours that the Honourable Mr. Justice Marten was promised the Chief Justiceship by the Secretary of State when he was appointed a Judge of the Bombay High Court. The rumour goes that the Honourable Mr. Justice Marten has been selected and recommended for the Judgeship of the Bombay High Court by our late renowned Chief Justice Sir Lawrence Jenkins. Be it as it may, the selection has not been happily made. The universal opinion of the Bar is that he is a hopeless failure as a Judge. He is slow in grasp of facts and very deficient in Indian Law, Civil or Criminal, and the trials before him are very lengthy, entailing waste of public time and money. He is moody, impatient, suspicious, fastidious and too technical. However, in fairness to Mr. Justice Marten it may be stated that he treats all the members of the Bar in the same fashion, be he hoary or young, senior or junior, European or Indian. The protests of Counsel that they are not used to such treatment are of no avail. His frequent outbursts of anger are a treat to the members of the Bar. He is the most junior of the Judges and as such he is not entitled to supersede the Honourable Mr. Justice Macleod. On the ground of merit he cannot for one moment be compared with the Honourable Mr. Justice Macleod. The whole Bar is opposed to his appointment as Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court. I hope that these remarks will reach the proper quarters and will receive due consideration in deciding the question.

42. "A temporary clerk" in the office of Military Accounts, Poona' writes:—The war allowance which has been granted to all other clerks in Government service is not being paid to the temporary clerks in this office. Why should there be such an injustiee to them when they have to work very hard for 8 hours in the day and also to bear the pinch of the prevailing high prices? Will any member of the Local or the Imperial Legislative Council redress this grievance by bringing this matter to the notice of Government.

Complaint that the temporary clerks in the Military Accounts Office, Poona, receive no war allowances.

Kesari (114), 18th Mar.

43. The *Wafádár* gives a translation of the reply given by the Secretary of State to the representation of the All-India Moslem League in the matter of the Khaliphate and the holy places of Islam and writes:—It will not be in any way wrong on the part of the Indian Muhammadans to trust the assurance given to them. But it is the duty of Government to be loyal to the trust reposed in them. Otherwise there will arise an occasion for the Muhammadans to say that no appreciation has been shown by Government of the services gladly rendered by the Muhammadans during the war and the sacrifices made by them. May no occasion arise for the Muhammadans to complain that Government have not helped them to secure representation at the Peace Conference. If the Secretary of State had expressed his views in the matter before commencement of the Peace Conference they could have been regarded as opportune. We would draw the attention of Government to the sentiments expressed in Dr. Ansari's speech before the last sessions of the Moslem League and ask them to take such steps as would be calculated to satisfy those sentiments. Otherwise we cannot say what untoward results would follow. Indian Muhammadans have no reason to be dissatisfied with the assurance given by Government in the matter of the Khaliphate. The solution of the question is not as easy as some would be disposed to think but if Muhammadan do not remain alert and realise their responsibility in the matter they will lose their prestige and sink in the mire of degradation. The reply given by the Secretary of State in the matter of our holy places is

The reply of the Secretary of State for India to the representation of the Moslem League in the matter of the Khaliphate, etc.

Wafádár (34), 14th Mar.

so very vague that the Muhammadans can scarcely hope to get the assurance they would like to have in the matter.

Comments on the meeting of Bombay Mussalmans to consider the question of the future of Turkey.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Mar.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 21st Mar.

44. "Yesterday the Mussalmans of Bombay held a demonstration, which, looking to the enormous attendance which is modestly estimated by some at fifteen thousand persons, but was declared by many present to be over twenty thousand, can be called unparalleled in the history of Moslem public life in Bombay, as much too by the unity of every section of the community displayed as by the numbers. The gathering assembled to consider the questions of the Kaliphate and the preservation of the Holy Places of Islam. Ever since the sigining of the first armistice and particularly since the sitting of the Peace Conference—where the conquering Powers began to exhibit a desire for the acquisition of territorial possessions, under one principle or another,—great apprehensions as to the status of the Ottoman Empire, the inviolability of the Kaliphate and the Holy Places of Islam have been agitating the minds of Indian Moslems who were given the word of His Majesty the King Emperor in the begining of the war that their Holy Places would be quite free from attack or molestation. In spite of the fact that their Kaliph was at war with the Government under whose protection Indian Musslmans live, they ungrudgingly and under great strain gave their support and aid to the British Empire which they knew stood for the principles of justice and righteousness. They believed that the Head of the Turkish Empire was wrong in joining the Germans in the war, and they remained loyal to the British Crown and helped the Allied cause by means of men and money in winning the war. They had, at that time, every hope that the Allies would sympathetically consider the case of Turkey at the conclusion of the war and would not be prepared to dismember it—as is now apprehended by the Mussalmans in India. President Wilson had declared in one of the articles of his terms of peace the necessity of restoring and maintaining the independence of the Ottoman Empire. In spite of that, the news received from day to day as to what is happening at the Peace Conference has filled the minds of Indian Moslems with grave doubts of the intentions of the Allies regarding the Ottoman Empire. The President of the meeting, Mr. Chotani, truly said that 'not a single one of the cables received since the armistice has conveyed to us that happy news which we were expecting would give us satisfaction'. These feelings of dissatisfaction and doubt have agitated the minds of Indian Moslems from one end of the country to the other and everywhere they have been given expression to in the strongest and clearest possible terms. It is true the British Government have declared that the question of Kaliphate is entirely a question for Moslems to decide. But the real 'point', as the president of the meeting urged, 'is that the Kaliph of the Moslems and Protector of their sacred places in the Jaziratul-arab should be one who is the Sovereign of an independent Moslem state, *over whom there should be no outside influence* and who should be able to protect the Islamic territories more efficiently than the other Moslem rulers of the time'. And 'no Moslem ruler other than his Imperial Majesty can answer these qualifications'. That is the attitude of the Moslems of India on a question on which no one can pretend to dictate to them. What the Moslems of India demand is that their Kaliph must be an independent Sovereign—not under the protection or guidance of any other Powers, however high and sympathetic it may be. The British Government should understand and sympathetically consider this point of view of the Moslems in India. With this consideration—which, weighs so highly with all Moslems, they demand that 'Constantinople should be the seat of the Muslim Kaliphae.' And, again 'any interference with this ancient capital is entirely opposed to the spirit of the terms laid down by President Wilson.' As regards the Holy Places, the Moslems of India desire that they should be entirely under Muslim control and protection. As Dr. Ansari said in his address at the League Sessions in Delhi, 'this protection means nothing less than the complete and unquestioned sovereignty of the Sultan over them and their immunity from inter-

ference on the part of non-Moslems.' The position of Moslems is stated here in very simple words and only the fulfilment of them can satisfy the Moslems of India. The Turks have protected these Holy Places which belong to them by right with dignity and honour and the excuses that are being put forward for the removal of some of these places from their protection are entirely contrary to the obligations which Great Britain owes to the Moslem subjects of the King-Emperor. Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Najaf, Kerbala, Kazemain and Bagdad are all Holy Places which must be under the independent protection of the Kaliph—who is the chief of the Ottoman Empire. The Moslems of India do not desire any protecting authority or any Power with a mandate from the Peace Conference to guard their Holy Places. Nor do they want any other nationality to be set up in any of them as a sovereign Power..... The feelings of the Moslems in India are as strong about the retention of Constantinople as the capital of the territories which will remain under Turkish rule, and, looking to the fact that it has been the chief seat of the Kaliphate during many centuries, it is impossible to contest their claim that it should be still retained as the central seat of their Kaliph. The Turkish claims to this city are unchallenged and, looking to the vast Mahomedan population that it contains, it is inevitable, if the matter is to be settled on just principles, that it should be kept under the protection of the head of the Ottoman Empire. We may quote the resolution in which the Moslem claim was stated convincingly and unanswerably at Wednesday's meeting. ..... In this resolution the Moslems of Bombay have laid down the position that is held by Moslems all over India. We hold very strongly that the chief duty of the British Government in this matter is to consider first and foremost the demands and the feelings of the Moslem subjects of the King-Emperor. It is absurd and perverse to regard the question from any but the Moslem point of view or for non-Moslems to attempt to quarrel with Moslem views of the historical justification of the Sultan's position as Kaliph. If the British Government were to support or accept the fantastic proposal put forward by Sir Valentine Chirol and others that Constantinople should be placed under the control and guardianship of the United States they would be guilty of gross injustice, moral wrong and a political blunder fraught with the gravest consequences. We trust that the Government of India will give the weight of their full support to the Indian Moslem demands and resist to the utmost of their power any settlement by the Peace Conference which falls short of those demands." [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* sympathises with the Indian Muhammadans in the matter of the Khaliphate and lends its full support to the resolutions passed at the public meeting recently held in Bombay and expresses the hope that the Peace Conference will attach due weight to Muhammadan sentiments in deciding the question of the future of Turkey.]

45. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* while exhorting the Muhammadans to attend the public meeting that was recently held in Bombay to ventilate opinion in the matter of the Khaliphate refers to the uneasiness and anxiety felt by the Muhammadans in the matter and adds:—The Turkish Empire has fallen, but that can never extinguish the lamp of Islámic-brotherhood which burns in the hearts of all Muslims. The following verse of the Quran will tend to give some consolation to our brethren: "The Kafirs (infidels) will try their best to extinguish the light of Islam but they will never succeed." There will, therefore, be nothing wrong if the Muhammadans of India rely on these clear words of God and hope that with the help of the gracious British Government their religious sentiments will not receive any shock.

The fall of the Turkish Empire cannot extinguish the lamp of Pan-Islamism.

Akhbár-e-Islám (59), 19th Mar.

46. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* quotes with approval the opinion of Mr. Lansing, Secretary of State of the United States of America, in the matter of allowing Germany to re-establish her industries and not demanding a heavy war indemnity from her lest Bolshevism and anarchy should prevail in the country. The paper points out the dangers of dictating harsh terms of

The danger of pressing Germany too hard in the matter of indemnity.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 19th Mar.

peace to Germany and expresses the fear that the threatened predominance of Bolshevism in Germany might lead to allied countries being affected by its virus, and hopes that the Allies will not be harsh upon Germany and will bring about an early peace.

LEGISLATION.

47. "The passing of the Black Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council is fraught with grave political consequences in India, and unless some providential act of courageous statesmanship intervenes at the present stage, the people will have to face an ordeal of public duty unprecedented in the history of British Rule in this country..... The whole country is against the measure. According to the standard set in the Reforms Report, it is reasonable to hope that the unanimity of non-official opposition will be respected by the Viceroy. To abstain from giving the assent for a period, however, will not serve to dispel the danger or reduce alarm in the land. The assent of the Crown is not necessary to the validity of an Act, but the Crown can disallow any Act that has been passed. If the Viceroy merely refrains from giving his assent, the only thing that is needed at any time to start the engine of the law is his signature. For safety a passive postponement will not do, but there should be a positive refusal by the Viceroy or disallowance by the Crown. We hope there is time for justice and wisdom to reassert themselves. The Honourable Mr. Sarma in resigning his membership of the Council said that 'it may be the beginning of the end'. Let not the Government delude themselves with the notion that all agitations are artificially stimulated and can be artificially suppressed. If, blind to the warnings given, the Government choose to hurl the country into a maelstrom of unrest, suffering and agony, the responsibility of the disaster will be theirs."

Comments on the passing of Rowlatt Bill No. 2 in the Imperial Legislative Council.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th Mar.

***48.** "The 'lawless Law' or, in the words of the Honourable Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, 'the most objectionable, the most indefensible, and the most *anti-British*' Rowlatt Bill has at last been passed by the *British* Indian Government in the teeth of the most sustained and the most emphatic opposition of all the non-official Indian members of the Legislative Council on last Tuesday. The struggle lasted for two days and two nights in the Legislative Council during the last weak, and the valiant Indian champions of liberty and justice fought toughly and bravely every inch of ground before they had to yield under the pressure of the solid and stolid Anglo-Indian *bloc*..... But after all, it was a losing game, and as the non-officials were in a minority, they had to encounter defeat at every stage from the statutory majority of the official block. Their defeat in the defence of liberty is, however, more glorious and more enviable than the official success in creating a standing menace to liberty, and in spite of the defeat, the vanquished will be more honoured and respected than the un-English Anglo-Indians in the Council..... We think we need not say now how the Government arguments are absolutely untenable. And yet the Government members, with a characteristic foolhardiness, were attempting to convince the non-officials by such absurdities and sophistries! They failed, as they deserved, and not even one non-official Indian could they win to their side. On the contrary they had to hear even from the most moderate members that the measure would evoke a furious indignation and unparalleled agitation throughout the country. The atmosphere is already surcharged with the vows of Passive Resistance or furious indignation, and the indications of a violent agitation, in which all the Moderates and the Nationalists will comingle, are not wanting..... This will surely fan the dying flames of revolutionary activities, and the object for which the Law is intended will be totally frustrated. The Government are sowing the wind, but they will have to reap the whirlwind. It is no use to keep the country, already distressed by famine and pestilence, in such a state of continuous ferment..... We don't see a particle of wisdom in this attempt. We hope—really hope against hope—that the Viceroy or at least the Crown will yet see the rational view of things and veto this measure."

Mahrátta (7), 23rd Mar.

49. "Taken in conjunction with other things, the menace to the liberty of the people is very clear and the officials are drawing on themselves whatever the consequences may be. Amongst the consequences will be the disappearance of that faith in British Justice which Dadabhoy Nowroji asked his countrymen to entertain. From what we see and hear everywhere, the public now suspect that the vested political and economic interests of the services and European commerce are anxious to entrench themselves behind repressive laws in order that the introduction of the Reforms Scheme may not weaken their position. As Mahatma Gandhi said, 'the reforms are not worth having after these Bills are passed.' This is the feeling of everyone whom we meet. If this be the earnest of the first fruits of England's victory over Germany, then it would be difficult to prevent the growth of a feeling in this country that India has been betrayed in response to the active support given by India to the British Government during the war. At the outset of this world contest, we heard it said by cynics that whatever the result of the war may be, India will stand where it was, in permanent and helpless helotage, and, therefore, the best policy for the country would be, said the same cynics, to maintain an attitude of absolute neutrality and watch the result with indifference. We have all along reckoned it a fortunate circumstance that views of this kind did not find favour in this country and that notwithstanding the pinpricks of the administration as it then was, Indians of every class and shade of opinion came forward to do their best to help the Empire. But after the passing of these penal laws it would be difficult to meet either by argument or facts any advocate of this opinion and when these opinions gather strength in the country, we would like to know whether the Government is going to regard them as falling under the operation of section this or section that of these abominable laws and imprison or ask for security and harass and persecute millions of men who will hold such opinions hereafter. The fight for liberty in Europe, the fight against Prussian Militarism, against race arrogance, against barbarian Kultur, basing its progress upon physical might, seems to result in nothing but the tightening of the screws which have held this country under arbitrary and irresponsible rule. While the desire to maintain the British connection permanently has not been weakened, and we are sure will not be weakened even by the passing of these laws, it would be difficult to prevent some portion of the Indian public from feeling that the agents of the people of the United Kingdom in India are pursuing un-British methods and unmitigated 'Prussianism' against a helpless and disorganised population which has the reputation of being the mildest and most inoffensive in the world." [The *New Times* writes:—"The deadly effect of the official *bloc* in the Viceroy's Council was never so painfully manifest as when, during the debate on the Rowlatt Bills, amendment after amendment was massacred by the standing official majority. Well did Mr. Jinnah exclaim at the dead of night in the Council that it was an agony to sit there and see the mockery of amendment after amendment being moved and rejected..... Official *bloc* in the Imperial Council has been condemned, strangely enough, in the Reforms Report by Lord Chelmsford who has himself made an effective use of it now by passing the "Black Cobra Bill."]

Young India (15), 19th Mar.; *New Times* (8), 20th Mar.

***50.** "The Bill investing the Executive Government with the power to introduce a summary procedure, in tracts declared by them to be affected by anarchical crime, passed its third reading in the Imperial Legislative Council on Tuesday..... Several of the Indian non-official members appealed to the Viceroy to withhold his assent to the Bill. As might have been expected, Lord Chelmsford has, in his speech, winding up the Delhi session, expressed his inability to adopt a course which will so sharply distinguish him from his Government..... Between the Government of India, deaf to their appeals, on the one hand, and a section of the public calling for action on the other, the position of the Moderates is very far from enviable. It has been ever thus. His Excellency the Viceroy closed his valedictory remarks with a Latin phrase which is translated in English thus: 'The

Indian Social Reformer (6), 23rd Mar.

falling out of faithful friends renewing is of love.' But there has been breach of faith with the country in passing this law when it was waiting eagerly for constitutional reforms. Time is a great healer, and we do hope that this wound, too, will heal in time. But there is just now a strong feeling that it has been a stab in the back, and the Latin phrase less correctly reflects the Indian feeling at the moment than the lines in the *Lost Leader*:

> Life's night begins: let him never come back to us!
> There would be doubt, hesitation and pain,
> Forced praise on our part—the glimmer of twilight,
> Never glad confident morning again!"

51. "The Government have had their way; they have an Act of the Imperial Council designed expressly to meet the so-called emergency, instead of being reduced to put an executive ordinance into operation, but the country knows that an enactment which is passed over the heads of the non-official members with the aid of the official bloc does not differ substantially from an executive fiat. The enactment may bear on its face the *imprimatur* of the Council, which has an unofficial element in it, but this make-believe will deceive nobody. Sir George Lowndes spoke the blunt truth when he said that the executive on whom rested the responsibility for the preservation of the peace, must carry the measure in the face of the popular opposition. That is what the Government has done, and so the law remains a mere executive decree, bereft of the moral force derived from the consent of the people. It is only a bureaucracy such as is to be found in India which can resist Mr. Banerjee's amendment for a little postponement. Sir William Vincent answered in effect: What is the good? We are bent upon the measure. Popular opposition will only stiffen in the meanwhile. What, indeed, is the good if the Government's attittde is to be determined without reference to what the enlightened among the people think?..... It should have been enough for any Government, professing the slightest regard for public opinion, to accept the amendment, that even if it did no good it would produce no conceivable harm. It is, however, perfectly intelligible that a Government whose will is predetermined should seek to give effect to it without any delay..... The Government by placing such an essentially obnoxious law on the statute book have created a situation the results of which, we dare say, they only dimly perceive. It is the duty of all Indians to work for the repeal of this law, and we only hope that in doing so they will take the right means and keep their natural feelings under tight control. But we also hope—against hope—that the higher authorities will yet see the grave impolicy involved in the Government of India's attitude and advise His Majesty to refuse his assent to a measure to which the whole Indian nation has as a man offered firm resistance."

Servant of India (9), 20th Mar.

*52. "At the conclusion of the meeting of the Supreme Legislative Council on Wednesday last the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Bill was passed by a majority of 15..... We do not know if the Government of India regard this as a triumph for themselves. From the bare numerical and official point of view it was no doubt technically a triumph for Government, but that cheap triumph involved a great moral and political defeat, the consequences of which will be of a far-reaching character. The non-official Indian members were all staunch and united in their opposition just as the European members were in favour of the proposed legislation. In other words, the voting went on racial lines. Not only the non-official councillors were opposed to the Bill but the whole country, so far as it has understood its dangerous provisions, has lent them its support in an unequivocal manner. But that opinion was set at naught in accordance with the Law Member's defiant challenge that Government had made up their mind to pass the Bill even if the non-official Councillors were unanimous in their opposition. We congratulate him on the fulfilment of his ever-memorable threat.. But we cannot congratulate the Government of which he is a member on the successful passage of the measure through the Council by the mere strength of the automatic majority they could easily

Gujarati (18), 23rd Mar., Eng. cols.

command. That very majority and its composition are the strongest condemnation of the legislation which has convulsed the whole country..... Simply because men, who in their own native land would not count for much, are in a position to play the rôle of the all-powerful and all-knowing autocrat in India, it does not follow that truth and justice, wisdom and statesmanship are on their side and that the foremost Indians, some of whom would do as well as any of the official Councillors, if they had adequate opportunities, in the exalted positions occupied by the latter, are hopelessly in the wrong."

53. All the non-official members were working in unison with one mind. Similarly the official members did not fail to vote against every amendment as if they were being drilled. Sir William Vincent and Sir George Lowndes used to answer the popular arguments courteously but their arguments were of a stereotyped character. The official members appeared to be so many official machines. Owing to the night sittings the elected Councillors who behaved with a sense of responsibility had to suffer much and it is a point to be noted that they did not give up their tenacious opposition in spite of their sufferings. Just as one or two wolves make short work of a flock of sheep, the two wolves, Sir William and Sir George, destroyed 188 amendments. Sir William had the hardihood to say that the repressive Bills were not meant to put down political agitation. It is just like fanning a man while his heart's blood was being sucked. Those who read the discussion in the Council cannot but feel that the Bills have been brought forward to emasculate political agitation in India. Mahatma Gandhi's agitation of *Satyagraha* was referred to in the course of the discussion but Government said openly that they did not care for any such threats. People know that their party is weak; who is going to threaten Government? But though the party is weak, soul-force more valuable than physical force can be produced by the movement of *Satyagraha* and this soul-force of the people makes the leaders of the bureaucracy to repent and repeal oppressive laws of their own accord. There will not be much of an opportunity to break the Rowlatt Bills and to suffer so it is necessary for the All-India Congress Committee or the All-India *Satyagraha* Committee to determine what other laws like the Rowlatt Bills should be broken. It was asserted in the Council on behalf of Government that Government did not have the sinful intention to suppress political agitation. But people cannot believe this. [The *Indu Prakásh* writes:—Indian members tried their best but nothing came out of it. One of the Rowlatt twins was born, 35 voting for against 20. We do not know whether the distinguished visitor Lord Jellicoe had any idea how British love of justice is experienced outside England. Indian subjects, however, feel deep regret for what has happened. People are not likely to feel any confidence in Sir William's assurances. In the next issue the paper remarks:—Mr. Gandhi has done a favour to Government and the people by harnessing the resentment in the country to *Satyagraha*. There is some difference of opinion about *Satyagraha*. Whether it comes into force or some other thing happens, it is true that a great excitement is afoot in the country and the prime cause of it is the enactment of the Rowlatt Bill without caring for public opinion. Such terrible discontent was never experienced. If the Rowlatt Bills cannot be met by *Satyagraha*, people are ready to break other laws and if occasion arises they may not hesitate to do so. But it is not desirable that Government should allow such things to happen from the point of view of good government. They should consider the matter from all points of view and repeal the law. *Dnyán Prakásh* says:—Out of 185 amendments Government accepted about 25 and the rest were rejected and those accepted were not important ones. Have officials ever thought how far it was reasonable to argue that while Government feel very much that Indians should not be harassed by anarchists Indian educated men and their leaders do not feel any thing for them? Whatever may have been the situation of Bengal formerly, it is clear that it is improved now. It is very regrettable that Government have got unswerving belief in the idea that repressive laws are a sovereign remedy for anarchism. In the next issue the

Kesari (114), 18th Mar.; *Indu Prakásh* (42), 20th and 22nd Mar.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (39), 19th and 21st Mar.

paper remarks :—Not a single Indian voted for the measure and it is of no more value than an ordinance issued by the Viceroy within his own powers. It was not only in the Council but outside also that people were opposing the Bill. The Select Committee confined the Bill to revolutionary crimes and the terrible character of the Bill was much lessened. Government were asked to define the word 'revolutionary' and to omit 153A and 124A from the scope of the Bill. If Government do not want really to harm constitutional agitation, what objection could there be to fall in with the demands? The effect of ignoring the objections of popular members will be that the belief will spread that the Bill is really aimed against agitators. If Government have no such intention they have committed a great blunder in allowing room for such a belief. It is unfortunate that the Viceroy did not accede to the request that he should veto the Bill. We have to prefer a similar request to the Secretary of State, and if he refuses we must keep up a constant agitation in order to get it repealed.]

54. We still hope His Excellency the Viceroy will take a timely warning and respect public opinion and that he will understand the true significance of the Honourable Mr. Sarma's resignation and will not take the responsibility of further vexing the popular leaders. Otherwise it is certain that the passive resistance movement will be taken up by the people in a manner unknown during the agitation against the partition of Bengal. It is not yet too late and we hope the Secretary of State will withhold his consent. We feel sure that the passive resistance movement headed by Mr. Gandhi will triumph in the end and compel Government to suspend the oppressive measunes. [The paper then exhorts the people to supplement the passive resistance vow by that of *Swadeshi* and boycott. The *Vafádár* writes :—Indians have not to learn the lessons of passive resistance anew and we feel sure that the present movement will not fail to establish the birth-right of the Indian people. The Honourable Mr. Sarma has begun the passive resistance movement by tendering his resignation and we hope other members will follow his example. The *Jain Mitra* consider it to be the duty of all popular leaders to join Mr. Gandhi in the passive resistance movement and to help him to get the wrongs of India redressed. The *Sindhu Samachar* expresses the hope that Government will refrain from placing the Rowlatt Bills on the Statute Book and save the people from the hardships of passive resistance. The *Hitechhu* expresses confidence that a large number of people will take the vow of passive resistance.]

Hindusthán (22), 20th Mar.; *Vafádár* (34), 21st Mar.; *Jain Mitra* (84), 20th Mar.; *Sindhu Samáchár* (87), 8th Mar.; *Hitechhu* (71), 9th Mar.

55. The *Hindusthán* regards the rejection of almost all the amendments to the Emergency Powers Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council as an insult to public opinion in India and adds :—The Bill will be passed into law to-morrow and that day will be marked for ever for the exercise of bureaucratic highhandedness. Peace will vanish from the country from that day and the good feelings of the people towards their rulers will diminish. It is not the people but the bureaucracy that will be held responsible for bringing about such a state of affairs. [In a subsequent issue the paper considers the passing of the Bill into law as tantamount to eradicating the good effects of the British rule in India and exhorts the people not to relax, even by a jot, their opposition to the Bill and to be thankful to Providence for affording such a test for proving their fitness for *swardjya*. The *Sánj Vartamán* is afraid that the Tuesday on which the Bill would be passed would be ever regarded as a Black Tuesday in the history of India. In a subsequent issue the paper characterises the Bill as an insult to the loyalty of India and declares that the bureaucratic officials alone will be held responsible for the evil consequences, if any, that might result from the passing of the Bill. It repeats that the Act is unnecessary and declares that its passing emphasises the need of increasing the popular element in the

Hindusthán (22), 17th and 19th Mar.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 15th, 17th and 19th Mar.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 17th and 20th Mar.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (85), 20th Mar.; *Bombay Samáchár* (63), 20th Mar.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 20th Mar.

Imperial Council so that they may be able to control the officials. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes :—What guarantee is there that speeches and writings criticising Government officials for their wrong actions will not be considered as inciting to murder under the new law if a weak-minded person is excited by their perusal and resorts to deeds of violence? We hope the officials will throw light on the question on the following Tuesday. The paper further expresses grief at the passing of the Bill which it considers as unnecessary and regrets that Government should have shown such scant respect for the opinion of the non-official Indian members of the Council. It wishes His Excellency Lord Chelmsford had showed greater sympathy and diplomacy by postponing the consideration of the Bill in deference to the public. *Shri Venkateshwar* urges the Viceroy to withhold his consent to the Bill. The *Bombay Samdchár* urges the need of a public memorial to Parliament for the cancellation of the Bill. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* while recognising the necessity of further agitation for rendering the Bill inoperative disapproves of the passive resistance movement and hopes Mr. Gandhi will be persuaded to give up the movement as it is likely to prove harmful to the cause of India.]

56. "The key to the Bill is the Schedule. As an illustration, according to Clause 3, the cause of notification under Part I will arise, 'if in the opinion of Government' scheduled offences are 'connected with any movement endangering the safety of the State'. That is what is necessary for starting the engine of oppression. According to Clause 3 it is enough if the Government is 'satisfied' that scheduled offences (inlcuding all sorts of offences unconnected, ordinarily, with seditious crime) are according to *their* persuasion, 'connected with anarchical or revolutionary movements'. A more drastic or dangerous power could not be given to the Executive, and we fear that the so-called amendment does not make the Bill a whit less perilous, because the phrase about 'revolutionary and anarchic movements' does not supersede, but merely prefaces the dangerous phraseology to which we have alluded. So that if an alleged seditious speech or writing is tacked on to some lurid police report of a 'revolutionary' movement, the entrapping of the victims, otherwise innocent, will inevitably follow. The Special Tribunal itself has no power to judge of an offence whether it was conducted with a revolutionary object or not. Even in the startling provision contained in Clause 15 the Tribunal will not be the judge as to that. Dr. Sapru asked the question plainly. Sir George Lowndes stated that 'the opinion of the Local Government must be final', adding, on being pressed, that 'he declined to be cross-examined by any lawyer in the Council.' And all this prevarication was about a clause which imposes punishment for an offence casually proved in the course of a proceeding with a different purpose. The whole position is aggravated by the refusal to define 'revolutionary movement'. The Local Government are to act on suspicion and nothing more, and suspicion not of actual guilt but 'of being concerned' in anything. And on this foundation of loose and accommodating phraseology is built the whole structure of imprisonment without trial, detention without trial, taking security without trial, police supervision without trial and other restrictions of persons who are merely suspected by the police of being 'concerned' in 'movements' or 'crimes'. We do not know how the Government, in cold blood, have set themselves to the enactment as legal statutes of these hideous, atrocious, appalling provisions which transgress every principle of justice, as it is known in the civilised world and even defy humanity itself..... After the arrest of a person—of course without warrant—he is to be locked up somewhere. According to the Rowlatt Committee 'no interference with liberty must be penal in character'. All that the amendment to Clause 33, however, means is that the police suspect will not be physically huddled with ordinary convicts. He can still, under the clause, as it stands, be *punished* by confinement in a solitary cell, by subjection to prison discipline or be put to hard labour. Why are the Government reluctant to give the fullest effect to the unequivocal principle of 'non-penal' interference with liberty so

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th Mar.

emphatically laid down in the Rowlatt Roport? Is it because they want the Executive to have the power to repeat the tragedies that have occurred under the Defence of India Act? Parts IV and V go without any amendment. The net result of the proceedings in the Council amounts to nothing; for the bureaucrats it was a weary monotonous interlude. The Bill is what it was in the draft. It is not an antidote to anarchism. It will stimulate it and sow fresh seeds for the seditious thought that blossoms into revolutionary crime. It affronts and shocks the moral sense of the people, it rouses their bitter and flaming resentment by the way in which it assails and destroys their liberties and their rights."

Sánj Vartamán (32), 18th Mar., Eng. cols.

57. "Tuesday, the 18th March 1919, will ever be known in the history of India, as the Black Tuesday, for on this memorable day, Black Bill No. 1 becomes the Black Act of India, and from this day onwards, till it is finally repealed—and repealed it shall be—it will blacken the Statute Book of India. ..... The Government possessed the force of a giant and they have used it like a giant. They have won in the first round, but the whole country is determined that this will be the first and last victory that will be credited to the Government. Never in the whole history of India was such a great defiance hurled against such a powerful and united voice of the country. Never were peoples' representatives more cavalierly treated by the tin-gods in power. Never did we realise, as we do realise now, that the angle of vision has really changed—*for the worse.* Never in the past, was brutal force exercised with so much ruthlessness as it was during the present session of the Imperial Council..... The officials must be laughing now in their sleeves at the helpless impotency of the non-official members. Gentlemen, laugh on, but, pray do not forget that they laugh best who laugh last, and we can assure you that in this great struggle which has been needlessly provoked, India is determined that she shall have the last laugh, in the end."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 18th Mar., Eng. cols.

58. "The whole country to a man is bitterly opposed to these measures. Every organ of public opinion in the country has denounced these measures in the strongest terms, but the bureaucracy is pachydermatous and treats public opinion with the utmost contempt. As it is a question of hurrying against time, and the Excess Profits Tax and the Budget have still to be passed, the legislative anvil has been discarded for the steam-roller which is rolling day and night and flattening out all opposition and carrying everything before it. The Rowlatt Bills are being passed not only in indecent haste but with an excess of zeal and utter disregard of public opinion, which will not fail to impress the country."

Gujaráti (18), 16th Mar.

59. Public opinion has been flouted by the official majority in the Imperial Legislative Council. Is there no place for public opinion in India? Cannot the bureaucratic officials be persuaded into the belief that the administration cannot be carried on without the help of public opinion? Should we in these circumstances accept the dominance of the bureaucrats for ever? Should we accept the dominance of the bureaucrats or should we subject ourselves to the operation of just laws? Justice is a *sine qua non* of good Government. When popular sentiments are disregarded the officials become responsible for anarchy and revolutionary ideas in a country and in such times people consider it a dereliction of duty to obey the orders of the officials. We should avail ourselves of every opportunity of emphatically refusing to obey the laws passed by an official majority and should be prepared to suffer punishment for attempting to prove the futility of such laws. This is an effective way of breaking the fetters of the political bondage of India. Indians will be truly united in soul and spirit when the Black Bills come into operation. It is the only way of breaking the unanimity of the officials in framing laws and putting them into operation in a high-handed manner. The officials seem to be of opinion that Mr. Gandhi and his followers who have taken the passive resistance vow will be able to achieve

nothing if no steps are taken against them. But the scope of passive resistance has been widened by including resistance against all laws that give unrestrained authority to the buraucrats. Government have wide powers and they can send persons to jail. Does Lord Chelmsford want to prove that the British Administration in India is carried on by the force of arms and an official majority and that public opinion and sympathy find no place in it? If it be so, we can make bold to say that the whole of India is disloyal. This is the true significance of the struggle that will begin between the officials and the people.

60. Sir William Vincent went through the farce of presenting the Select Committee's report on Rowlatt Bill No. 2 to the Imperial Legislative Council on the 12th instant. The Bill was strenuously opposed by all non-official members and even men like the Honourable Mr. Shafi who usually take their cue from Government officials did not hesitate to warn Government against passing the Bill in defiance of strong popular opposition. Since the establishment of British rule in India the number of mistakes committed by officials, both in England and in India, is not small but the present one is the worst of all. We appeal to His Majesty the King-Emperor to remove the chains which his representatives in India have fastened round the legs of his loyal subjects. On two days the meeting of the Legislative Council was prolonged far into the night which shows the anxiety of Government to pass the Bill without any delay. We for one are unable to account for this scandalous haste and do not know what calamity would have befallen British rule in India if the Government had displayed a little more patience. An infallible instrument of passing the Bill in the shape of the solid official vote of *Jo Hookum* members was always at their disposal and God alone knows why they were in such a hurry. The instance clearly shows that statesmanship is lacking in the present personnel of the Government of India. During the debate the non-official members were often insulted by Government officials including even Lord Chelmsford. It is much to be regretted that they forgot that by insulting the chosen representatives of the people they were also insulting those whom they represented. The bureaucracy has declared war on the popular party by passing this Bill. In anticipation of this event Mahatma Gandhi began a few weeks ago to collect an army of passive resisters under his banner. If the army so far collected proves true to its principles it will be more than a match for the bureaucracy. We urge our countrymen, however, to spare no pains in augmenting the numbers of this army. The time for talk has gone and that for action has arrived. Sir William Vincent declared that Government will not be intimidated by the threats to resort to *Satyagraha*. He will soon find, however, that the power of truth is even greater than that of the bureaucracy. [The *Satya Shodhak* alludes approvingly to the *Satyagraha* movement. The *Jágaruk* on the other hand writes:—Although we do not approve of Mr. Gandhi's *Satyagraha* movement we welcome it on one ground. It will reveal the so-called Nationalists in their true colours and will also help Government to appraise the bogey of passive resistance at its true value.]

Sudhákar (132), 16th Mar.; *Satya Shodhak* (126), 16th Mar.; *Jágaruk* (43), 15th Mar.

***61.** "The political situation created by the enactment of the Rowlatt Bill No. 2 is undoubtedly one of exceptional gravity. ..... The opposition want the Government to exist, but they seem perilously near to wanting the Government to be made impossible. Profesions of loyalty to Government appear side by side with expressions of distrust of the motives of Government—distrust permeated by hatred of Government. This is the unfortunate position in which the opposition is placed. Considerable lip service is rendered to the Government on the score of the reform proposals, but this same Government is credited with motives which are a direct negative of the attributes which should belong to a reforming Government pledged to the policy of enlarging the powers of the people, widening the franchise and bringing the executive more and more under popular control. The contrast we suggest is painful in its incongruity. There are no two alternatives before honest people, the Government must be maintained. That involves the unconsidered corollary

Sunday Tatler (14), 23rd Mar.

that it must be trusted. As in the past so in the present, the mere fact that the Government is obliged to take exceptional powers tending to the curtailment of what are called public liberties does not make that Government the less worthy of trust."

62. "We are glad that despite the threats of our politicians, Government have forced the Rowlatt Bills through the Council. The opponents of the Bills have been proclaiming from the house-tops the supposed unanimity of public opposition to the Bills. They are right. For who but the 'politically-minded' castes count for anything in the estimation of either the Government or its critics? As a matter of fact, however, the Non-Brahmans of Madras and the Bombay Deccan have not at all joined the opposition to these Bills. But of course they are not the 'public'! They will become a public or part of the Indian public only when they become noisy and troublous. Is not that so? Let Mr. Montagu answer!"

Deccan Ryot (4), 20th Mar.

63. Commenting upon the Rowlatt Bill No. 1 the *Gujarâti* writes:—It is curious to note that that the bureaucrats almost force a person, once found guilty, to be inimical to Government. It is interesting to know how Government want to behave towards those from whom they take a binding to be of good behaviour during the period for which security is demanded from them. [Here the paper gives some of the provisions in the Bill.] Is this not the means of rendering a person useless to the society even when he is alive? How can public life be free and happy during the existence of the contemplated law? The Select Committee may have suggested many amendments to the Bill, but how can people give their consent to it?

Comments on the report of the Select Committee on Rowlatt Bill No. 1.

Gujarâti (18), 16th Mar.

MUNICIPALITIES.

64. Government often declare that they have reserved the right of nomination in order to provide for the representation of those who are not in a position to elect their own representatives. Our past experience, however, does not support this claim. Taking the case of the Bombay Presidency alone, have Government ever appointed anyone of the untouchable classes to be a member of the Legislative Council? The same is the case with the Municipalities. Fortunately educated men are now to be found in the untouchable classes and the excuse that suitable men are not available from amongst these people no longer holds good. We trust the Collector of Poona will display his sympathy for the untouchable classes in a practical manner by appointing one of them to the vacant seat in the Poona Municipal Committee caused by the death of the late Mr. H. N. Apte.

Government should nominate a member of the Depressed Classes on the Poona Municipality.

Jágaruk (43), 15th Mar.

65. "We heartily endorse the proposal of the *Dnyán-Prakásh* that some gentlemen of the Depressed Classes may be nominated to the Poona Municipality as well as, we hope, to other Municipal and Local Boards. There is absolutely no hope of these classes being represented on these bodies through elections. Without their direct representation on them, the sanitary needs of localities inhabited by them will not be given the attention that they deserve. The same may be said of their educational needs also. Nomination of Depressed Classes men to these local bodies will also pave the way for some of them being nominated to the Legislature. We hope that the Government will try to nominate as many Depressed Classes men as may be possible."

Deccan Ryot (4), 20th Mar.

RAILWAYS.

66. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* expresses disapproval of the reply given in the Imperial Legislative Council by Honourable Sir Arthur Anderson to the Honourable Mr. Sarma in the matter of the management of railways by private companies and considers it as an insult to public opinion in India. It urges the need of the state-management of railways in the interests of

All railways in India must be owned and managed by Government.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 19th Mar.

the public as a step toward *Swardjya* and exhorts all Indian Chambers of Commerce and Associations to send representations to the Government of India and the Secretary of State in the matter.

67. Commenting on the renewal of the contract with the East Indian Railway Company for a further period of five years, the *Home Ruler* remarks :—" Why should any profits go out of the country to British directors and shareholders in England when by a stroke of the pen the Government can divert them to replenish the depleted Indian exchequer ? If the remuneration is smaller it does not make any difference in the principle. The Secretary of State has intimated his decision to appoint a committee of enquiry to decide about the management of Indian Railways. It is indeed a queer and topsy-turvy world in which we are living. Everywhere else in the world it has been almost unanimouly decided that the railways and some other industries should be nationalized. The difficulty is that they are at present owned by private individuals who demand enormous sums to be bought out by the state. But the problem in India is delightfully simple. Here the railways belong to the state but the state shrinks from getting control of them and managing them, and so it makes a present of them to foreign exploiters to make a good thing out of it. But if ultimately the extended contracts at last come to an end and the state must do something it will in desperation appoint a committee of enquiry ! We can hardly conceive of greater ineptitude and a completer ignorance of the requirements of the country and the signs of the times than was betrayed by the Government in the reply to this interpellation. A national Government will certainly give evidence of more backbone and a greater regard for the interests of the people. The bureaucracy perhaps thinks its task done if it can oblige the foreign exploiters of this country."

Comments on the renewal of the contract with the East Indian Railway Company.
Home Ruler (5), 15th March.

68. Referring to Mr. Nargund's suit in the civil court of Bagalkot (Bijapur) against the G. I. P. Railway and M. & S. M. Railway in connection with reservation of Railway compartments for Eurapeans and Eurasians, the *Shubhodaya* writes :—" Since the matter is *sub judice* we won't venture any remark about the merits of the suit. But we cannot but thank Mr. Jayarao for taking an amount of trouble in trying to vindicate poor passengers' rights. What right have the Europeans or Anglo-Indians to have a carriage specially dedicated to them and what induced the G. I. P. to see that a carriage is always kept ready for pauper Europeans when first class European passengers cannot claim that right of having a carriage quite clear of all Natives ? Mr. Jayarao may or may not have a case, but the atrocities of Railway white guards or even of Black guards are things of daily occurrence. There would be thousands of cases (against railway companies) if poor passengers can find supporters like Mr. Jayarao."

Protest against reserving railway compartments for Europeans and Eurasians.
Shubhodaya (94), Mar. ; Eng cols.

NATIVE STATES.

***69.** " The Maharaja of Bhávnagar must be congratulated for having issued a resolution on the subject of total prohibition of liquor traffic in his State. The Maharaja intends at first to bring into force on his ensuing birthday a scheme under which a very large number of liquor shops in his State would be immediately abolished and which would eventually lead to a total extinction of all the liquor trade within a stated period. The Maharaja has thus taken a practical step to ameliorate the condition of his subjects, and has thus given a model lesson for the British Government to follow. The latter always profess that improving the material and moral condition of their subjects is their immediate care, and yet when they are confronted with the question of total prohibition, they reel back, and put forth all the

Comments on the proposed total prohibition of liquor traffic in the Bhávnagar State.
Mahratta (7), 23rd Mar.

sham excuses of illicit distillation and others, and conveniently forget that, before the advent of the British raj here, there was strict total prohibition among the majority of Hindus at least. But leaving the past, will they at least follow the present example of Bhávnagar?"

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 28th March 1919.

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*Reported in advance.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 29th March 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the affray at Delhi in connection with the *Satyagraha* movement.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st April.

*1. "The public will be gravely shocked by the news of the tragic events in Delhi on Sunday which we publish this morning. That a public demonstration which in its conception was eminently peaceful should have resulted in, appearntly, serious loss of life and injury, to a large number of persons, is deplorable and the event will evoke the sympathy of all..... [The paper here gives the version of its Dehli correspondence.] Such is the outline story told in the early telegrams of our correspondents. It is confirmed by the later messages from the same source, and in the main detail with differences on one or two points, by messages received in the evening through the Associated Press from Simla and Delhi. Presumably, it is not too much to assume that the former is an official version of the occurrence, and it is worth while examining it, therefore, to see how far it differs from the more elaborate reports of our own correspondents. It states that 'the mob attempted to force the sweetmeat sellers in the railway station to close their stalls' and that the police and military, 'owing to the threatening demeanour of the mob had to fire, causing one or two fatal casualties and wounding two others'. The Delhi messages from the same agency state that there were 'a few casualties' on the first occasion of the firing, while on the second, 'a few persons' were killed and wounded. Now, if we were to assume that these comparatively mild reports, from the source which is usually officially inspired, contained all the news of what happened, we should be compelled to say that there appears to have been no justification at all for the firing on the crowd, either on the first or second occasion. This new doctrine, of which we had a recent experience in Bombay, that the throwing of a few stones or a 'threatening demeanour,' in the official jargon, is sufficient to justify the turning of machine-guns and rifles on a crowd of people and firing at them indiscriminately, is horrible and babarous. In such circumstances the most peaceful crowd in the world might be brutally mowed down, because a few ill-behaved persons throw a few stones. Here we have a case in which, in the first place, the throwing of some stones by a few people apparently was considered sufficient provocation for firing on a crowd which, otherwise, was not violent, while, in the second instance, there was not apparently that much provocation. But while such are the bare facts on which we consider ourselves entitled to base a condemnation of the action of the authorities, the details received in our own correspondent's messages, and especially the last one received at the time of writing, suggest that the authorities had either lost their heads or were guilty of intentional excess with a view to overawing a crowd, which was engaged in a demonstration which was, as we have said, peaceful in conception and intention. The formality of reading the 'Riot Act,' it is alleged, was not gone through. Women, old men and children were among the killed and wounded. Bullets showered on the people as far as Ballimaran and struck houses round about. Bullets were picked up in the houses of Hakim Haziq-ul-Mulk and others far removed from the scene of the disturbance, if such it can be called. The affair calls for a strict and open investigation which will not spare those responsible for such excesses, if they took place. The spirit and temper of the Delhi Executive is well-known and its name is a bye-word for arbitrary interference with public liberty. But open contempt for the lives of the people cannot be tolerated. We trust Lord Chelmsford will realise, that if the deplorable bitterness of public feeling caused by the passing of the Rowlatt Act, is not to be immediably exacerbated, his Government must immediately act and check and punish the excesses of officialdom. One word, as regards the effect of this deplorable event on the *Satyagraha* movement. That movement is essentially a peaceful one. It demands from those who follow it that they shall invite suffering and refrain from violence. We can assure the Government that it will remain a peaceful movement, and be unmarred by such tragic events as those of Delhi, if officials and policemen are kept in hand and refrain from provoking those who sympathise with, though not adherents, the objects of the *Satyagrahis*."**

2. "Egypt is under Martial Law. Disorders are general in the provinces and air-patrols are machine-gunning crowds, inflicting considerable casualties. The circumstances that drew the country into the present tumult have been briefly stated in the House of Commons, and the official narrative does not contain a single word that can be given in justification of the acts which have brought about this tragedy. Of what crime has Egypt been guilty that she should be visited by this experience of violence and bloodshed? If it were the intention of the Government to put the people in the wrong by repressive conduct since November last, it has failed, since it is, as it stands, a story of wanton provocation by officialdom. We regret that His Majesty's Government should, in this series of episodes, have been endorsing the decisions of the High Commissioner and pursuing the policy of provocation which has resulted in the present disturbance. The Nationalist Party was guilty of nothing more than having urged a programme of complete autonomy for Egypt, giving to Britain the right of supervision in the interests of the public debt and facilities for shipping in the Suez Canal. A more open and straightforward course cannot be conceived.....In this wretched story, there is no allegation against the Nationalists that can be construed against them, except that they patriotically demanded the right of autonomy. If under British Rule that claim cannot be made without persecution, it is not worthwhile talking of loyalty. The demand for self-determination seems to be a crime in the case of non-European peoples who apparently have not even the right of stating what they want. The crime of Oliver Twist, namely, that of asking for more, always agitates Bumbledom; but that His Majesty's Government should have been an assenting party to a policy of persecuting those who merely asked their due is disgraceful. The only hope in the face of this flouting of national opinion lies in the unity of the parties in Egypt. General Allenby is now appointed as Special High Commissioner. He is the conqueror of Palestine, but in a constitutional agitation, the appearance of soldiers in supreme office is disquieting. The whole story is one of wanton injustice and provocation, and will not end with deportations and martial law.

Comments on the unrest in Egypt.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th Mar.

***3.** Whilst the British statesmen are uproariously belauding to the skies the principle of self-determination, their actions iu India and now in Egypt are exactly belying their own words..... Our readers must have marked that the British Government's refusal to extend the principle of self-determination to Egypt is the prominent feature of this whole episode. Egyptians are not to ask for autonomy, that is self-determinatian for Egypt in the British sense! However that be, the Government would not have lost anything if they had allowed the deputation to come to London. They were willing to invite the two nationalist ministers, and no harm would have occurred if a few other nationalists had been allowed to go with them. Similarly, there was no reason to ask them not to come to Europe when self-determination was in the air. That must have created a suspicion in the minds of those nationalists that Britian is afraid of having her dirty linen washed in the public. If the British Government was confident that its own case was strong, and that of the Egyptians weak, why was it so anxious or afraid *not* to prove that the latter have no case? The British public would have given the verdict against the Egyptians if they had no case. Why was the Government then afraid to allow the Egyptians to plead their weak case? But the fact is there that the British Government did *not* allow them to do so. And it tells volumes against that Government. It tells that that Government was not confident about the strength of their own case. And how can their case be strong when it is based upon the actual denial of the principle of self-determination which they themselves have been proclaiming from the housetops? This is another example of the observance of that sacred principle! Compared with the case of Egypt, one can easily see that the modest demand of India, as put forth by Mr. Tilak in his speech in England, is such that any Government which is at heart a staunch adherent of the principle of self-determination would readily concede it. And yet our benign British

Mahrátta (7), 30th Mar.

Government, which professes to be faithful to that principle, is not willing to concede even that modest demand!"

4. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* does not regard the present position in Europe as conducive to the establishment of a permanent peace and while commenting upon the trouble in Egypt writes:—Since we are not in possession of sufficient material to enable us to pronounce an opinion in the matter we shall for the present say only this that it is difficult for us to say that the authorities used foresight in prohibiting the Egyptian deputation from going to England to represent their case for self-government. We are afraid that the unrest in Egypt might have something to do with the proposed partition of Turkey. In short, we see no signs of the approach of peace and quiet. [The *Sánj Vartamán* wants to know if the principle of self-determination is to be applied to the European nations only and disapproves of the step taken by the authorities in Egypt in stopping the deputation. The *Indu Prákásh* writes:—Since the establishment of British rule in Egypt its condition has become similar to that of India. The people desire a share in the administration of the country whereas the rulers are not willing to surrender their power all at once. Commenting upon the situation in Egypt, the *Hindusthan* writes:—There will be no peace in Egypt and India as long as repressive measures are adopted. Government might succeed in supressing the political agitation for some time but it will manifest itself in another form as it cannot be totally eradicated. We wish our rulers would take a lesson from the history of other nations.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 28th Mar.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 28th Mar.; *Indu Prákásh* (42), 29th Mar.; *Hindusthán* (22), 24th Mar.

5. "The control system as it has worked till now has given satisfaction neither to the public nor to merchants. The public seldom get the food grains at controlled rates. Retail grain dealers have been squeezing out from the poor as much as they can. They have apparently no fear of prosecution, because they know the poor, whom they charge abnormal prices, cannot approach the law. On the other hand merchants in food grains do not seem to be fairly and justly treated by the Control Department. We cannot gauge where the fault of the department lies. Either there is something wrong with the subordinate staff, who, it is alleged, fall a prey to many temptations that are placed in their way, or with the superior officers, who leave too much to be done by their subordinates..... Many complaints have reached us from various quarters about the department. If there is nothing wrong with the staff, something must be inherently wrong with its organisation and system. Anyhow, a searching investigation is needed into this question. It is no use mincing the matter, nor is it right and just that a system which causes immense dissatisfaction and discontent should continue to exist without any changes being effected in it in face of continued opposition from the public. We would suggest that the control system, in consultation with public leaders and with the co-operation of merchants, should be reorganised with the object of achieving what it is meant for, namely, that merchants may get equitable treatment and the poor their food at reasonable rates."

Complaints about the control system as it works in Bombay.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Mar.

6. Government have established control over foodstuffs with an honest motive of relieving distress, but their intentions have not been carried out. We can appreciate the difficulties of Government officials in the matter. The grain dealers have many complaints to make but they are not a little responsible for creating the present situation. Every one of them is intent upon profiteering. However, some of the complaints of the grain dealers deserve consideration. It is not the intention of the Controller to place all the grain dealers at the mercy of the select few, and the fracas near the office of the Assistant Controller is, therefore, to be deprecated. If there are any irregularities connected with the Controller's office, the grain dealers should boldly come forward to get them removed. The people cannot get their food grains at the prices fixed by the Controller. We have not been able to ascertain as to whether the fault rests with the office of the Controller or the

Hindusthán (22), 28th Mar.

retail merchants. At any rate steps should be taken to effect a change in the present system.

7. "For some time past we have been receiving grave complaints regarding the operations of the Rice Control in the City of Bombay. This department has always been in bad odour. Our readers will remember the amazing proposal made at one time for the formation of a Company or Syndicate which was to enjoy a monopoly and in which the Assistant Controller was to be concerned. That scheme was knocked on the head, but the subsequent history of the Control has not been a happy one and dealers are seething with grievances which require the attention of somebody in high authority who has not hitherto been concerned in the business, if not a committee of enquiry. Things must have reached a pretty high pitch of wrongness, when rice merchants, ordinarily a very peaceful class, invade the Assistant Controller's Office and resort to violence."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th Mar.

8. "Never in the history of this country did prices reach so abnormal a level. The famine is not confined to food; it extends to all things—cloth, kerosene oil, fuel etc., yet, Government show prosperity budgets and are busy extending railways instead of irrigation—the only excuse of the Administration is that there is a dearth of Water Works Engineers! The strange part of it is that Goverament officers in several districts are busy revising Revenue settlement. In a Provincial Legislative Council a member representing his district had to protest against the new Revenue settlement when people were starving for food! The economic situation of India is deplorable, the Finance Member speaks of accumulations and reserves of war-prosperity days. The war doubtless was a God-send to the capitalists and profiteers; but what about the bulk of the people? Influenza, malaria, plague, cholera and famine tell but one tale—that the people have little resisting power against these evils on account of chronic poverty. Why will not Sir James Meston institute an inquiry into the economic condition of the people? Why does he indulge in comforting theories—illusions—in the face of facts?"

Government's alleged apathy towards the famine and high prices prevailing in the country.

New Times (8), 27th Mar.

9. Mr. Tilak having lost his case against Sir Valentine Chirol intends to appeal to a higher tribunal and some of his friends have issued an appeal to the people to give him pecuniary help to meet the necessary expenses. It is natural that Mr. Tilak's admirers should endeavour to swell this fund as much as possible but we would ask them not to misrepresent, while doing so, the true character of this case. It is improper to make such statements as that Mr. Tilak is only nominally the party to this dispute and that the future of our political progress is mixed up with it. As a matter of fact such is not the case. It would be wrong to attribute to the mass of the people Mr. Tilak's individual views expressed by him in his speeches and his writings. Again no useful purpose will be served by wrongly connecting this case with our political movements. The decision in this case has already had the effect of prejudicing public opinion in England against our leaders. In such circumstances the true interests of the country will suffer considerably by creating an impression that the present case and our political movements are connected with one another. [The *Jágaruk* says that Mr. Tilak had always had only the interests of the Brahmins at heart and that, therefore, non-Brahmins need not subscribe anything to the proposed fund.]

The fund started to help Mr. Tilak to appeal in the Tilak-Chirol Case.

Dnyán Prakásh (39), 25th Mar.; *Jágaruk* (43), 22nd Mar.

10. "In his argument in the Chirol Libel case Sir Edward Carson said that a verdict in favour of the plaintiff would make the position of the white officials in India impossible. We knew from circumstantial evidence that some of the aforesaid officials took something more than a passive interest on behalf of the defendant. Now we have direct and additional evidence in the admission of Sir Valentine Chirol when examined as a

Alleged help given to Sir Valentine Chirol by the Government of Bombay.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th Mar.

witness in the case. We extract the following passage from the report :— 'Sir John asked witness if he was not boing assisted in this matter by Mr. Robertson of the India office. Witness—Certainly not. But you are being assisted in this matter by officials of the India office, are you not?—I am only being assisted by one officer of the India office, a Mr. Montgomery.' We think we have heard of Mr. Robertson, but concerning this Mr. Montgomery, Sir Valentine was mystifyingly reserved, describing him as 'a Mr. Montgomery' of the India office. We do not care to take the trouble of identifytng him, as it is enough to know that an officer of the India Office was spared to assist Sir Valentine Chirol. The India Office establishment is supported by the tax-payers of India, and it is only part of the irony of things that Sir Valentine Chirol should get officers paid by Indians to assist him!"

The attitude of Moderate leaders towards the Passive Resistance Campaign of Mr. Gandhi.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th Mar.

11. "The so-called saviours of the Reform Scheme met recently in Allahabad and formed themselves into a Liberal Association..... It was a party gathering and we do not wish to be hard upon Mr. Shastri for indulging in some exaggerations. But where was the occasion to make a concerted attack upon Mr. Gandhi for initiating the *Satyagraha* movement? Dr. Sapru, who presided, declared himself against *Satyagraha* not because he thought that Mr. Gandhi would lead them into a dangerous position but because 'it might complicate the situation'..... If we put together all these things, it appears that the Moderate opposition to *Satyagraha* is partly at least influenced by the fears it entertains of its effect on the Reform Scheme. The nervousness of the seceders about the safety of the scheme has led them into many blunders. Firstly, they would not suggest the necessary changes and they would not stick to them. They made also the abject declaration that they were willing to accept the scheme as it stood, an idea that was not even entertained by the framers. The framers say the scheme is a fluid one and the seceders are willing to have it a rigid one. What opposition there is in England, there will be, even if the Moderates go on their knees..... This bug-bear, which the Moderates now want to raise against *Satyagraha*, did it not exist at the time when the passionate eloquence of Messrs. Shastri, Surendranath and Sapru flowed in the Council? But they opposed the hateful measures and Mr. Shastri threatened unparalleled agitation afterwards if they were passed. Now they cannot take up a stand against *Satyagraha* on this ground and try to frighten the people away from it. We do not believe that opposition to the Rowlatt Bills in or out of the Council will have any adverse effect on the fate of the reforms. If at all, it may have a good effect and we think it will better our chances..... The danger to the reforms comes from the Rowlatt Report and the Rowlatt Act themselves and not from honest and just opposition to the Report and the measures..... The Moderates have opposed the Rowlatt Act to a man, and if they are honest in their opposition and if their words came not from their lips but from their heart, they are bound to carry on an undying opposition to the Rowlatt Act till it is removed from the statute book. They may not take to *Satyagraha*, it is for them to choose their methods, but they cannot honestly take the Rowlatt Bills lying down. Their opposion could not end on the 21st of March last. There are things which a nation cannot accept even if the whole world were offered to it, and the Rowlatt Act is one of them. What Mr. Shastri said was perfectly true; reforms would be a mockery coupled with the Bowlatt Bills. And for the sake of this mockery, are the Moderates going to wean the country from *Satyagraha*?..... It is by suffering themselves and not by making others suffer that *satyagrahis* hope to win. Those who do not accept their faith and those who cannot follow them should stand aside and should not try to weaken the country by pitiful and futile opposition to the resolve to get the Acts repealed by resorting to *Satyagraha*."

A poem on *Satyagraha*.
Hindusthán (22), 24th Mar.

12. One Waman Sitaram Mukadam of Godhra contributes a poem to the *Hindusthán* which presents a gloomy picture of the hardships that the people would have to suffer by the operation of the Rowlatt legislation and exhorts the people to resort to passive resistance. The poem says among other things :—This is the reward a civilised people are

giving for laying down our lives on the soil of France. Promises were given about *swaraj*. In order to conceal them (they) cut (our) heads and give the turbans. Do the penance by taking up the weapon of passive resistance and break the chains of bondage by accepting the sufferings of imprisonment. O doctors, pleaders and rich men, the days of pleasure and happiness are gone; now adopt the ways of those who renounce the world. We might die of plague, cholera, or influenza; glorify the name of your family by dying in the cause of mother India. Gandhi is born in gujerat for uplifting (the country). Get up, ye lion like heroes! The motherland of Gujarat is wailing.

13. Commenting on the Administration Report of the Bombay Presidency for 1917-18, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* observes that looking to the financial strain and other difficulties entailed by the war-conditions, the work accomplished by Government during the year under report is certainly appreciable. The paper notes with satisfaction the progressive policy adopted by Government regarding the improvement of agriculture in the Presidency and urges the necessity of opening one agricultural school in each district for giving agricultural education on scientific lines. It regrets to learn that the hand-loom industry, which is being pursued in this Presidency for many generations past, is in decline and that the weaver, who usually followed this occupation, is likely to be compelled to abandon it on account of the inadequate remuneration the industry brings to him in the present times. It exhorts Government to extend their helping hand to this helpless class and thus save this industry from ruin.

"Comments on the Administration Report of the Bombay Presidency for the year 1917-18.

Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 24th Mar.

14. "At a public meeting held in Madras Government were called upon to give up their holiday on the hills in view of the prevailing famine conditions. But not they! The exodus question is as old as the hills and every one admits that it entails wasteful expenditure and inexcusable delay, but the bureaucracy will never give it up. Nobody can say that the leave regulations are stringent and those needing rest should go on leave. But the bureaucracy fancies that everything is to be ordered about for its convenience and so Government assemble on the hills and live in the cloudland for a certain period in the year. Sir George Lloyd has not, we hope, been imbued with bureaucratic traditions. We believe he wants to stick to his position. If anything, by his visit to the famine-stricken area he has shown that he wants to have first-hand information. It is not that Madras is famine-stricken and that Bombay is flourishing. May we request Sir George Lloyd to give up the idea of running to the hills for the season and remain on the spot? If the officials find Bombay impossible for them, what with motor cars, electric fans, ices and costly bungalows on the Malabar Hill, they may spend their week-ends outside at their own expense. We see no necessity of Government remaining outside Bombay for the major part of the year."

Appeal to Bombay Government to give up the exodus to the hills this hot season.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd Apl.

15. The *Home Ruler* recalls the Clayton-Imam Assault case and remarks:—"It has been evidently found necessary to do something for Mr. Clayton's prestige which has sadly suffered and so we learn from the *Bihár Herald* that Mr. Clayton has received a substantial lift. If certain Indians are so inconsiderate as to oblige the heavenborns to bend their stiff necks and apologize it is but just that their victims should receive some compensation in the shape of official promotion and a trifling additional salary. This is the usual bureaucratic custom and so there is nothing to be surprised at in it."

Comments on alleged promotion to Mr. Clayton, Secretary to the Government of Behár.

Home Ruler (5), 22nd Mar.

16. "Rs. 81,000, excluding the voyage expenses of the President of the Rowlatt Committee from London to Bombay, is the sum that India has paid for forging the new fetters that have been placed on her in the shape of the Black Bill. India has profusely paid in the past for such commissions, and she will have to pay for such fruitless commissions in future. And for what! It is the irony of her dependent position that while India pays, the power of the executive is increased.

The cost of the Rowlatt Committee.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th Mar.

One thing more has to be noted. The Government said precise information is not available as to the expenditure under the head of the voyage expenses of the President of the Committee. That is very mysterious, especially in view of the fact that more than six months have elapsed since the worthy judge sailed from India."

*17. "The attitude of a section of the rabid Anglo-Indians is growing more and more provocative. The *Pioneer*, the *Advocate of India*, the *Madras Mail* and papers of their ilk, and the notorious branches of the Indo-European Association are constantly barking at anything and everything connected with the Indian Reforms, and the newest phase of their rancorous hostility is witnessed in their attacks on the grant of a few priority certificates to the members of the Congress Deputation. They say that the Government of Iudia have lost all sense of proportion in granting these certificates to the Congress deputies in preference to the English women and children who are entitled to go to England before any one else. The pith of their saying is that a week's delay caused to some 10 or 15 European ladies in being more plump than what they are in India is far more intolerable than the corroding political slavery of the 250 millions of India's starving population, who are to be affected by the reforms scheme, in shaping which the Indian agitators claim, and rightly claim, to have a part. That is the plain meaning of their clamour, and, thus reduced, the naked absurdity and the effrontery of their suggestion becomes all the more grotesque and ludicrous if not provoking and galling."

Comments on the attitude of the Anglo-Indian Press on the question of granting passages to Indian deputations.
Mahratta (7), 30th Mar.

18. "We are not a little afraid that India will be much the worse for any secret understanding that may be arrived at between the First Lord of the British Admiralty and an irresponsible bureaucracy. It is an indisputable fact that we have no Indian Navy and the so-called East Indies Squadron is no more Indian than the minesweepers in the Atlantic. The people of this country have no control over it though year after year they have been paying for its upkeep. Indians have no place on its personnel..... If Lord Jellicoe is authorised to treat with the Government of India on the question of an Indian Navy for the protection of the Indian coast line to be built in Indian docks and under Indian control the people will not grudge the cost. On the other hand, if India is to be treated in future as in the past, we cannot but protest against the gratuitous imposition at a time when the country is in the grip of a serious famine."

Comments on Lord Jellicoe's visit to India.
Young India (15), 26th Mar.

19. Mr. Shivram Govind Bhave writing to the *Kesari* reports that the people of the Kolaba District have failed to take advantage of the waste water discharged from the Tata Hydro-Electric Works at Kampoli (Kolaba) which would have helped to increase their prosperity and goes on:—But several European companies have come forward to start round about the district several industries by employing the water. These industries however prove harmful to the people in various ways. For erecting the new factories and housing their workmen lands will be needed which the people will be induced to part with under the temptation of high prices which will be offered and for those who will not thus be tempted Government will doubtless make use of the Land Acquisition Act. The agriculture in the district will also suffer as the wages will rise and there will be shortage of agricultural labour owing to the attractions of the factories. The projected tanning factories will also prove a source of ill health and disease. Will the Kolaba rayats, therefore, take timely steps in this matter if they desire not to lose their personal liberties and to see that they are not reduced to the status of oppressed factory hands and that their district does not pass under the rule of European capitalists?

Alleged danger to the Kolaba District from the new industries proposed to be started by utilising the waste water from the Tata Hydro-Electric Works.
Kesari (114), 25th Mar.

20. "The first point which strikes one on studying the figures of the Bombay Budget is that in spite of the deficit in revenue there is a budget for more than ten crores—a 'prosperity' budget in the midst of famine! The second point is that the budget is framed on excessively cautious lines. There is an opening balance of 455 lakhs—nearly half the revenue of a normal year—and the Government expects to move on to another year with a balance of 441 lakhs. When to every demand by a non-official member for the urgent requirements of the people there is the stereotyped answer, 'lack of funds' we certainly cannot afford the luxury of such heavy balances..... The revenue from excise is beyond doubt the highest figure and the Government makes four crores from drink and drunkards..... That the revenue from excise should be the mainstay of our finances reveals a dangerous state of things which carries within itself the seeds of ruin. We earnestly hope the Government will yet realize the wisdom of a total prohibition policy which may mean a little temporary apparent loss to the Government but really means an increase of untold wealth in the country. In spite, however, of these obvious defects the great redeeming feature of the budget is the generous educational grant..... In this respect the budget of the Bombay Government contrasts very favourably with the Indian Budget or any other provincial budget either..... Sir George Lloyd has begun well and he will find in Sir Ibrahim a staunch champion of the nationalist cause who is a worthy representative of it."

The Bombay Budget.
Home Ruler (5), 22nd Mar.

21. At the last Legislative Council meeting the Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla gave a detailed account of the measures Government have already taken and propose to take to spread education. It is evident the policy of Government is becoming more and more liberal in the matter of education and that they propose to take in hand several projects that were shelved during the feeble administration of Lord Willingdon. Whereas Government spent about seventy-five thousand (*sic*) rupees on education last year, this year they propose to spread on it one lakh and thirty-two thousand (*sic*) rupees. Any one will admit that this advance is satisfactory. We must, however, thank mainly the war for the changed outlook. Government were apathetic in the matter of education at a time when they had not to incur any expenditure on the war and when they could have easily got more money from the people. But now they are prepared to spend more money on education in spite of the financial difficulties created by the war. The present policy of Government is indeed most commendable and we are hopeful that their several projects will materialize during the regime of our zealous Governor.

Bombay Government and Education in the Presidency.
Jágaruk (43), 22nd Mar.

22. "The statement which Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla made at the last session of the Bombay Legislative Council regarding the present position and prospects of primary education in this Presidency was highly encouraging. It held out the hope that Government were determined to make vigorous efforts to dissipate illiteracy at as early a date as possible..... The Government of Bombay appear at last to have grasped the urgency of educational development and deserve to be congratulated upon the programme envisaged in Sir Ibrahim's statement in the Legislative Council. We hope that not only will the outlined programme be carried out, but Goverument will liberally assist municipalities and local boards in discharging the many reponsibilities thrown upon their shoulders by the necessity of making a rapid extension of primary education. In the matter of secondary and collegiate education also, a vigorous line of policy is being contemplated by Government who have had to reconsider their traditional attitude to secondary schools and colleges..... The English education of girls and technical education are matters for which adequate provision has not been made, but on the whole the review Sir Ibrahim presented to the Council must be pronounced as extremely illuminating and gratifying."

Servant of India (9), 27th Mar.

23. "**The heavens would not have fallen if Mr. Cadell had offered chairs to the retail kerosene oil sellers. The fact is that,** in the language of President Wilson, the bureaucrats have not yet the faintest idea that they exist to serve the common people and that they are their servants..... Mr. G. S. Curtis, on behalf of Government, after a few pious platitudes, announced that a committee would be appointed to examine the whole question! Any common sense administration would settle a question of this sort in a couple of minutes but the Bombay Government had a full-fledged debate over it and finally appointed a committee. It is no wonder that the officials have a great deal to do if they create work in this fashion..... The fact is that the officials find it impossible to eradicate the vicious influence of prestige which requires that they should be looked up to as demi-gods and that the people should lie low in the dust before them. If Sir George Lloyd wants to make his mark he must settle these little matters summarily and not appoint committees with their rigmarole, etc."

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri's resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council about seating accommodation for people visiting Government officers.

Home Ruler (5), 22nd Mar.

24. "The point of the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri's resolution, we take it, was that the present *distinction* between various classes of people should be done away with, as this *distinction* implies an autocratic principle in doling out the supposed honour of a chair. Such distinctions are calculated to demoralise and crush independence amongst the zamindars..... The Durbari system makes the zamindar servile; he thinks he can thrive only on the goodwill of the official. Can any system be of '-value' to the people when it crushes the sense of manhood? The difficulty was raised that an Assistant Collector cannot carry dozens of chairs to his camp. Is the dfficulty so insurmountable? Benches will do, if you have not the chairs; village headmen can provide country benches for the accommodation of callers. In any case, the practice of the *sahib* sitting in the chair with pipe in mouth and making members of the general public stand before him is demoralising for both the *sahib* and the public; and if Mr. Cadell cannot offer his clean chairs, or if he has not a sufficiency of them to offer, the best thing he should do is to stand when receiving the deputation out of mere courtesy and to resume his seat only after the deputation has left. It is gratifying to note that His Excellency the Governor was able to appreciate the Indian point of view."

New Times (8), 26th Mar.

***25.** "In the course of the last sessions of the Bombay Legislative Council two resolutions were moved which practically amounted to votes of censure on the executive officers of the Government. The official attitude on the subject-matter covered by these resolutions was inexplicably ridiculous and well-nigh bordered on absurdity. No one interested in the welfare of the Presidency can help deploring that the discourteous behaviour of the Officers of Government should have necessitated a debate in the Council involving the loss of much valuable time. Yet it cannot be denied that facts justified the motion, though not the debate and the consequent time lost upon it. The simplest and most sensible thing for Government to do was to have accepted the resolutions at the start and thus cut short an unpleasant and undignified matter..... Mr. Pratt suggested that basking in the sun was better than incurring any expense. Load on finances does not count when the I. C. S. clamour for a better scale of pay! We are glad the Council carried the resolution. But we cannot help deploring that, as we have remarked above, Government did not accept the resolution in the beginning. Even an undertaking that Government would issue orders to all officers to behave civilly towards persons calling on them, would have spared the officers the ignominy of the exposure that was seen in the Council."

Kaiser-i-Hind (26), 30th Mar., Eng. cols.

26. "Sir George Lloyd is now on a visit to some of the famine centres in Gujarát to see for himself the way relief is granted. We are glad that His Excellency is keen on having first-hand knowledge of the conditions now prevailing, but there is danger that he may look too much through official glasses and judging from the state of things as seen in official reports

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's tour in Gujarát.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th Mar.

concerning distress and relief. A correspondent, who has been doing considerable service as a voluntary worker in some famine areas, writes from Asláli that Government subordinates touring the villages in advance are tidying up things for a special exhibition of their work and asking villagers not to lodge any complaints before His Excellency. The enthusiasm of subordinate officials to give a good appearance to their work all along the prescribed route is natural, but the injunction that His Excellency must not be approached with complaints about inadequate relief is calculated to defeat the objects of the tour. Further, our correspondent insists that for a real view of the situation, the route chosen and the villages selected for inspection are not at all satisfactory. For instance, to see the actual conditions in South Dascroi, His Excellency should go round Hirápur, Udrel, Bhauval, Kana, Chandial and the surrounding areas. In the villages mentioned above grass has been distributed only once, and according to notification only those who grow rabi crops got it. Even among those, many are left out. Again, on account of the failure of crops in previous years, the lands of poor agriculturists were taken back and returned under a new agreement, and it is alleged, Government have not given *tagavi* grants to them. The grass supplied to some of them is not sufficient to last through a month for 25 bullocks. Our correspondent says that the question of *tagavi* and grass is a crying scandal in the area in which he works as a member of the Famine Relief Committee. It is up to His Excellency to call up a few farmers and directly learn from them how acute the situation is and how relief can be improved. If the present route is unsatisfactory it should be changed so that surprise visits can be paid to a few of the most neglected areas."

27. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* highly appreciates the purpose of His Excellency's tour in Gujarát and desires that it may result in securing real relief for the famine-stricken people of that part of the presidency. It emphasises the need for co-operation between officials and non-officials in matters of administering relief in the Mofussil and hopes that the advice given by His Excellency to the district officials in this respect will not fail to have a good effect on them. It notes with pleasure the fact that His Excellency has promised to make arrangements for supplying as much of foodstuffs and fodder to the affected parts as possible. It urges the Government to adopt the suggestions made by the Indian Merchants' Chamber for facilitating and cheapening the transport of foodstuffs as early as possible. In its subsequent issue while commenting on His Excellency's replies to the addresses of the Ahmedabad Municipality and the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association the paper asks Government to reform the present constitution of Municipalities so as to introduce therein the popular element in greater proportion and to enable them to undertake the schemes of education and sanitation on a wider scale by providing them with more sources of income. It expects that the millowners' request for the abolition of the excise duty will receive full support from the Bombay Government. [The *Bombay Samáchár* further requests that the constitution of the Ahmedabad Municipality should be reformed on the same lines as those on which His Excellency has announced his intention of reforming the Bombay Corporation.]

Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 27th and 28th Mar.; *Bombay Samáchár* (63), 29th Mar.

Comments on the speech of His Excellency the Governor at the Bombay Municipal Corporation banquet.

Bombay Samáchár (63), 26th Mar.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 24th and 25th Mar.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 25th Mar.

28. The *Bombay Samáchár* makes an appreciative reference to the speech made by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay at the banquet given by the retiring president of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, and, while thanking him for the interest he has evinced in the labouring classes and for his anxiety to provide them with sanitary dwellings, suggests that Government should make a rule to the effect that half of the annual contribution made by the Bombay Municipality to the City Improvement Trust should be utilised in providing housing accommodation for the poor. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* believes that the public will be thankful to His Excellency Sir George Lloyd only when he adopts a policy that will bear out the promise implied in the speech with respect to sanitary dwellings for the poor classes. In the subsequent issue the paper expresses appreciation of the reforms contemplated with respect to democratising the

Bombay Municipality and suggests that some portions of the Thána District and Salsette may be brought under the jurisdiction of the Bombay Municipality in the interest of the sanitation of the city and that the Bombay Municipal Corporation may be modelled on the constitution of the London County Council and be given wider powers. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* considers the speech as a sure indication of the liberal policy that His Excellency the Governor is bent upon pursuing and of his solicitude for the welfare of the poor.]

Suggestion that Her Excellency Lady Lloyd should learn Urdu in order to be able to converse with Indian ladies.

Akhbár-e-Islam (59), 29th Mar.

29. The *Akhbár-e-Islam* thanks Her Excellency Lady Lloyd for the solicitude she has shown for the welfare of the people of this Presidency and for relieving the distress caused by famine, and humbly suggests that Her Ladyship might take the trouble of learning the Urdu language, which is understood by all the people of the Presidency with a view to enable her to converse with the ladies with whom she comes in contact, so as to learn their views. The paper feels sure that Lady Lloyd will render inestimable services to her husband by learning the Urdu language and looks forward to the day when she will be able to use that language with fluency.

Comments on His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's closing remarks in the recent sessions of the Imperial Legislative Council.

New Times (8), 23rd Mar.

30. "The Viceroy's quotation that the falling out of faithful friends only renews itself in love is fine, but has no application to the present situation; the Honourable Indian members were *not* considered as faithful friends. ..... His Excellency pleads for that unity which existed in the country on the 21st of March last year when the Germans launched their stupendous offensive. These words come with an ill grace from the Viceroy's mouth. His Government has by the Rowlatt legislation created disharmony and unrest in the country..... Lord Chelmsford speaks of the 'friendship and co-operation which brought us together here at that supreme crisis' and hopes that it 'will continue to exercise its influence over our public life'. But does His Excellency forget what has happened since? Scarcely had the armistice been signed when the incubation of the Rowlatt Bills began; the European Associations continued their crusade more vigorously against the Reforms; the I. C. S. revolted; the Viceroy, as the 'Capital's' Bombay correspondent put it, 'surrendered to the greed of the former and the tyranny of the latter'. The Sydenham party did not pause for a minute in their campaign of calumny; most of the Provincial Governments did not favour even the modicum of reforms proposed in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report; and the Governor-Designate of Madras said in London only recently that 'no attention should be paid to the clamour of agitators and extremists'! Yet the Viceroy asks for that 'spirit of friendship' which India showed at the supreme crisis of March 1918!"

Comments on the speeches delivered at the dinner given to Lord Sinha.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 25th Mar.

31. "The speeches delivered at the dinner given in honour of Lord Sinha were refreshingly outspoken and we hope some of the warnings delivered on the occasion will reach the larger audience of the people of Britain on whose sense of fairplay depends the scope of the reforms to be granted to the people of India..... The speech of the Maharajah of Bikanir was a splendid condemnation of the base and calumnious propaganda initiated in Britain by the enemies of India, and a powerful and authoritative exposure of the methods by which anti-Indian agitators have endeavoured to prejudice the British Democacy against the idea of Indian constitutional reform. It was none too strongly worded..... Lord Sinha indicated the lines of agreement existing among all well-wishers of India, but the point on which there is difference was put as 'seventhly' by His Lordship. And that is the extent of control by Indians and the method of transfer. Government is an organic and indivisible institu-

tion. And we have urged that any system of transfer which leaves the Indian minister leaning on the goodwill of the Civil Service for success is not a fair experiment. The danger is greater when the immobile half of the Executive is under control of officers whose main duty is to ask for money and spend, and the other half under Indians with the responsibility of bearing unfair burdens and with but a small scope for unfettered authority..... Mr. Montagu took the right stand with regard to the uproar created by the Civil Service. The Anouncement of August 20th and all auxiliary professions of goodwill are meaningless if the responsibility of direction and policy is not entrusted to Indians, and 'gradually taken' from 'those who had gloriously shaped the destinies of India so far.'..... The subordination of the Civil Service is an essential of representative government and is a feature in all countries. Mr. Montagu, we note, is more firm on this question than the Viceroy was disposed to be in his speech in the first week of Februray, and that is something to be good."

*32. "The Maharaja's speech has been assailed from two quarters in this country. A section of the Anglo-Indian press is indignant that the ruler of an Indian State should have ventured into the field of British Indian politics in support of reform and in defence of educated Indians. If His Highness had attacked both, he would, of course, have been hailed as a great Indian ruler and public benefactor..... The *Englishman* and others of its kind will be wise to recognise the fact that the Indian Princes and the Indian Army emphatically refuse to be used any longer as stalking horses from behind which poisoned shafts may be aimed at Indian reforms and reformers. They are of the same flesh and blood and race and religions as other Indians, and they resent their being represented as being hostile to reforms, the central object, of which, when all is said, is to remove the stigma of racial inferiority which today rests upon Indians as Indians, and prevents them free scope in the Administration and in the Army, and is a barrier to their free entrance into the British self-governing colonies."

Indian Social Reformar (6), 30th Mar.

33. "A belated report of Mr. Montagu's speech at the entertainment given to Lord Sinha on March 7th has arrived here. The speech is sympathetic on the whole, but one or two points of criticism emerge out of it. The principle of the development of Indian polity in successive stages has been universally acknowledged in India, but Mr. Montagu would have done well to refrain from uttering such a naked repudiation of the doctrine of self-determination as is involved in the sentiment that the British Parliament being the custodian of self-government in India, Indians have no right to complain that the Government is going too slow. Mr. Montagu surely does not mean all that this dangerous doctrine may imply in the mouth of a reactionary politician, but with all the allowance that can be made for Montagu's well-known sympathy with Indian aspirations, this utterance forces on one's mind the contrast between the treatment of India and the promise held out to enemy colonies under the auspices of the League of Nations. While in the latter case an appeal is possible to an international tribunal, in India we must accept without demur the pace of progress which the British Parliament may choose to set."

Servant of India (9), 27th Mar.

34. Commenting on the speeches of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner and Lord Sinha at the dinner given to the latter the *Sánj Vartamán* declares that His Highness has rendered a great service both to India and the British Empire in exposing and denouncing the Indo-British Association and its dangerous and mischievous activities and remarks that India is in no way disloyal to the British ráj but is only dissatisfied with the present system of bureaucratic Government. [Commenting on Mr. Montagu's speech on the same occasion the *Jám-e-Jamshed* observes that the educated Indians will gratefully appreciate this speech as it gives a fitting reply to the impatient Civilians who are very

Sánj Vartamán (32), 24th Mar.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 25th Mar.; *Bombay Samáchár* (63), 27th Mar.; *Hindusthán* (22), 25th Mar.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (85), 26th Mar.

solicitous about their position under the Reform Scheme. The *Bombay Samáchár* hopes the speech of Mr. Montagu will have its proper effect on those concerned and expresses a wish that the irresponsible and harmful attacks of the Sydenham party should be permanently suppressed by giving effect to the Reform Scheme at an early date. The *Hindusthán* considers these speeches to be a proper refutation of the arguments of the enemies of India's political progress and exhorts Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha to do their duty by denouncing the Rowlatt Bills which cast a slur on the loyalty of Indian subjects. The *Shri Venkateshwar* also writes in the same strain.]

35. The *Kesari* refers to Mr. Montagu's speech at the Savoy dinner to Lord Sinha and to the leading article in the London *Times* and says that if an agitation for *Swarájya* is conducted in England, it will not altogether fail. It further remarks that the Moderate party has been formed through the instigation of Government and that it was created in order to secure a certificate that the people are contended with what is given. It adds:—The Moderate party argues that such a certificate might as well be given when there is no hope of getting anything more. The Delhi Congress adopted an honest and straightforward policy of speaking out plainly and saying that they were not satisfied when matters were not satisfactory and suggesting changes to make the people contended. The London *Times* does not admit that the Montagu scheme is a final one and that there is no objection to giving more than what has been laid down in the scheme. Mr. Montagu while in India was surrounded by the bureaucracy and fell a victim to it but he has changed his ideas a little since he went to England. There has been a mistake in inferring that the Unionist party in power would raise objections to *Swarájya*. Though the party is on principle opposed to *Swarájya* for India, as it is a prey to ambition elsewhere it cannot but support President Wilson's principle of self-determination. Lord Chelmsford supported the Civil Service completely in his speech in the Legislative Council but Mr. Montagu has plainly said in his speech that the Civil Servants should not think it below their dignity to enforce the policy of the Legislative Assembly, just as Civil Servants at home do not think it below their dignity to follow the policy of Parliament. If Mr. Montagu wants to act according to the principles he has dwelt upon in his speech, he cannot but accept the opinions of the leaders of the Congress. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* on the contrary objects to any exaggerated hopes being entertained on account of the article in the *Times* and thinks that the changes that will be made in the Montagu scheme will not be favourable to India. It further thinks that diarchy is the basis of the Montagu scheme and that there is no possibility of its being given up and that such a change is not desirable.]

Propects of Indian Reform proposals in England.
Kesari (114), 25th Mar.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (39), 28th Mar.

36. "We are amazed at the disposition of business in the Government of India and the attitude of Lord Chelmsford when matters of momentous issue are submitted to him for direct action. On Saturday a deputation on behalf of the Indian subjects of His Majesty in British East Africa, which had applied to wait on His Excellency, was received by Sir Thomas Holland. The grievances which were detailed in the memorial affect thousands of His Majesty's subjects and, what is not less important, they have stirred the deepest feelings of the people of this country. It was the duty of Lord Chelmsford personally to have received the deputation and given them the most specific assurances that his Government would do its utmost to preserve their rights. A Viceroy with the sympathy and sense of duty of Lord Hardinge would have directly received the deputation, but Lord Chelmsford left it to Sir Thomas Holland to receive them and say that 'the memorial would be sympathetically considered by the Government of India'. Sir Thomas Holland is acting in the place of Sir George Barnes as Member for Commerce and Industry, and it is inconceivable how it

Grievances of Indians in British East Africa and the attitude of the Government of India.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 26th Mar.

became his affair to receive this deputation. There is some mystery in the despatch of business belonging to the Viceroy. Representations regarding the sufferings of Indians in other lands are dumped in the Department of Commerce and Industry, where they are disposed of by somebody as he deems fit. The business is not within Sir Thomas Holland's portfolio, and it is either sheer callousness or ineptitude that allows such representations to be shelved, or dismissed or disposed of by him. Foreign Affairs and Foreign Relations are within the Viceroy's direct jurisdiction and when grievances of this kind are represented to him, it is his duty to take action himself, by bringing the matter to the notice of His Majesty's Government, or deciding on a remedy by some retaliatory or other procedure..... The plight of the domiciled Indians of East Africa is typical of the position to which Indian settlers are subjected in British Colonies and to which they are likely to continue to be subjected, if Viceroys remain so indifferent to their appeals..... Not many years ago Sir Conan Doyle wrote of the repression of non-European races as the greatest peril attending the future of the world. Not to mention other instances, the policy of white settlers in South Africa, in the Belgain Congo, German South-West Africa and the Pacific Islands has always been one of deadly antagonism against their coloured inhabitants. There have been degrees in the rigour of repression, but however respectable the forms have been in some cases, the fundamental injustice of the policy has been evident in all cases of exploitation. The memorial addressed to the Viceroy by the British Indian subjects of His Majesty in British East Africa describes one of the most recent examples of racial oppression. The Government of British East Africa was somewhat truculent on past occasions when the Government of India tried to draw its attention to the grievances of Indian settlers. However that may be, the time has come for demanding a full undertaking from the Government of East Africa concerning the right of equal treatment to which the Indian subjects of His Majesty domiciled in the protectorate are entitled. The occasion is not one for evasive explanations, as the addition of conquered territory cannot rightly be allowed to take effect without a revision of policy. Invidious treatment and suppression of equal rights, people can get under any government, but a British administration will not be worth its claim if under it the people are not secure of certain rights of self-realisation..... While Britain and her Allies are shedding tears over the fate of the Herreros and the misfortunes of the people of German Colonies, it will be well for them to listen to the stirring of the skeleton in their own cupboard. The condition of Indians in South Africa is growingly distressing..... The conditions are bad in all conscience, but they are still within the chance of redressal if the Imperial Government is firm. It [East Africa] is not a self-governing colony like South Africa, and while there is time and before the situation gets worse, the Imperial Government should intervene and settle the question."

*37. *Mahratta* (7), 30th Mar. "The members of the deputation who have come all the way from South Africa to India to lay the grievances of the South African (*sic*) Indians before the Viceroy were accorded scant courtesy by Lord Chelmsford who did not even allow them to wait upon him, and he ordered Sir Thomas Holland to see them. The procedure was as novel as it was irritating. The reason why the Viceroy did this has not been given out, but whatever it may be, the South African Indians cannot but feel to be deeply humiliated by it.....The whole affair is as galling to the self-respect of Indians as it is iniquitous and unjust, and yet, beyond a mere impotent representation, the Government of India does not do anything to improve the situation. When a German army threatens war on the South African Union, then Indian soldiers must go and defend that land from the impious hands of the German culprits. But as soon as the necessity ceases, Indians must not remain there, or if they remain and commit the crime of asking equal and equitable treatment, then a deaf ear is presented to their requests! Admirable indeed is this sense of equity!"

38. Mr. A. D. Digikar writes in the *Dnyán Prákásh*:—It is two years since the water of the river Malaprabha near Khánápur (Belgaum) has become foul but Government has not yet taken any action to improve it. The reply given by Government to the Honourable Mr. Belvi's interpellation in this connection at the Legislative Council meeting the other day was most surprising. Last year the Collector satisfied himself by personal inspection about the genuineness of the complaint and gave an assurance that he would do the needful in the matter. People are afraid that the impure condition of the water might give rise to some epidemic this year. I trust Government will make proper inquiries into this matter at least now and take suitable action.

Government should take early measures to stop the fouling of the river Malaprabha (Belgaum).
Dnyán Prakásh (39), 28th Mar.

39. "Certain changes are impending in the Co-operative Department which would mean, if carried out, a further officialisation of the movement and the creation of costly appointments involving pure waste of money..... For instance, what is the meaning of the suggestion that a Joint Registrar should be appointed? When bigger presidencies are being managed by a single Registrar, is the work in the Bombay Presidency too heavy for one Registrar? The reorganisation of a department often means in the history of India the creation of some top-heavy appointments. There seems to be no need of any Joint Registrar or, for the matter of that, even an understudy of the Registrar in the form of a Personal Assistant is not required. The Senior Assistant Registrar can replace the Registrar whenever required and the appointment of a Personal Assistant to do the work, which can be more successfully turned out by an intelligent Head Clerk, would be a meaningless and costly luxury. The number of Assistant Registrars may indeed be usefully increased, one for each division, not necessarily a revenue division. Already there are three Assistant Registrars and two more will be more than sufficient. But these appointments should be reserved to the service itself and we are strongly against importing any men from the I.C.S. or any other service. Temporary hands from other services whose permanent interests lie elsewhere will not benefit the department..... The Co-operative Department has been successfully managed by Indians in Madras, the United Provinces and Bengal and we do not understand why Bombay should not yet entrust the Department to qualified Indian hands. Much less would we like to have any I.C.S. as an Assistant Registrar which would mean virtually handing over the Department to the I.C.S. The sooner Government get out of the idea that the I.C.S. can do everything much better than others who have spent their whole lives in the departments, the better it will be for the smooth working of the services concerned. This fancied superiority of the I.C.S. means virtually the degradation of the services concerned, and the I.C.S. which enjoys the monopoly of the best posts in the land should not be allowed to invade the Co-operative Department also..... When the Co-operative Department was in its infancy drafting from foreign services may have been needed. But if the same policy were pursued for ever, it would keep the Department stunted. It is always a good policy to thrown open the highest posts in a service to the service itself."

Protest against certain changes proposed to be made in the Co-operative Department in the Bombay Presidency.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 26th Mar.

40. "We do not believe that in these hard days a start of Rs. 50 for a young graduate is a sufficient inducement to take up the teaching profession. In business he is easily started with Rs. 80 or 100 per mensem. To attract the right sort of men Government should start all graduate teachers with Rs. 80 a month. Deputy Educational Inspectors at present start with 75 and reach the grades of Rs. 80, 100, 125, 150. The teachers should be started likewise. Compare this niggardly concession with the princely salaries, pensions, study leave, and furloughs of the I. E. S. men and how glaring becomes the difference! The revised scale costs Government an additional three lakhs of rupees."

Comments on the revision in the pay of graduates serving in the Bombay Educational Department.
New Times (8), 26th Mar.

41. Mr. Anna Ramchandra Nadgauda, district Belgaum, writes:—It is after putting in at least 15 years' service that untrained primary school teachers are granted the first year's training course certificate and then their service begins to be counted towards pension. But as their past untrained service extending over 15 years or more is not counted towards pension the net qualifying service amounts to only 15 years or less when they retire and the amount of pension they receive is equivalent to $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{5}$ of the pay they draw at the time of their retirement which is generally Rs. 20. If the whole of their past service could be counted, the pension would be Rs. 10. The minimum pay of all untrained teachers being now fixed at Rs. 12 it is true that the whole of their service will hereafter be reckoned as pensionable. But in order that old teachers who began service on Rs. 10 or less may get advantage of their past service towards pension, I would suggest that Government may contribute a pension fund in respect of such teachers to make their past service pensionable. An untrained teacher can serve till he attains the age of 60 but he has to retire at the age of 55 if he is granted a training course certificate. I would also suggest that this limit may be extended to 60 years in his case also.

A grievance of untrained primary school teachers as regards pension.
Kesari (114), 25th Mar.

42. "We wrote on a former occasion protesting against the arbitrary way in which the Medical Services Reorganisation Committee had been sprung upon the country by the Government of India without any definite announcement regarding the committee's scope, functions or personnel, the names of witnesses to be examined, etc..... The manner in which the Committee has been carrying on its work—travelling *incognito* and holding its sittings *in camera*—the most unsatisfactory representative character of its personnel with a preponderant majority of militarists, and the incongruity in the selection of its witnesses have further materialised our fears that the Committee aims at a complete militarisation of the higher medical services and bringing them entirely under the jurisdiction of the Army Department and thus bring about an automatic exclusion of the services from the transferred heads. Is this a link in the chain of the Rowlatt Bills, the Viceroy's speech for keeping up the monopoly of the civil service and the European exploiters, etc., and thus pretending to give with one hand and taking away with the other? Curiously enough the taking precedes the giving." [The *New Times* writes:—"Military men form 90 per cent. of its personnel and everything is done not to invite independent public opinion. Reports are leaking out that *Zaberdusti* European witnesses before the Commission are saying that Indians are a weakness to the I. M. S., and that their elder brothers (?) the European I. M. S. men have got somehow 'to get on' with them! It is sheer injustice to the Indians first to 'appoint' a Purdah Committee, pack it with agreeable men who will send an agreeable report and then come out with a report damaging the Indian cause. This reminds one of the Rowlatt Commission. When will such procedure end?"]

Comments on the proceedings of the Medical Services Reorganisation Committee.
Home Ruler (5), 22nd Mar.; *New Times* (8), 27th Mar.

43. "The decision of the Government of India has just been published and the changes suggested in the administration of the Arms Act are, so far as they go, welcome. The exemption of Europeans and Eurasians from restrictions was based on racial grounds, and in the changes now under contemplation, there is a departure from that humiliating principle of preference. The Government of India after outlining suggestions, however, leaves the administration of the Act or, as it is likely to be, of the amended Act, to the discretion of Local Governments and the licensing officers, and, therefore, the results of the new rules are not to be seen from the terms of the present communique, but from the actual practice of the issue of licenses according to the reform..... While these rules make for a better and more equitable administration of the Arms Act, the exemption of Burma, the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province is ill-conceived and, as it stands, must be strongly deprecated. The issue of licenses may be, conceivably, regulated by strict

Comments on the changes suggested in the Arms Act.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th Mar.

injunctions to the licensing officer, but to select these provinces for invidious treatment and for the maintenance of old conditions, is wrong and offensive. We may presume that 'strong' men like Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Sir Reginald Craddock are opposed to any change whatsoever, but even with the Government's bogey of these provinces being near the frontier, the issue of licenses should proceed on a more liberal basis."

44. "The Government of India has promulgated new rules under the Arms Act, the leading feature of the modifications being the elimination of the racial discrimination that was observed in the administration of the Act. ..... The qualifications prescribed for the issue of licenses are such that Europeans and Anglo-Indians will, as a class, be entitled to the possession of arms, while large numbers of Indians will be excluded from the privilege. The net result will be that, while in the eye of the law, all races will be placed on a footing of equality, administratively a distinction will be made. In thus stating the issue, we do not wish to minimise the great advantage of the recognition of statutory equality. The inequality of race which was such a marked feature of the Arms Act Rules was exceedingly galling to the self-respect of Indians, and as that has been in a great measure removed, the changes in the rules will be enthusiastically welcomed in the country. Nor can it be denied that if the rules are liberally interpreted, they will introduce several classes of Indians for the first time to the use of arms, and will remove some of the hardships of which the public have complained, *e.g.*, agriculturists will ordinarily be entitled now to obtain licenses for the protection of their crops or cattle. If it is granted that some restrictions are necessary, it is for careful consideration what these restrictions should be. The Government of India has arrived at the conclusions mentioned in its resolution after an examination of the recommendations made by a mixed committee. It is hard to understand why the Government has not published the recommendations; knowledge of the latter would have enabled the public to judge of the merits of the concession much better. Could not the qualifications stated in the resolution as entitling persons to the possession of arms have been lowered? Could not the excepted areas also have been admitted to the privilege? What will 'approved character and status' mean and what should it mean?"

Servant of India (9), 27th March.

***45.** "The new rules issued by the Government of India for the administration of the Arms Act are, from the point of view from which they have been framed, an improvement on those which they supersede. For one thing, racial invidiousness is expressly banned by the terms of the resolution. Experience alone can show how far this feature of the new rules will in practice be carried out not merely in the letter but also in the spirit. The main principle of these regulations is that, with the exception of certain individuals and classes of individuals, all persons should take out licenses on payment of certain fees..... The new rules nowhere lay down in what cases or for what reasons previous enquiry *may be* held before granting or refusing the applications for licenses from persons with the above mentioned qualifications or others which may be adopted by Local Governments in their stead. How is a man paying the requisite income tax to know whether his case will fall under the ordinary rule of 'no previous enquiries before issue of license' or will be treated as an exception to it, or whether he will get a license at all. Here is a wide field for irritation. When a person who pays the necessary land tax or income tax applies and is refused a license, he feels humiliated, and to place a man in a position to court his own humiliation is to offer him just cause for irritation. We have considered the reasons given by Government against administering the Arms Act on a purely fiscal basis—we agree that its repeal is not desirable—and have not been able to accept them. The very fact that the Arms Act in all its present rigidity is being enforced on the people is conclusive proof to our mind that the Indian people as a whole do not much care to possess arms. If they had the same passion for fire-arms as the Afghan tribes, for instance, no Government on earth can prevent them from having them. This is the commensense view of

Indian Social Reformer (6), 30th Mar.; *Mahrátta* (7), 30th Mar.

the question. If the public do not care to keep arms, it may be asked, why should there be any objection to an Arms Act prohibiting them from keeping them? The objection is—and Government have not realised it—that though the people do not want to keep arms as a rule, they do not at the same time relish being treated as criminals if they should happen to possess arms at any time out of curiosity or for purposes of sport or exercise. They do not like the idea of mere possession of arms being held to imply a criminal intention. We want an Arms Act to punish the abuse of the right to possess arms: not to prevent the possession of arms by the ordinary citizen. As regards the unlicensed possession of arms leading to more riots aud violent crimes than at present, we must say that, both as a matter of practice and of theory, there is no reason to believe that there is much ground for that fear..... We fully recognise the responsibility of the Government of India for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity, but we rather think that they are not discharging it in the most effective manner by preventing the possession of arms or by passing Rowlatt Acts. Government themselves admit that the Arms Act has been a failure in respect of the most important purpose which it is intended to serve, when they say that in more than one province fire-arms illicitly obtained have during recent years played an appreciable part in serious crimes. This proves that the existence of the Act does not even now prevent evilly disposed persons to to get the arms they want, while the law-abiding citizen has to forego a means of defence out of respect for the law. We quite believe that there may be a few score more deaths from gun-shot wounds than at present if there be no restriction on the possession of fire-arms except by persons deprived, by law, of the right, for abusing it, but in the presence of the six million deaths from influenza last year and the millions more from famine that is certain during the present agricultural season aggravated by high war prices, the use of that probability as an argument against the limitation of the Arms Act to proved criminals, strikes us as being a bit of administrative prudery." [The *Mahrátta* makes similar remarks and adds:—"This is the fruit of the agitation of 32 years. Beyond the fact that racial discrimination is removed in theory, the Resolution is hardly expected to satisfy public opinion. The reasons advanced for continuing the restrictions are absurd in the extreme. The only conclusion that we can therefore draw from this is that the spectre of mistrust about Indians is still haunting the official minds. We can read it between the lines of the Resolution. And if for this little concession, a price of 32 years' continuous agitation is demanded by the authorities, then we can only say that we no longer want such an unresponsive bureaucratic form of Government in future."]

46. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—"The most galling feature of this Act has now been removed. Henceforward, there is to be no racial discrimination in the matter of the right to carry arms. All persons, Indians and Europeans, will be equally entitled or disentitled in the matter. Unrestricted freedom to use arms has not yet been accorded. Perhaps, as Government seem to think, it is not practicable to remove all restrictions in a country like India. For the present, we must, therefore, be satisfied with the recognition of the principle that, in the eye of the law there could be no distinction between one class of people and another."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 27th Mar., Eng. cols.

47. "It appears from the reformed rules under the Indian Arms Act that the feeling of trust for Indian people is not yet produced in the heart of Government. They have abolished all racial distinctions by subjecting all to the necessity of taking a license for carrying arms except certain persons included in the schedule. It remains to be seen how the Local Governments will use the discretion allowed to them under these Rules. What the people wanted was the remodelling of the Indian Arms Act on the lines of the English law about the carrying of arms. We thank Government for exempting the carrying of all arms other than firearms from prohibition but on the whole this reform seems to be based on

Hindusthan (22), 26th Mar.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (85), 26th and 29th Mar.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 25th Mar.; *Bombay Samáchár* (63), 24th Mar.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (39), 26th Mar.; *Indu Prakásh* (42), 24th Mar.

a very shortsighted principle. It is clear that still Government look upon the Indian people with a suspicious eye! The whole reform is characterized by the absence of that liberal policy which the people expected of Government after the war. Government cannot show the liberality of granting even those rights which are considered as birthrights in other countries. Whose fault is this? That of the Indian people or the narrow-minded officials? [The *Shri Venkateshwar* endorses the above views and writes :—We still remain as disarmed as we were before; the descretion given to the Provincial Governments has almost negatived the whole reform. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* on the contrary welcomes the reformed rules and hopes that the local Governments will be lenient in administering them with impartiality as all the racial distinctions are abolished now. The *Bombay Samáchár* congratulates His Excellency the Viceory on making such a desirable and important change. It hops that the public will avail themselves freely of the advantages conferred upon them by the reformed rules. The *Dnyán Prakásh* hails with satisfaction the removal of racial distinctions in the Arms Act, but remarks that Government should have published the report of the committee appointed to inquire into the working of the Arms Act. The *Indu Prakásh* on the other hand is not satisfied with the changes made. It is afraid that members of the middle class, not possessing the qualifications laid down, will not find it easy to secure permission to possess arms inasmuch as Government's standards of respectability are known to be different from those of the people. It however hopes that the changes proposed would prove beneficial to the public at large.]

48. "We cannot find words to express our deep disappointment on hearing the sad news to the effect that there is no probabality of starting a Government High School this year. We have simply lived on hope against hope for a high school since the last five years and all in vain. The want of a high school has marred the general growth of the town..... There will be no social or political upliftment of the town and the district until we have a full-fledged Government English school teaching upto the seventh standard. We, therefore, call upon all the leading citizens of the town and the district to be fully alive to the sense of their duty, rise from deep slumber and lose no more time. Petition after petition, a telegram after telegram and cry after cry must be sent to the Government of Bombay to start the High School from this year as there is time yet. And we feel confident that Sir George Lloyd, the head of the Bombay Government, who is said to be ever anxious to promote the cause of education, will positively grant their request."

Complaint about delay in providing a Government High School at Lárkána (Sind).

Lárkána Gazette (51), 22nd Mar., Eng. cols.

49. "The Sukkur Moslem Educational Conference requested Government to pass Mr. Bhurgri's Cess Bill with the proviso that the amount realised be used according to the wishes of Muhammadans. Education, according to Sir James Meston, is an 'essential of progress' requiring 'courageous outlay'. But he was unable to find the money and he rejected Pundit Malaviya's suggestion to raise special loans for educational advancement! The Sind Moslems' request is simple; they ask that they be taxed to find the money which Government is not able to provide for the education of their children. We hope the Bombay Government will pass the Bill. 'The mother does not give food nor will she allow the children to beg' is an old saying expressing an unwise policy which the Government will do well to abandon."

The Sind Moslem Educational Conference and Mr. Bhurgri's Education Cess Bill.

New Times (8), 25th Mar.

50. The Hyderabad correspondent of the *Home Ruler* complains of the fact that last year only Rs. 1,000 were provided for provincial roads in Sind out of a total of Rs. 22,10, 200 for the whole Presidency and remarks :—"Is this not downright shame for the Bombay Government? Can there be a more striking proof of neglect of Sind interests by the authorities at far away headquarters?

Comments on last year's provision for provincial roads in Sind.

Home Ruler (5), 22nd Mar.

Will the deluded lovers of the connection between Bombay and Sind not begin yet to realize the necessity of releasing poor Sind from the yoke of Bombay? But why is Bombay so utterly indifferent to the wants of Sind? It is due to the lack of strong public opinion in Sind and the lethargic habits of Sind Officials who care more for their *shikar* than the wants of the province." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—"It is nothing short of a scandal that the interests of Sind should be regarded with such complete indifference and contempt and public opinion in the province view with growing indignation this persistent stepmotherly treatment. It is notorious that the roads in Sind are quite as few if not less than in the presidency; but with all that the Government evidently does not care two pins what becomes of them. ..... Mr. Bhurgri has demonstrated through the official mouth how the interests of Sind are neglected in the matter of roads; but this is only a sample of how our interests are treated in general."]

If the enemy is to be made to pay indemnity India's share must not be forgotten.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th Mar.

51. "'Canada has completed her war-costs bill and will shortly submit it to the Reparation Commission'—so says a cable booked on March 21st. Now that the Reparation Commission has completed the list of claims, it may be presumed that Canada's bill is, wholly or partly, included in the total amount. Canada's bill is between three hundred to four hundred millions sterling. Even little Portugal's bill of indemnity amounts to 120 millions. The fighting contribution of India is certainly more than that of Portugal and, we believe, not less than that of Canada. We wonder at what amount the reparation due to India has been assessed. The delegates of the Government of India must in reason have submitted the estimate of India's actual costs and demanded that in the general scheme of reimbursement her claims should not be forgotten. We do not believe in the feasibility of realising punitive indemnities by direct payment, unless the appropriation of territory be interpreted as such. If other countries are going to be indemnified, it will be nothing short of betrayal if India be dismissed with costs."

Comments on the Moslem meeting at Bombay regarding the future of Turkey and the Khaliphate.

Young India (15), 26th Mar.

52. "It is impossible to know whether the Government really intended the passing of the Rowlatt Bills as a safeguard against manifestations of Moslem discontent, as the Honourable Mr. Shastri mentioned in the final debate on the Black Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council. It is nevertheless likely, notwithstanding the denial of Sir William Vincent, that the first use that will be made of the harsh and tyrannical provisions of the new law will be against the votaries of Islam..... Since the wanton aggression of Italy in the matter of Tripoli and since the fixation of the spheres of influence by France and England in Morocco and Egypt respectively, events have occurred very fast to keep alive and to add to the suspicion which has now grown into a conviction that the Christian powers have thought more of their own selfish ends than of Moslem sentiments or of liberty of small nations or of the injustice of aggression. The crisis was reached when England went to war with Turkey. Then against the clear dictates and against what is now revealed to be active propaganda of the pro-Turks, Indian Moslems stood firm in their loyalty to the British Government and gave active support to the Government in numerous directions. It is a poor reward now for them if with all her professions for principles of liberty, England has forged for them iron chains in the shape of the new laws. Perhaps the bitter fruits of disappointment have still to come and forebodings of this were uttered at the meeting of Mussalmans of Bombay that was held during the last week. One glance at the composition of the meeting held for the consideration of the question of the Khaliphate and the protection of the holy places of Islam would disclose that it was composed not of Home Rulers and other active politicians, but of men who have allied themselves invariably on all matters with the Government and to whom it must have been a wrench to range themselves in apparent opposition to the *Saltanat*, and yet it is impossible to read the resolutions and the speeches

made without feeling how deeply these people were moved, how just a cause they have for the apprehension and agony which were visible in their words. ..... It is not for us to forecast what measures may be devised by the Mussalmans in India nor to interpret their intentions. What we would like to point out is that the British Government is guided by jingoes and pseudo-diplomats and perhaps on account of the vanity of recent military triumph is being driven into action which will permanently alienate the largest mass of loyal citizens in India..... After all, domestic peace has some value, and we hope that the British Government will give some attention to the consolidation of their own already vast Empire instead of attempting to do things which will weaken what is already theirs. In the meanwhile, we would ask our Mussalman countrymen not to slacken in their effort because of the proverbial density of John Bull nor to be misled by the usual trick which the Government employs of giving a large kick, then a small pat on the back. It is not improbable that the Government of India have got up their sleeve some small concession either in the matter of the Moslem University or in the matter of separate representation or a Moslem member on the Imperial Executive Council, or some such trivial affair. We hope that the larger issues will not be missed by Indian Mussalmans by any of these flagrant devices usually employed by the Indian bureaucracy. We have no desire that the distress of the Mussalmans should bring some gain to Indian politics. We wish sincerely to see an amicable settlement of the position of Turkey, of the Khalifate and the Holy places and of other Moslem powers, a settlement which self-respecting Moslems can give their assent to, but if this is not forthcoming then we would urge on the Indian Mussalmans the need of organising themselves and their public opinion so that in vital matters of this character their voice should tell in future and the wrong which will be done could be undone by their persistent and energetic efforts. By temperament and upbringing no section of the Indian population is better equipped to secure their wishes from the British Government than are the Indian Mussalmans, and it would be a matter of great surprise and no small regret to us to see that they allowed their most intimate and sacred conviction to be trampled upon by an unthinking set of diplomats who in the settlement of the world's map regarded Moslem sentiment as a negligible factor."

Sánj Vartamán (32), 25th Mar; *Bombay Samáchár* (63), 25th Mar.

53. The *Sánj Vartamán* fully sympathises with the Indian Muhammadans in the matter of the Khaliphate and while lending its whole-hearted support to the resolutions passed at the meeting of the Bombay Mussalmans (held on the 20th March 1919) the like of which, it declared, was never before held in the Bombay both from the point of view of the number of persons attending it and the enthusiasm displayed, maintains that the question of the Khaliphate and the protection of the Holy Places of Islam being purely religious, neither the Allies nor the Peace Conference has any right to dictate to Musalmans in matters concerning this question. It writes:—No Power has any right to interfere with the Khaliphate, which the Sultans of Turkey have been enjoying for over seven hundred years. The Allies, who have been all along expressing their eagerness to secure permanent peace on the principles of justice and equality, have no right to meddle with this religious question affecting Muhammadans. The whole Islamic world will be displeased with the Allies if they declare the Sherif of Mecca to be the ruler of the Hedjaz and the Khalif. A Moslem delegate who can effectively place true Moslem views before the Peace Conference, must be immediately deputed to it. It is not yet too late. If the Secretary of State for India would persuade the Government of His Majesty to allow a Moslem delegate in the Peace Conference and if His Majesty's Government would be pleased to sanction the appointment accordingly, it would have a marvellous effect on the minds of Indian Musalmans. We are sure the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government cannot but accede to their demand if the Musalmans in this country patiently but persistently press it before them. [The *Bombay Samáchár*, while writing in the same strain, adds that the Allies are in no way responsible for this fate of Turkey, but it hopes that Government will favour the Muhammadans by acceding to their demand.]

54. The *Mufid-e-Rozgdr* publishes a substance of the speeches delivered at a meeting of the Musalmans of Bombay held at Nagpada, Bombay, on the 19th instant, and states that seats were provided for over six thousand persons while the expenses of the meeting amounted to eight thousand rupees. It characterises most speeches delivered there, as above all, vigorous and sincere, and it is proud to see that Bombay does not lag behind other Muhammadan centres in this country. It adds that it is unmanly and opposed to Islam to pass resolutions enthusiastically and not to follow them up with active measures, and it urges them to translate their words into deads. [Elsewhere the paper publishes a Persian letter over the signature of Nizamuddaula Shahzada Abdullakhan, a resident of Mesopotamia, who complains that he was not permitted by the President of the abovementioned meeting to speak on behalf of the people of Mesopotamia on the ground that the meeting was confined to the Musalmans of Bombay. The correspondent contends that none has a right to speak about the future status of Mesopotamia except the people thereof; that the Turks are a pack of tyrants and oppressors who used to rob travellers, shop-keepers, and peaceful inhabitants in the towns, and wrest gold and silver in exchange for worthless notes at the peril of imprisonment; that similar oppression was rampant in other portions of the Turkish Empire; that the Persians have a greater right to overlordship owing to the Shia shrines situated in that country; and that the country has made wonderful progress under the British Government in consequence of which the people prefer the English to the Turks, while not a single individual is now willing to see Mesopotamia again under the suzerainty of the latter. The *Muslim Herald* also publishes two of the speeches delivered at the meeting, which it states was quite successful. It hopes that the resolutions passed at the meeting will influence Government and the delegates at the Peace Conference.]

Mufid-e-Rozgdr (150), 30th Mar.; *Muslim Herald* (151), 28th Mar.

55. Discussing dismemberment of Turkey the *Kesari* writes:—

Future of the Turkish Empire.

Kesari (114), 25th Mar.

How will the Christian nations allow the opportunity to slip by when they can do what they like with the Turkish Empire after a struggle for many centuries in Europe? The Christian nations that tried their best in the past to drive out the Turks from Europe will not hesitate to accomplish their desired object to-day. Constantinople belonging to Turks will not remain in their hands; the Mediterranean Sea coast of the Turks will be divided between Italy, Greece and France to a great extent; Syria and Palestine will be under the guardianship of England; the Sharif of Mecca and Medina will be made a King and the Arabian State will be a tributary under India. The new States of Mesopotamia and Baghdad under the League of Nations will be joined to India and the Amirs of Bokhara and Samarkand also will come under the influence of Delhi. It is natural for the Indian Muhammadans to feel extremely sorry that the Caliph of Constantinople will not be able to control the Muhammadan holy places. Though the work of the Peace Conference is being finished hastily, if the Muhammadans insist they may yet be allowed to place their views before the Peace Conference through a Muhammadan representative.

LEGISLATION

56. "On Friday the Viceroy, in closing the session of the Imperial Council, replied to the appeal which had been made to him to withhold his assent to the Rowlatt Bill which became an Act of the Legislature on the previous Tuesday. The public have received the answer of His Excellency with a deep sense of disappointment and dismay..... Let Lord Chelmsford and his Government entertain no delusions. The responsibility is theirs for what has been done and for what will come out of it. Roses cannot grow from thistles and the gruesome episode of the passing of the Rowlatt Bill cannot be closed with a quotation about the renewal of love between faithful friends

Comments on the passing of Rowlatt Bill No. 2.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th and 25th Mar.

who have fallen out..... We deeply regret, in view of the acute difference that exists in regard to this legislation between the Government and the people, that Lord Chelmsford should have slammed the door on the easiest way out of a crisis that is the most serious that has faced the country within a generation..... In a case like this, where the difference of opinion between the Government and the people is so acute and fraught with such grave consequences, it seems to us that the Viceroy should not take the responsibility of the decision but should reserve the Act for His Majesty's pleasure, and leave the responsibility to the Secretary of State of deciding an issue in which the Viceroy is himself a prejudiced party. The gravity of the constitutional issue involved alone requires that this Act should be reserved for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure and we would strongly urge that this course, which is provided for by statute, should be adopted by the Viceroy in the face of a crisis of so grave a kind." [The paper writes in its next issue :— "We were not aware, when we commented on the Viceroy's closing speech in Council yesterday, that His Excellency had already given his assent to the Rowlatt Bill..... We deeply regret that Lord Chelmsford has failed to avail himself of the opportunity which was afforded to him for an act of wise statesmanship. There was yet an opportunity to redeem the situation and a foresighted statesman would have grasped it. But Lord Chelmsford rejected the request and his words of idle sympathy have only added insult to the injury of the non-official members..... The Viceroy indignantly denied in his speech that the Rowlatt Act is a slur on India's good name. Here again His Excellency is speaking without his book. The moment the Rowlatt Report was issued the reactionary press, both in England and India, seized upon it as a convenient text from which to preach against any contemplated expansion of India's rights. And if in the end anything will hamstring the Reforms, it will be the Rowlatt Report and the Rowlatt Act. It would be deliberately shutting one's eyes to the situation to argue that the Act casts no stain on India's name and that the Act will have no effect in India's future..... The Viceroy hopes that at the end of three years there will be no renewal. We can be under no delusion as regards the intentions of the bureaucracy. In one form or other it will try its best to have the Act added permanently to the statute book..... The wanton wrong inflicted on the nation has seared the heart of India too deeply and the country feels at the moment no interest in anything else..... We are proud to remember the work of India during the war, but we are ashamed of the work of the Government after the war..... We are as keen as the Viceroy himself that a spirit of friendship and co-operation should prevail over our public life, but he must realise that the nature of the Rowlatt Bill and the way in which it has been forced through, make friendship and co-operation impossible. A fine phrase has never yet reconciled a nation to the virtual loss of its liberties. It may be that the falling out of faithful friends is an opportunity for the renewal of friendship. A time may come for it, but that time is not yet when the wounds are raw. The only answer to the Viceroy is Satyagraha."]

57. "The sittings of the Council were prolonged to get through this hateful law and even at the end when Mr. Patel pointed out that according to rule 33 it could not be passed on the same day on which amendments were moved, His Excellency the Viceroy suspended the rules. The entire manner of official procedure on this occasion has disclosed how the rules made for the guidance of discussion are only used to bar measures introduced by non-official Indians for the achievement of some public good but in no way obstruct the course of repressive legislation introduced by the bureaucracy. ..... Whether it is to arm themselves against discontent of the Mussalmans or whether it is to muzzle men who are likely to give some reality to the new Councils when they come to be formed, the conclusion is irresistible that the Government have not gone to the trouble of getting this law passed at all costs, of displeasing their erstwhile friends, stamping their foot on universal Indian sentiment without some serious apprehension of some kind. Sir William Vincent asked the Council to believe that what they did was from the *conviction* that the measures were really necessary. We know what conviction is to the Indian bureaucracy. It is usually either an exaggerated

Young India (15), 26th Mar.

prejudice or it is some little diplomatic design for some purpose or the other, generally for the purpose of suppressing legitimate and constitutional political agitation..... We have carefully studied the last words of the Viceroy in regard to the Rowlatt Bill and we confess to a feeling of acute disappointment..... It is to be deplored that Lord Chelmsford's Government do not still realise that they have done a grave wrong. ..... Nor is it any consolation to us to be told that the reforms are coming and that a year ago in the hour of England's great trial 'India responded generously and wholeheartedly to the Empire's appeal and rose to the height of her opportunity. That fateful chapter of the war which opened with such grave menace has closed in glory and India to-day can proudly claim her full part and lot in the Empire's triumph'. This is an astounding manifestation of an Englishman's brain composed of non-communicating chambers. In the moment of sorrow, when the universal feeling of the Indian community is trampled under foot, what is the use of telling them that they have a share in the Empire's triumph? The triumph of the empire means nothing but a hard and cruel blow to the hopes of India and to her legitimate expectation to be left with such political liberty as she was enjoying hitherto. If the Black Bill is the reward for all that India has done, then India will know better in future what to do. It is nothing but anti-climax for the Viceroy to refer to the 'spirit of friendship and co-operation' when at each stage in the Council he guided the steam roller which flattened out opposition when from the position of vantage he abused every power he had in the ruling which he gave with regard to separate minutes, in the extension of the sitting of the Councils, in the suspension of the rules. 'There is a glamour and an inspiration in the memories I have touched upon,' he said. Indian temperament is most susceptible to memory, and we hope that while this Black Bill remains a law, the memory of the dark days of this Rowlatt debate will never be forgotton. The parting shot of the Viccroy, we fear, will go altogether amiss. 'The falling out of faithful friends is renewing of love.' We do not know how much there was of friendship or of faith and as for their renewal, it is still in the hands of the Government to delete this law. To what extent the Government have still retained their sense of justice would be seen by their attitude towards the passive resisters; whether they are actuated by vindictiveness or not will decide so far as the rest of the public is concerned this issue on which we believe British rule in India really rests."

58. "The Viceroy is either a very poor student of human nature or has still failed to realise the intensity of feeling the Bill has aroused in the country. He has deplorably misjudged the political capacity of the people and their representives and the keenness of their sense of self-respect, if he thinks he can thus *samjao* them just as if they were ignorant little children, by now patting them on the back and presenting them with some sweets after the galling humiliation to which the whole country has been subjected. The people of India are not an uncivilised race but are endowed with the noblest feelings and emotions and His Excellency is very much mistaken if he thinks that the debate on the Bill with its concomittants will be easily forgotten. His own moral prestige, which has justly risen on account of the distinguished part he had taken in the formulation of the reform proposals, has unfortunately suffered, and we are extremely sorry he has chosen to assent to the Bill with so much precipitancy in disregard of the earnest appeal made to him."

Gujarátí (18), 30th Mar., Eng. cols.

59. It is quite evident that Government have insulted public opinion and got the Bill passed on the strength of the official majority. It is now the duty of the people to get the Act repealed. If people want to succeed they should strengthen the hands of their leaders and should give unmistakable proofs of their support to the agitation started by them. Our future mainly depends upon the way in which we discharge our duty in this respect. We must convince the bureaucracy that the Indian nation is instinct with a new spirit and that

Hindusthán (22), 22nd Mar.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 24th Mar.; *Bombay Samáchár* (63), 26th Mar.

it cannot tolerate any encroachment upon its rights. [*The Praja Mitra and Pársi* requests His Excellency the Viceroy to withhold his consent to the Bill till the reforms are passed by Parliament as in its opinion the passing of the Bill prejudices the very reforms that are suggested by the Viceroy in co-operation with the Secretary of State. The *Bombay Samáchár* is grieved to see that the Viceroy could not see eye to eye with the popular leaders and has given his assent to the Bill.]

60. Just as the anarchists have gone astray the bureaucrats have adopted a wrong method in remedying the evil of anarchy. The bureaucrats have given a go-by to justice, righteousness, truth and freedom and are persisting in substituting their whims and unrestrained power in their stead. We thus see the two, anarchy and bureaucracy, pitted against each other. If the bureaucracy commits a mistake it wants to escape under the plea of an error of judgment. We are afraid that the conflict between anarchy and bureaucracy will create a situation like that in Russia. The bureaucrats have proved the weakness of the constitutional Government of India and shown that the Imperial Legislative Council is a mere farce and an instrument for wielding unrestricted authority. The popular opposition to the Rowlatt Bills is not based on any approval of the revolutionists and anarchists but it is based on the people's opposition to giving any power to the bureaucrats that might lead to the harassment of the innocent. [The *Praja Bándhu* writes:—The policy of repression should be gradually abandoned with the acceptance of the principle of democracy. But it is one of the sad mistakes of the administration of Lord Chelmsford that he, on the contrary, is strengthening that policy. The *Gujaráti Punch* writes:—We are glad that the non-official members of the Council have unanimously opposed the Rowlatt Bills, but they should show similar unanimity with respect to the steps they now mean to take. There is no doubt that all wild means will be of no avail and so consideration will have to be given as to the adoption of strong measures for getting the Act repealed. The paper then suggests recourse to passive resistance with *swadeshi* as an effective means of carrying on the anti-Rowlatt Bill propaganda.]

Gujaráti (18), 23rd Mar.; *Praja Bándhu* (29), 23rd Mar.; *Gujaráti Punch* (20), 23rd Mar.

61. Government have poured into the throats of the people the essence of repressive laws, trampling under foot public opinion. It is the misfortune of all that Government should be inclined to make their subjects drink the essence of repression when the handful of anarchists mentioned in the Rowlatt report have disappeared. The wounds inflicted by blackest deeds cannot be made up by friendly words. The hearts of people have been grievously wounded by the enactment of the Rowlatt measures and the *Satyagraha* pledge is being signed largely everywhere.

Kesari (114), 25th Mar.

62. Government did not yield upto the last and passed the Rowlatt Bill. They negatived all the amendments suggested by the non-official members, save an insignificant one by the Honourable Mr. Shastri, on the strength of the official majority. Those who at present call themselves the Government of India are apparently of opinion that to make laws is to enact a sort of a farce. What is the good of non-official members taking their seats in a Council where they are unable to carry even a single point? Any Government calling itself civilized should have dropped this measure when faced with such determined popular opposition. The officials often declare in order to serve their purpose that the Moderates are good men and their views must be respected. The present occasion, however, has clearly shown what weight Government attach to their views at a critical time like this. All Babu Surendranath's matchless oratory did not have the least effect on the mind of the Viceroy. Sir Dinshaw Wachha too spoke against the measure but the deity of the Moderates refused to budge an inch and the Bill was passed into law.

Rájakáran (123), 23rd Mar.

63. Rowlatt Bill No. 2 was passed or rather there was a farce of passing it. We cannot say that the Bill which was protested against strongly by all the non-official members was passed. Government say that it was necessary to pass the Bill in order to stop the mischief of revolutionaries. But what country is there without revolutionaries? The ordinary laws of the country are able to deal with them. No civilised country has thought of letting loose the black serpent in the form of a Rowlatt report on the subjects. But our Government saw the necessity of passing this measure! Laws are for the good of the people and not for the purpose of insulting them, making them slaves and destroying their birthrights! What are the Indians to do now? By what can we compel Government to repeal the law? By *Satyagraha*! We have no power. But if we adopt *Satyagraha* we shall have soul-force greater then physical force. Some say that *Satyagraha* should not be adopted as it may harm the Montagu scheme. When the Rowlatt devil is roaming as it lists threatening people indiscriminately, we do not know what good can come out of the Montagu Scheme. Some say that it is improper to threaten Government. It is not threatening Government to say that we are prepared to break the tyrannical laws and suffer gladly the punishment inflicted in order that Government may regain their sense.

Karnátak Vaibhav (88), 25th Mar.

64. The *Baroda Vartamán* writes :—We cannot venture to say that Government have no substantial reasons for getting the Black Bill passed inspite of popular opposition but we fail to understand why Government do not take the people fully into their confidence. We are afraid the operation of the Act will produce undesirable consequences. The people are anxious for *Swarájya*. The question of Turkey and the Khaliphate is agitating the minds of the Muhammadans while the public is clamouring against scarcity and high prices. All these causes agitate the minds of the people. But if the law instead of providing a safety valve for ventilating the grievances of the people gags their mouths, how can their feelings find an outlet? The legislators should give a special consideration to this question. We congratulate the Honourable Mr. Sarma for tendering his resignation and wish other non-official members would follow suit. The *Deshodaya* says :—His Excellency Lord Chelmsford and his government have committed a serious blunder in getting the Bill passed in the teeth of popular opposition. We hope His Excellency the Viceroy will rectify the blunder by witholding his consent to the Bill. The *Deshi Mitra* writes :—There would be no exaggeration in saying that the Bill which has been passed is opposed to the basic principles of British administration and is a slur on the British prestige. The *Praja Pokár* asks Mr. Gandhi not to commence his campaign of passive resistance till people throughout India have had an opportunity of recording their protests against the Bill in question. The *Navsari Patrika* is of opinion that it is the Government's defiance of public opinion that has driven the people to passive resistance as a last resource. The *Broach Mitra* and *Kaira Vartamán* express their disapproval of the passing of the Bill. The *Káthiáwár Samáchár* wishes that His Excellency had thought it proper to withhold his consent to the Bill. The *Jain* approves of the action taken by Munshiram of Hardwar (now known as Shraddhanand) in joining Mr. Gandhi in his campaign of passive resistance and agrees with him in believing that the times are such that even ascetics must come out of their retirement and plunge into the political struggle : 'When crores of people are threatened with fetters of slavery round their feet and their necks, who is the heartless man who can enjoy the sleep of Yoga'.]

Baroda Vartamán (61), 24th Mar.; *Deshodaya* (68), 25th Mar.; *Deshi Mitra* (67), 27th Mar.; *Praja Pokár* (77), 28th Mar.; *Navsári Patrika* (75), 23rd Mar.; *Broach Mitra* (64), 23rd Mar.; *Kaira Vartamán* (72), 24th Mar.; *Káthiáwár Samáchár* (73), 24th Mar.; *Jain* (81), 23rd Mar.

65. *O Amigo do Povo Goano*, commenting on the Rowlatt Bills and the agitation carried on against them, remarks as follows :—Since the people of India do not want a law of this kind and since it is being enacted by force in spite of their opposition, how can they remain

O Amigo do Povo Goano (58), 22nd Mar., Konkani cols.

at peace? Do President Wilson and the leaders of other nations, who will sit at the Conference to bring about a world peace, know what is happening among the nations of the world and what nation is trying to coerce other nations? Before they sit at the Peace Conference it is their duty to try to find out and know the will of the several nations of the world, specially of the Irish and Indian nations, which have for so many years been longing and crying for self-government but whose voice is being wasted in the wilderness.

Comments on the interpellation in Parliament regarding attitude of non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council towards the Rowlatt Bills.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Mar.

66. "The question which Commander Wedgwood put in the House of Commons concerning the attitude of non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council over the Black Bills, was undoubtedly intended to elicit a frank statement, but we are amazed that Dr. Fisher should have given a most involved and cloudy, not to say grossly misleading, reply suggesting that Indians were more or less heartily co-operating in the making of the Black Act. Dr. Fisher said that 'so far as Indian opinion had manifested itself in the Council, Mr. Montagu had no reason to believe that it was opposed to a fair consideration by the Legislature of the Legislative proposals embodying the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee'. All this pleasant suggestion about 'fair consideration' would have been all right, but there is the damning fact that the reply was given by Mr. Fisher on March 17 when the fight against the Bills was most bitter. If the Secretary of State was in touch with the doings of the Council, this is, to put it mildly, rather a disingenuous reply; and the phrase 'so far as Indian opinion had manifested itself in the Council' indicates that he was receiving reports about the Council fight. Or is it that the reports from India themselves were a bad version of the facts? In corroboration of this wrong version, Dr. Fisher dished up an old story, saying that the motion for a postponement of the consideration of the Rowlatt Report last September was supported by two members only. If the suggestion is that non-officials were conciliatory from the beginning of September last on the question of legislation, it is gravely wrong. But that is what the whole reply suggests!"

The Excess Profits Tax Act.

Kesari (114), 25th Mar.

67. The *Kesari* says that the Excess Profits Tax should have been imposed before and objects to the rebate promised to be given if the tax yields more than the nine crores estimated by Sir James Meston. It also expresses itself against the indirect assurance given that the tax would continue only for a year. It remarks that Government are not willing to reduce the railway rates and postal and telegraph charges which are irksome to the poor and that it is the height of partiality to give a rebate and impose a time-limit in the case of those who have made 75 per cent. instead of 10 per cent. profits even against Government. Sir James Meston had not the courage to refuse the request, it continues, that the amount of the Excess Profits Tax may be paid in War Bonds. We do not think such a wasteful policy is followed anywhere else, it adds, as that of issuing Treasury Bills and collecting taxes in War Bonds and not in cash.

Mahrátta (7), 30th Mar.

***68.** "In the debate on the Excess Profits Tax Bill a very novel and astounding amendment was moved by Mr. Hogg to the effect that in case the total tax collected exceeded eleven crores, the amount taken in excess should be refunded!..... The wonder of wonders is that such an absurd amendment was supported by Sir Dinshaw Wacha and Sir Fazulbhoy. Have these Honourable members forgot the past experience about the income-tax, salt-tax, and the more recent taxes on silver, kerosene and tobacco? Have the Government ever returned a farthing of the immense revenue which is being derived from the Railways and the Telegraphs now? The poor are being heavily, though indirectly, taxed by these departments, and although the war is over, the rates are not yet lowered. The same Mr. Hogg and his Anglo-Indian colleagues, however, completely forget the lot of the poor who are being ground down by heavy prices caused to some extent by these excess profits and heavy indirect taxation; and they remembered only their and their

community's unfairly earned profits! The most amazing feature of this whole unseemly debate was the undefined and pliant attitude of the Government who were so hopelessly uncompromising in the matter of the Rowlatt Bill! Why did they enact such an unfair and tame affair now only?"

Servant of India (9), 27th Mar.

69. "The Excess Profits Bill has at last passed, and the Finance Member must be congratulated on the firmness he showed throughout the discussion of the measure in sticking to the policy which Government had announced..... The capitalist opponents of the bill fought hard and to the last and succeeded in extorting from the Finance Member an assurance which we feel should not have been given, that if the tax produced more than it was calculated to yield, the question of returning the excess to the payers of the tax would be sympathetically considered. We think that the Government will be able to put to a very good use any excess that may raise, and the claim of capitalists to refund was not one that should have been countenanced. Government wants money and more money, and there could not be a better, juster and more fruitful source than the extraordinarily large profits made by a few people as a result of war conditions. Public opinion ought to be unequivocally expressed on this question, and our only regret is the kind of assurance the Financc Member thought it necessary to convey to the representatives of capital in the Viceregal Council."

RAILWAYS.

A railway line from Manmád to Málegaon (Násik) should be constructed as a famine work.
Kesari (114), 25th Mar.

70. A Málegaon (Násik) merchant writes:—Málegaon being a place where *lugadis* are manufactured on a large scale, it is visited by merchants from places far off. But as there is no railway line connecting it with the Manmád Railway Station of the G. I. P. Railway, 22 miles distant, the trade has suffered much. The work of constructing the Málegaon-Manmád Railway line should, therefore, be opened as a famine work instead of starting other relief works in the Násik District.

NATIVE STATES.

The proposed total prohibition of liquor in Bhopal and Bhavnagar.
Kesari (114), 25th Mar.

71. The *Kesari* refers to the policy of total prohibition accepted by Bhopal and Bhavnagar and says:—It is a good sign that one by one the Native States have realised the situation though it be after a hundred years. We note with surprise and regret that it has had no effect whatsoever on the brains of British officials. They think it commendable that Russia, France and America have gone dry. European officials intensely desire that China should not be drugged with opium and they become ready to sacrifice a revenue of four crores for that purpose. But they do not think it necessary to put a stop to the harm caused by the drink-evil in their own provinces. We do not wish to discuss what is at the root of the matter but it is clear that the policy of the officials is harmful. Even if all the Native States prohibit the sale of liquor seven crores of people will be saved. And we can then see whether the British Government will follow suit for very shame. But the Chiefs must first set the example. The Maharaja of Bhavnagar cannot be sufficiently praised for the distinction he has earned of being the first to set the example.

Servant of India (9), 27th Mar.

72. "His Highness the Maharaja of Bhávnagar has decided to abolish a large number of liquor shops in his large state and intends to pursue this policy with a view to extinguish liquor trade altogether within a specified period. He has formulated this policy in collaboration with the other princes in Káthiáwár, and hopes that it will he adopted and carried into effect by all of them at an early date. Indians feel very proud that the glorious example of of the United States has been followed so soon by Bhávnagar. The lead given by this and other states of Káthiáwár should stir the British Government to radically alter their vicious excise policy."

73. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* is aggrieved at the order passed by His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda for the demolition of a mosque at Baroda to get a Theatre built on the site. It, therefore, asks the Maharaja to rescind the order and calls upon Muhammadans outside the Baroda State to convene public meetings to express their disapproval with the order which is calculated to hurt their religious feelings. [The *Political Bhomiyo* thanks the Maharaja for cancelling the order with respect to the mosque at Baroda and requests him to show similar consideration in the matter of the contemplated partial demolition of a mosque situated at Sinor, a place within the territories of the Maharaja. The *Wafáddr* writes in a similar strain.]

Proposed demolition of certain mosques in Baroda territory.

Akhbár-e-Islám (59), 28th Mar.; *Political Bhomiyo* (76), 28th Mar.; *Wafáddr* (34), 28th Mar.

M. K. SHAIKH,

Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 4th April 1919.

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*Reported in advance.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 5th April 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	ENGLISH.				
1	Bombay Chronicle ...	Bombay ...	Daily ...	B. G. Horniman ; Englishman ; 45 ...	10,000
2	Bombay East Indian ...	Do. ...	Weekly ...	J. L. Brito ; East Indian ; 72 ...	300
3	Commercial Gazette ...	Sukkur ...	Do. ...	Abdul Aziz Sheikh Mahomed Suleman ; Muhammadan ; 43.	200
4	Daily Gazette ...	Karáchi ...	Daily ...	S. Lumpton ; Englishman ; 36 ...	3,500 to 4,000
5	Deccan Ryot ...	Poona ...	Weekly ...	A. B. Latthe, M.A., LL.B.; Jain ; 44 ...	300
6	Home Ruler ...	Karáchi ...	Do. ...	Durgadas B. Advani ; Hindu (Amil) ; 35 ...	500
7	Indian Social Reformer ...	Bombay ...	Do ...	Kámákshi Natarájan, B.A. ; Hindu (Madrási Bráhmin) ; 48.	650
8	Mahrátta ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	Dámodar Vishwanáth Gokhale, B.A., LL.B. ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 33.	700
9	New Times ...	Karáchi ...	Daily ...	Tikamdas Khemchand Jeswáni, M.A. ; Hindu (Lohána) ; 23.	800
10	Servant of India ...	Poona ...	Weekly ...	V. S. Shrinivás Shástri ; Hindu (Madrási Bráhman); 46.	2,000
11	Sind Advocate ...	Sukkur ...	Do. ...	Mulchand Virumal ; Hindu (Bhuráni) ; 25.	250
12	Sind Moslem ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Abdul Aziz Sheikh Mahomed Suleman ; Muhammadan ; 43.	200
13	Sind Observer ...	Karáchi ...	Bi-weekly ...	E. L. Atkinson ; European ; 55 ...	750
14	Sunday Chronicle ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	B. G. Horniman ; Englishman ; 45 ...	10,000
15	Sunday Tatler ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	C. S. Menon ; Hindu ; 61 ...	500
16	Young India ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	P. K. Telang ; Hindu (Sárasvat) ; 42. ...	1,000
	ANGLO-GUJARA'TI.				
17	A'ryă Prakásh ...	Baroda ...	Weekly ...	Motilál Tribhovandás, B.A., LL.B. ; Hindu (Bania) ; 48.	1,000
18	Bombay Mazáh ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Sorab Sheriar Iráni ; Pársi ; 32 ...	600
19	Dnyán Prakásh ...	Rájkot ...	Fortnightly ...	Tribhovandás Damodardás ; Hindu (Lohána) ; 36.	500
20	Gujaráti ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	Manilál Ichchhárám Desái ; Hindu (Bania) ; 36.	17,600
21	Gujarát Mitră ...	Surat ...	Do. ...	Uttamrám Umedrám Reshamwála ; Hindu (Dashalad Bania) ; 42.	1,100
22	Gujaráti Punch ...	Ahmedabad ...	Do. ...	Somálál Mangaldás Sháh ; Hindu (Mesri Bania) ; 42.	3,600
23	Hindi Punch ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Burjorji Navroji Apakhtyár ; Pársi ; 61 ...	516
24	Hindusthán ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Natvarlál Damodardás Parikh, M.A.; Hindu (Bania); 30.	1,600
25	Hindusthán and Akhbár-e-Soudágar.	Do. ...	Daily ...	Do. do. ...	2,500
26	Jám-e-Jamshed ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Phirozsháh Jehángir Marzbán, M.A., Pársi ; 43.	6,500
27	Kaiser-i-Hind ...	Do. ...	Weekly ...	Erachshaw Rustomji Hirji Behedin ; Pársi ; 35.	5,400
28	Káthiáwár Times ...	Rájkot ...	Bi-weekly ...	Trikamji Govindji Kotak ; Hindu (Lohána); 39.	800
29	Pársi-Sansár ...	Karáchi ...	Weekly ...	Jehángir Frámroze Pánthkey ; Pársi; 30 ...	800
30	Praja Bandhu ...	Ahmedabad ...	Do. ...	Jagjivandás S. Trivedi ; Hindu (Shrimáli Bráhman) ; 40.	2,700

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	ANGLO-GUJARA'TI—*concluded.*				
31	Praja Mitra and Pársi ...	Bombay ...	Daily ...	Meherjibhái Pálanji Mádon ; Pársi ; 59 ...	6,500
32	Rást Goftár and Praja Mitra.	Do. ...	Weekly ...	Do. do. ...	5,500
33	Sánj Vartamán ...	Do. ...	Daily ...	Rustamji N. Vátcha-Gándhi ; Pársi ; 52 ...	7,000
34	Suryá Prakásh ...	Surat ...	Weekly ...	Nagindás Dáyábhái ; Hindu (Nágar Bania) ; 73.	600
35	Stock Exchange News ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	.....	...
36	Wafádár ...	Navsári ...	Do. ...	Saiyad Mahomed Saiyad Alli ; Muhammadan ; 22.	400
	ANGLO-KANARESE.				
37	Chandrodayá ...	Dhárwár ...	Weekly ...	G. H. Honnápurmath ; Hindu (Lingáyat) ; 49.	700
38	Vibhákar ...	Belgaum ...	Do. ...	Panditápa Ráyápa Chikodi, B.A. ; Hindu (Lingáyat) ; 33.	300
	ENGLISH, KANARESE AND MARA'THI.				
39	Kánara News ...	Kumta (Kánara) ...	Fortnightly ...	Krishna Keshav Shenvi ; Hindu (Goud Sáraswat Brahmin) ; 49.	400
	ANGLO-MARA'THI.				
40	Dnyánodayá ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	Manohar Krishna Uzgáre ; Christain ; 34 ...	660
41	Dnyán Prakásh ...	Poona (and Bombay).	Daily ...	Anant Vináyak Patwardhan ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 47.	2,000
42	Dnyán Prakásh ...	Do. ...	Weekly ...	Do. do. ...	2,000
43	Hindu Missionary ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Gajanan Bhaskar Vaidya, B.A. ; Páthare Prabhu ; 30.	450
44	Indu Prakásh ...	Do. ...	Daily ...	Dámodar Sávalárám Yande ; Hindu ; (Marátha) ; 57.	2,000
45	Jágaruk ...	Poona ..	Weekly ...	Válchand Rámchand Kothári, B.A. (Jain) ; 26.	1,700
46	JÁgriti ...	Baroda ...	Do. ...	Bhagavantráo Balavantráo Pálekar Marátha ; 31.	700
47	Pragati and Jinvijay ..	Belgaum ...	Fortnightly ...	Anna Bábáji Latthe ; Jain ; 33 ...	300
48	Subodh Patrika ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	Dwárkánáth G. Vaidya ; Hindu (Goldsmith) ; 42.	500
	ANGLO-PORTUGUESE.				
49	O Anglo-Lusitáno ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	W. F. Pais ; Goanese ; 38 ...	500
	ANGLO-SINDHI.				
50	Frontier Gazette ...	Jacobabad ...	Weekly ...	Vishindás Pránjainmal ; Hindu (Bhátia) ; 35.	500
51	Hind Vási ...	Hyderabad (Sind)...	Daily ...	Jethmal Parsrám ; Hindu (Amil) ; 42 ...	1,000
52	Lárkána Gazette ...	Lárkána ...	Weekly ...	Tahilrám Mulchand Tavarmaláni ; Hindu (Amil) ; 30.	500
53	Sindhi ...	Sukkur ...	Bi-weekly ...	Virumal Begraj ; Hindu (Bhuráni) ; 46 ...	800
54	Sind Upkárak ...	Shikárpur ...	Monthly ...	Bhai Mohandás Ghanshámdás ; Hindu (Bhátia) ; 57.	300
55	Sind Vási ...	Hyderabad (Sind)...	Daily ...	Kamalsing Pahumal ; Hindu (Amil) ; 42 ...	1,000
56	Sookhree ...	Karáchi ...	Weekly ...	Jámatmal Lálchand ; Hindu (Chapráo) ; 44.	500
	ENGLISH, PORTUGUESE AND CONCANIM.				
57	A Luz ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	Henry Anthony DeSouza ; Portuguese ; 38 .	500
58	O Amigo Do Povo Goano .	Do. ...	Do. ...	Manuel Anastaz Fernandes ; Goanese ; 47 .	1,100

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	GUJARA'TI.				
59	Akhbár-e-Islám ...	Bombay ...	Daily ...	Kázi Ismáil Kázi Muhammad Porbundari; Muhammadan; 49.	1,500
60	Anavil Sevak ...	Surat ...	Monthly ...	Dayálji Nanubhai Desai; Hindu (Anavil Bráhman); 43.	2,500
61	Baroda Vartamán ...	Baroda ...	Weekly ...	Javerbhái Dádábhái Patel; Hindu (Lewa Pátidár); 49.	1,500
62	Bombay Samáchár ...	Bombay ...	Daily ...	Kaikhusru Mánekji Minocheher-Homji, B.A.; Pársi; 44.	3,500
63	Broach Mitră ...	Broach ...	Weekly ...	Trikamlál Harináth Thákor; Hindu (Brahmă Kshatri); 37.	600
64	Broach Samáchár ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Jehángirji Ardeshir Gandhi; Pársi; 40 ...	500
65	Chitramayă Jagat ...	Poona ...	Monthly ...	Shankar Narhar Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 43.	1,500
66	Deshi Mitră ...	Surat ...	Weekly ...	Harilál Maganlál; Hindu (Shráwak Bania); 24.	1,000
67	Deshodaya ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Prabhushankar Narbhárám Vyas; Hindu (Nagar Bráhman); 28.	500
68	Hind Vijayă ...	Baroda ...	Do. ...	Dáyábhái Kasandás; Hindu (Shráwak Bania); 53.	1,000
69	Hitechhu ...	Karáchi ...	Do. ...	Harilál Válji Thákur, Hindu (Audich Bráhman); 32.	100
70	Kaira Vartamán ...	Kaira ...	Do. ...	Somachand Panachand; Hindu (Jain Bania); 43.	500
71	Káthiáwár Samáchár ...	Ahmedabad ...	Do. ...	Bhaishankar Chhaganlal; Hindu (Bráhman); 48.	500
72	Loka Mitră ...	Bombay ...	Bi-weekly ...	Kaikhosru Mánekji Minochar-Homji, Pársi; 44.	600
73	Navsári Patrika ...	Navsári ...	Weekly ...	Harivallabhdás Pránjivandás Párekh; Hindu (Bania); 45.	430
74	Political Bhomiyo ...	Ahmedabad ...	Do. ...	Nurkhan Amirkhan; Muhammadan; 60 ...	1,400
75	Praja Pokár ...	Surat ...	Do. ...	Uttamram Umedram Reshamwala; Dásálád Bania; 42.	700
76	Shri Sayáji Vijayă ...	Baroda ...	Do. ...	Máneklál Ambárám Doctor; Hindu (Dasha Shrimáli Bania); 41.	4,200
77	Surat Akhbár ...	Surat ...	Do. ...	Pirozsháh Edalji Patel; Pársi; 44 ...	600
78	Vivechak ...	Láchhras (Nándod, Rájpipla State).	Monthly ...	Chaganlál Naranbhái Mesri; Hindu (Bhavsar); 34.	500
	GUJARA'TI AND HINDI.				
79	Jain ...	Bhávnagar ...	Weekly ...	Devchand Damji; Hindu (Bania); 32 ...	1,800
	HINDI.				
80	Chitramayă Jagat ...	Poona ...	Monthly ...	Rámchandră Vásudeo Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 33.	1,000
81	Jain Mitra ...	Surat ...	Weekly ...	Ishwarlál Karandás Kapadia; (Oswad Shrá-wak); 31.	1,250
82	Shri Venkateshwar ...	Bombay ...	Daily ..	Amrutlal Chakrawarti; Bengali Bráhmin; 56.	1,000
83	Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár.	Do. ...	Weekly ...	Do. do ...	7,000
84	Sindhu Samáchár ...	Karáchi ...	Do. ...	Pandit Sidheshwar Totárám; 36 ...	700

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	KANARESE.				
85	Karnátak Vaibhav ...	Bijápur ...	Weekly ...	G. R. Mannur; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 52.	500
86	Karnátak Vritt and Dhananjayá.	Dhárwár ...	Do. ...	Krishnáji Hanumant Mudvedkar; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 46.	800
87	Loká Bandhu ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Imámsaheb *walad* Rajesaheb Killedar; Muhammadan.	200
88	Raj Hansa ...	Do. ...	Daily ...	M. N. Tembe; (Karháda Bráhman); 38 ...	1,200
89	Raj Hansa ...	Do. ..	Weekly ...	Do. do. ...	950
90	Rasik Ranjini ...	Gadag (Dhárwár)...	Do. ..	Ganeshprasád Mahávirprasád; Hindu (Kanoja Bráhman); 18.	80
91	Shubhodaya ...	Dhárwár ...	Do. ...	Vasudevacharya Shrinivasacharya Kerur, Pleader; Hindu (Vaishnava Bráhmin); 51.	1,000
	MARA'THI.				
92	Acharya ...	Poona ...	Fortnightly ...	Vishnu Waman Bapatshastri; Hindu (Chitpavan Bráhman); 48.	1,000
93	Arya Vaibhav ...	Dhulia (West Khándesh).	Weekly ...	Tulsidas Govind Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhmin); 29.	250
94	A'ryávart ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Shankar Hari Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 31.	200
95	Bakul ...	Ratnágiri ...	Do. ...	Hari Dharmaráj Gándhi; Hindu (Bania); 42.	425
96	Belgaum Samáchár ...	Belgaum ...	Do ...	Hari Bhikáji Sámant; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman); 57.	230
97	Bhárat Mátá ...	Islámpur (Sátára)...	Fortnightly ...	Vishnu Sitárám Athalye; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman); 32.	450
98	Chikitsak ...	Belgaum ...	Weekly ...	Abáji Rámchandrá Sávant; Hindu (Marátha); 56.	540
99	Chitramayá Jagat ...	Poona ...	Monthly ...	Ráruchandrá Vásudev Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 33.	10,000
100	Daily Report ..	Chopda (East Khándesh).	Weekly ...	Motilál Fattulál; Hindu Goud Brahmin (Marwadi); 36.	60 to 80
101	Dharma Vichár va Modá Vritta.	Wái (Sátára) ...	Do. ...	Dámodar Laxman Lele; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 41.	50
102	Din Mitrá	Somthána (Ahmednagar).	Do. ...	Mukund Ganpat Pátil; Hindu (Máli); 32 .	985
103	Dnyán Ságar ...	Kolhápur ...	Do. ...	Vishnu Vithal Mantri; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman); 54.	550
104	Gorakshana ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	.....	...
105	Hasya Vinod ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Vishwanath Purshottam Pendharkar; Hindu (Karháda Bráhmin); 42.	560
106	Hitachintak ...	Sátára ...	Do. ...	Balkrishna Ganesh Abhyankar Hindu (Chitpáwan Brahman); 21.	130
107	Jagad Vritt ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Ramchandra Ganpatrao Desai (Patháre Prabhu); 32.	7,525
108	Kalpataru and A'nandvrit.	Sholápur ...	Do. ...	Anant Hari Wagle; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 35.	450
109	Kesari ...	Poona ...	Do, ...	Krishnaji Prabhákar Khádilkar, B.A.; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 47.	30,000
110	Khándesh Vaibhav ..	Dhulia (West Khándesh).	Do. ...	Yádav Bálkrishná Bahálkar; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 53.	500
111	Mahárashtra Vritta ...	Sátára ...	Do. ..	Rámachandra Balvant Bhonsle; Hindu (Marátha); 34.	200

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	MARATHI—*concluded.*				
112	Násik Vritt ...	Násik ...	Weekly ..	Rangnáth Vishnu Kále; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 39.	200
113	Pandhari Mitra ...	Pandharpur (Sholapur).	Do. ...	Govind Sakharam Bidkar; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhmin); 55.	100
114	Prabodh Chandrika ...	Jalgaon (East Khándesh).	Do. ...	Náráyan Narsinh Phadnis; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 66.	300
115	Prakásh ...	Sátára ...	Do. ...	Rámchandrá Ganesh Soman; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 43.	350
116	Rajakáran ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	Sitaram Keshav Damle, B.A., LL.B.; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 345.	400
117	Rastra Hittaishi ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	.....	...
118	Satyá Shodhak ...	Ratnágiri ...	Do. ...	Krishnáji Hari Limaye; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 34.	900
119	Shivaji Vijay ...	Sholápur ...	Do. ...	Madvalappa Sangappa Deomule; Hindu (Lingáyat); 33.	700
120	Sholápur Samáchár ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Vithal Narsáppa a'ikal; Hindu (Telgu Máli); 38.	500
121	Shri Sayáji Vijayá ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Dámodar Sávlárám Yande; Hindu (Marátha); 57.	5,000
122	Shri Sháhu ...	Sátára ...	Do. ...	Vishnu Ramkrishna Dhavle; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman); 22.	325
123	Shubh Suchak ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Dattátrayá Rámchandrá Chitale; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 40.	250
124	Sudhakar ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Damodar Krishna Ketkar; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 26.	1,000
125	Udyam Prakásh ...	Wái (Sátára) ...	Do. ...	Vishwanath Dhondi Teli; Hindu (Teli); 31.	50
126	Vichári ...	Kárwár (Kánara) ...	Tri-monthly ...	Shaikh Adam *walad* Shaikh Abdul Karim; Muhammadan (Sunni); 45.	450
127	Vinod ...	Belgaum ...	Fortnightly ...	Dattátrayá Rámchandrá Kulkarni; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman); 30.	200
128	Vita Vritta ...	Sátára ...	Weekly ...	Narayan Sakharam Jog; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 31.	60
129	Vrittasár ...	Wái (Sátára) ...	Do. ...	Govind Ganesh Vaidyá; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 22.	300
130	Vyápári ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	Nána Dádáji Gund; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 63.	500
131	Wárkari ...	Pandharpur (Sholápur).	Do. ...	Vithal Keshav Limaye; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 46.	300
	SINDHI.				
132	A'fiáb-i-Sind ...	Sukkur ...	Weekly ...	Sháms-ud-din *walad* Muhammad; Muhammadan (Abro); 52.	500
133	Al-Amin ...	Hyderabad ...	Do. ...	Rahmatullah *walad* Mahomed Fazal; Muhammadan; 41.	530
134	Al-Haq ...	Sukkur ...	Do. ...	Abdul Aziz Sheikh Mahomed Suleman; Muhammadan; 43.	800
135	Khairkháh-i-Sind ...	Lárkána ...	Do. ...	Gurudinomal Tahilsing; Hindu (Khatri); 45.	250
136	Mirpurkhás Gazette ...	Mirpurkhás ...	Do. ...	Gurudinmal Tahiling; Hindu (Amil); 38...	600
137	Musáfir ...	Hyderabad (Sind)...	Do. ...	Abdul Waháb Khán; Pathan; 54 ...	500
138	Sind Mail ...	Hyderabad ...	Do. ...	Atmarám Kundanmal; Hindu (Amil); 27 ...	600
139	Sind Sudhár ...	Karáchi ...	Do. ...	Khánchand Rahumal; Hindu (Amil); 53...	850

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	URDU.				
140	Mufid-e-Rozgár ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	Mahamad Shaikh ; Muhammadan ; 46 ...	2,300
141	Muslim Herald ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Sheikh Mahamed Yusuf; Muhammadan (Sunni) ; 40.	1,200

Notes.—A. The notices from the different Newspapers have been collected in the Report under different heads which are printed in italics.

B. The names of Newspapers are printed in the margin of the Report in italics, and the number of the Newspaper in the above list is printed in brackets after the name.

C. The system of spelling vernacular words followed in the report is the same as that adopted in the Official Spelling List of the Bombay Presidency. One peculiar feature of this system is that when the long *a* (आ or ā) is the last letter of a word, the accent is left out, and the short *a* (अ = *u* in *gun*) is, to prevent confusion, never placed at the end of a word. This rule has been strictly followed, except that when the short *a* appears to be absolutely necessary to complete the pronunciation of a word as *Arunodaya* or the well-known *Mitra*, it is printed with a mark over it to indicate that it is short, thus—*ă*.

D. The figures giving the circulation or number of copies published of each newspaper and periodical as furnished by the proprietor are not guaranteed as accurate, and in some instances must be regarded with caution.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. "The Home Department has issued a communiqué of a 'summary of the official report received from the Local Administration' with regard to the trouble at Delhi. It does not purport to be a complete account of the occurrences of Sunday last, since the object of the communiqué is merely to correct 'misleading accounts of the disturbances in Delhi' which have appeared in 'certain newspapers.' The account has been composed by the very Administration whose conduct is questioned by the public, but beyond the obvious fact that it represents a hasty effort to put itself in the right, there is very little in it by way of correction..... The spirit in which the gruesome story is now told is that of the aggressive prosecuting counsel, but the argument of 'necessity' which is pressed in relation to indiscriminate shooting, does not add to the credit of the authorities..... The communiqué does not explain why the Riot Act was not read; why, as has been stated, there was use of force in excess of the necessities of dispersal; why there was no blank-firing before resort to frightfulness and the firing into dense crowds; why ball-cartridges were used; and, lastly, why, as has been pointed out, the level of aim was above the abdomen. It is no use delivering a light, self-exculpating narrative and naming the people 'rioters' without saying what riots they were guilty of or giving us a glimpse of the 'rioting,' if such took place. We are told that at the Town Hall there were 15 British Infantry and 15 policemen who, under order, 'fired two or three rounds per man'; that is to say, between sixty and ninety volleys—the communiqué is not very exact in details!—were emptied on the spot. It remains to be established that in this play of musketry there was no excessive use of force and that it was necessary for the routing of the crowds. The official version contains material omissions and, to say the least, in positive statements is unsatisfactory. Hence, there can be no question of the need, in the interests of truth and justice, of an inquiry into the occurrences of the day. A tragedy so serious cannot be allowed to pass without rigid and impartial scrutiny. The public will be amazed at the words of praise and congratulation received and published by the Government concerning the wisdom and restraint of the authorities. More than white-washing there is a great attempt at glorifying the work of the day. Not only is this adulation in advance ill-considered, but it is also prejudicial to the interests of a free inquiry into the conduct of the very people who stand accused of violence in the exercise of power. An investigation is a matter of grave urgency and while their acts are impugned, it would be well for Government to refrain from praising their achievements."

Comments on the official communiqué on the Delhi affray.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th Apl.

*2. "The Government Press-note on the Delhi Tragedy is a poor attempt to whitewash the conduct of the authorities, and is absolutely unreliable inasmuch as it has suppressed the blazingly outrageous conduct of the Gurkhas towards Swami Shradhanand. That is really the crucial test of the authenticity of any report, and as both the Associated Press version and the Government Press-note do not refer to it, none, who is in his senses, would believe them for a moment..... The conduct of the Gurkhas leads one to suppose that the conduct of *some* of the policemen and the European soldiers, too, cannot be free from suspicion. Some men are by nature excitable and rude, and just as the local administration has alleged that two or three Satyagrahis had assaulted the station sweetmeat-seller, we think, we can with equal plausibility say that some of the policemen and the European soldiers, too, must have either 'threatened' or rudely behaved with ths Satyagrahis. In fact, Mahatma Munshiram says in his statement that the Police 'belaboured' the masses with sticks; and it is reported that one sub-inspector had abused them..... But apart from the negligence and supreme want of tact exhibited by the officials, the outrageous conduct of the Manipuri Gurkhas cannot but be severely condemned. Their threatening attitude, their insolent language, their brandishing the bayonets before the Mahatma, and their officer's permission to them to play these antics and heroics are such that every sensible man will shudder to hear, and cannot help abhorring. The criminal negligence of the authori-

Mahrátta (8), 6th Apl.

ties to hold silence about their abominable conduct is not less detestable. The Government cannot, and must not, be allowed to shut its eyes towards the pranks of these Manipuris, and they must drastically punish them for their gross criminal intimidation. The Government and we Indians praised them for their war-services. They deserved it at that time, but now they must share odium and punishment for their culpable conduct. There is no escape from that, and we hope Government will not allow them to pass scot-free for their mischief..... The conduct of the officials, as shown above, was not above reproach, but, more than any thing else, their 'use of the Nasmyth hammer to crush a fly' was clearly unjustifiable. They could have averted the tragedy by first releasing two men, whom they had subsequently released; they could have restored calm and quiet by sending for Mahatma Munshiram instead of, or along with, the British infantry, and courteously asked him at the station, as they did at the Congress grounds, to use his influence to pacify the mob; they could have avoided the irritating display of their immense military power by not driving the armoured car with a machine gun mounted on it: and they could have ordered the Gurkhas to behave courteously with the men at the Chandni-chowk. All this they could have done, but they did not, and any impartial observer will not fail to blame them for it. They could have avoided the whole catastrophe with a little tact and common sense, but we see that they are not endowed with those two rare qualities, and yet the local administration pats them on the back for using those very quilities which they did not possess! Inscrutable are the ways of the Delhi administration indeed."

*3. "We strongly deprecate any attempt to create ill-feeling towards the police and the troops at Delhi. These men but did their duty, and the responsibility for any use of force in excess of the requirements of the emergency, must rest with those who gave them their orders. We cannot say without further information whether there was any excessive use of force. It was the duty of the police to protect unwilling sweet-meat sellers from being coerced into submission, and even if only one sweet-meat seller was concerned, they were bound to use the whole strength of the State to prevent his being tyrannised over by the populace. Indeed, we are at a loss to know why the two men who were arrested for intimidating the sweet-meat sellers were let off, as has been stated, instead of being taken to the lock-up as they should have been. It does not seem to have been done to pacify the mob, for, in that case, it would have been done openly so that the mob may see and be convinced that the men were free. If the men had been wrongfully arrested, the police must bear the blame of having by their illegal action started the whole trouble. The occasion, however, is too solemn for idle recrimination. A new chapter in Indian politics has opened, and nothing can be the same as it was before. The Rowlatt Act had done it. Well would it have been if Government paid heed to the warning of Indian leaders some of whom had incurred much popular odium for supporting Government on previons occasions and whose *bona fides* is unquestionable. The only chance now of retrieving the situation is for His Majesty's Government to exercise promptly their suspensory powers in regard to the Bill. Since the above was in type, we have seen the official account published in the daily papers. Accepting the official version as to the attitude of the mob, we are totally at a loss to account for the absurdly small contingent of military requisitioned from the Fort. We are unable to reconcile the statements that the usual police precautionary measures had been taken and all reserves in the police lines and at the various stations were in readiness, and the reference to the 'very sudden and awkward situation' at the end. What had their Intelligence Department been doing, if the police had no idea of the magnitude of the demonstration which was to take place on that fateful day? The official account leaves on our mind the uneasy feeling that bloodshed could and would have been avoided if the authorities had not, by requisitioning a ridiculously small number of troops, tempted—unintentionally, we are willing to believe—a totally unarmed mob to resist the order to disperse. Somebody must suffer for this gross neglect of an elementary principle of dealing with mobs of this kind. A display of adequate force is the way to avoid the application of force, and is, therefore, the humane way of dealing with a mob."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 6th Apl.

4. "These who were against *Satyagraha* for reasons of their own from the very beginning have tried to utilise the Delhi tragedy to condemn *Satyagraha*. The plain, courageous and straightforward statement of Swami Sradhanand ought to convince an impartial observer that by the display of a little tact and the exercise of a little restraint, bloodshed in Delhi could have been averted by the authorities..... In the Bombay strikes many a time it was on police advice that the mills were closed, in order to prevent trouble, and it was not an unusual thing for the police to release those arrested in order to calm the excited crowd. But the authorities in Delhi, brought and bred up in another school, relied on machine-guns and rifles. Was civil force used to disperse the mob before the military was requisitioned? What was the attitude of the people of Delhi? Did they resist civil force and barricade the streets? Did they take up a threatening attitude endangering peace and property? Were the leaders of the *Satyagraha* movement called in to pacify the people before extreme measures were resorted to? The Delhi bureaucrats treated Swami Sradranand, whose one word was able to pacify the people many a time subsequently, with contempt. When Swami Sradhanand approached Mr. Currie, the City Magistrate, he actually turned his back upon him..... We want to know, and we are entitled to know, whether all reasonable precautions were taken before military force was used and whether excessive and unnecessary force was not used..... May we know why the machine-gun was used, if not at the Clock Tower, at the station? Why was the crowd near the Clock Tower? What necessity was there for the second firing, this time with rifles? All this shows that there has been a sad bungling, somewhere, and the situation would have been worse still but for the remarkable control exercised by Swami Sradhanand and others under provocative circumstances..... The Delhi tragedy has a lesson for the people, and for the bureaucracy as well. The bureaucracy would do well to realise that the days of 'martial law and no damned nonsense' are gone for over. The people are now conscious of their rights and privileges and they are ready to suffer for them. The old ways and the old methods of governance can no longer be adhered to. Every nation in the world is setting its home in order and reconstructing itself, in order that it may be in harmony with the new-world forces. As for *Satyagraha*, nothing can kill it but the repeal of the Rowlatt Act and it will be given up only when its purpose is accomplished. The *Satyagraha* movement is both spirituul and political, but no anxiety need be felt that reforms will be neglected as is expressed in certain quarters. Only for the sake of certain reforms, which may or may not come, the country cannot reconcile itself to a loss of fundamental and elementary rights."

The *Satyagraha* affray at Delhi.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Apl.

5. "It is highly necessary that a detailed investigation should be instituted at once into the whole affair and an authoritative account published. The public must be satisfied that all due precautions were taken before the crowd was fired at and that no excessive force was harshly used. A grave situation has arisen owing to the obduracy of the Government in passing the Rowlatt legislation, and a tremendous responsibility rests upon them to handle it with all care and tact. No room should be left for the impression to spread that force was used to overawe the people, determined to work for the repeal of the Act in a peaceful manner, into submission. This should also serve as a warning to the people. A movement to be carried on on an extensive scale like the present, though peaceful in its conception, is likely to pass under provocation into violence, and the danger, always inherent in such a movement, of a breach of the peace occurring must not be lightly set aside when the movement is initiated. There is no question of the leaders desiring to keep it within legitimate bounds, but they may not always be able to keep their followers well in hand, and the authorities will not always let such a movement remain pacific. Anyway, whoever is to blame, there is always a probability of a movement of the type now contemplated assuming undesirable forms."

Servant of India (10), 3rd Apl.

6. "What is the meaning of these events? The only official excuse is that the people had assumed a 'threatening demeanour' and that some hooligans threw brick-bats. If some hooligans did it, it was the business of the police to arrest them. But it is India and there is nothing like a violent short cut! Hence the volley was fired. The hideousness of the outrage is plain from the fact that the dead and injured are found wounded on the chest and the upper part of the body. We have heard of 'Martial law and no d—d nonsense'. In Delhi, it was apparently 'shoot above the waist and no d—d nonsense'. On the face of it there were vindictiveness and cruelty and above all the spirit of crushing the people by fright and showing up a corpse or two by way of sample. 'By Jingo, if we do!' was apparently the mood in which the order was given. It is not suggested to be due to the panic of the authorities—it was a sheer display of the deadliness of authority. Nothing short of an open inquiry and the punishment of culprits will satisfy the people. The Black Act has not begun to operate, but the beginning has been an auxiliary tragedy of death and suffering. We still cherish the hope that justice will be forthcoming. If not let us all say out that though Delhi is the capital of India, it is not far from Zabern."

Young India (16), 2nd Apl.

***7.** "The bureaucracy has all along never understood the real psychology of the Indian people, but gone on from one blunder to another. Well, if Sir William Vincent and his unbroken battalion of official and non-official European colleagues thought it a great feat of statesmanship to carry the Bill in defiance of universal opposition and if His Excellency the Viceroy also believed that his patting the people of India on the back for their services to the cause of the Allies at the very moment of treating their views with contempt would obliterate the memory of the painful humiliation inflicted on them, we can only profoundly regret the existing social and political gulf that easily creates such a position in this country. If they feel satisfied that this is the best way to administer the affairs of the Indian Empire, they are welcome to cherish such a dangerous delusion..... The details of the Delhi Tragedy, so far as they have been published, have yet to be verified. But on consideration of its broad features, one cannot but come to the conclusion that the action of the railway officials and policemen and as well as that of the military authorities was extremely hasty and thoughtless..... It remains to be ascertained how far the allegations are true. The first three allegations, however, are denied by Swami Shradanandji. But even assuming them to be true, we do not think the authorities were justified in firing on an unarmed mob except as a last resource. The recent shooting incident at Madura shows that in India the authorities hardly realise their responsibility for having recourse to such an extreme method of maintaining the public peace. In England the labour troubles have been very serious and British ministers have spent anxious days and weeks in devising measures to meet the grave situation. But firing upon an unarmed mob is unknown in England except under circumstances of the gravest character and that too under efficient safeguards. But it seems that when India is deemed fit for a 'lawless law,' it is also deemed worthy of drastic measures in the alleged interests of the public peace and order..... How the spirit of terrorism which lies behind the Rowlatt legislation, is apt to become infectious, is shown by the drastic measures adopted by the Delhi authorities for dispersing what was after all a peaceful crowd. It is sad to reflect that in the very capital of the Indian Empire such a deplorable incident should have ever occurred."

Gujaráti (20), 6th Apl., Eng. cols.

8. We have not got a full list of the casualties that occurred at Delhi in the *Satyagraha* affray, but from the information to hand the question arises whether the authorities in Delhi acted rightly. Do the authorities want to crush public opinion by the use of troops and guns? They are mistaken in thinking that the people would be cowed down by the occurrences in Delhi and would give up their opposition to the Rowlatt Bills. His Excellency the Viceroy should immediately

Hindusthán (24), 1st Apl.; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 2nd Apl.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 2nd and 5th Apl.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (82), 2nd Apl.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 2nd Apl.

return to Delhi. It is necessary to find out the number of innocent people who have fallen victims to the reign of terror, as also to determine what measure of justification the authorities had in taking the step they did for preserving the peace. The authorities are to blame if it is true as alleged, that the Magistrate did not read the Riot Act before opening fire on the crowd. We would like to impress upon Government that the Rowlatt Bills are at the root of the present discontent. We hope the British Government will suspend the operation of the Rowlatt Act and thus add to their prestige. [The *Sánj Vartamán* writes :—The day would have passed in peace at Delhi had not certain officials lost the balance of their mind and hastened to requisition the use of troops and machine guns. Had the crowd invaded Delhi with arms that it was thought necessary to open fire upon it? Was it expedient to shower bullets upon the crowd because, as it is alleged, a few persons threw stones and brickbats? It would be difficult to justify the action of the authorities as long as it is not proved that the crowd was bent upon effecting a beach of the peace. A little tact and sympathy would have averted the loss of life. Government should conduct a public inquiry into the Delhi episode with a view to finding out who was to blame, and also to avoiding the recurrence of such incidents. The *Parja Mitra and Pársi* in its English columns writes :—"*Primâ facie* the onus of making out the existence of such circumstances as rendered the use of machine guns inevitable, rests heavily upon the civil and military authorities, which sanctioned their use on the occasion..... That the authorities had to make use of firearms again, two or three hours after the first shooting, would apparently argue a great want of care and tact on the part of someone." In the vernacular columns the paper adds :—Unfortunately some officials in India are always haunted by the nightmare of rebellion and a slight disturbance is enough to drive them to frenzy. We would urge upon His Excellency Lord Chelmsford the necessity of assuming control over the province of Delhi and issuing a *communiqué* on the subject of the disturbance. In a subsequent issue the paper deplores that the authorities should, even assuming that the official account is true to the letter, have opened fire on a harmless and unarmed crowd, and suggests that a water hose could be used with advantage to disperse the crowd on such occasions. It moreover urges the need of an inquiry into the reasons that led the authorities to open fire on the crowd. The *Shrí Venkateshwar* draws a dark picture of the gloom prevailing over Delhi owing to the massacre of the innocents which, in its opinion, occurred because the officials mistook passive resistance for disloyalty and pictured up the state of Egypt before their eyes. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* is of opinion that the Delhi episode could have been averted by the use of tact and presence of mind by the officials and a little more coolness and considerateness by the people of Delhi. It endorses the warning issued by certain Moderate leaders against a resort to passive resistance and exhorts the people of Bombay to keep their heads cool on the ensuing Sunday and asks them not to use any undue pressure on those who refrain from joining the movement. It also asks the authorities not to take needless fright at the movement or to mistake it for a demonstration of disloyalty.]

9. Universal sorrow will be felt at the tragedy at Delhi. No official version of this affair is yet available. Perhaps we shall read therein that every action of Government was taken after full and mature consideration. We do not think, however, people will believe in such a version. No attempt seems to have been made to disperse the crowd by mounted police just as was done on the occasion of the Willingdon Memorial meeting in Bombay. The Railway authorities behave insolently towards the public even in ordinary times and it is not surprising, therefore, if they were particularly rude to the people on the *Satyagraha* day. This is not the first occasion on which *Satyagrahis* have thus suffered. They have been persecuted ere this in South Africa and other places and we do not think the firing at Delhi will daunt them. The affair, however, is not without its redeeming feature inasmuch as the friendly relations between the Hindus and the Muhammadans were strengthened to an extraordinary degree on the

Indu Prakásh (44), 3rd Apl.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (41), 3rd Apl.

Satyagraha day. We only wish that this strengthening of the relations had not been stained by the blood of those who died for *Satyagraha*. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* says that firing upon the *Satyagrahis* was not justified even supposing that they were guilty of transgressing the limits of the law.]

The *Satyagraha* movement and Government.

Jám-e-Jamshed (26), 5th Apl.; *Deshi Mitra* (66), 3rd Apl.; *Kaira Vartamán* (70), 2nd Apl.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (34), 1st Apl.; *Jain* (79), 30th Mar.

10. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* draws the attention of the *Satyágrahis* to the unfortunate Delhi incident and warns them to guard against doing anything that would tend to threaten the public peace. It advises them to act up to the instructions issued by Mr. Gandhi in this connection and hopes that the Police authorities will refrain from creating any unnecessary obstruction in the way of the Satyágrahi demonstrators. It declares that Government have committed a blunder in passing this Bill in the teeth of such solid opposition and expresses a desire that the Secretary of State for India and Parliament may take the earliest opportunity to rectify it. [The *Deshi Mitra* writes:—When Bolshevism is rapidly spreading from country to country it is the duty of every Government to keep its subjects satisfied. But the policy of the British officials is just the reverse. On account of this Bolshevism in other countries of the world, officials in India have mistaken a rope for a serpent and have decided to shackle the Indian Nation by the fetters of the Rowlatt Bills; but we can scarcely hope to have any good result from it. Mahatma Gandhi has taken the *Satyagraha* pledge and a major portion of the country is in sympathy with him. This pledge is a sacred vow and there is no possibility of any disturbance to Government therefrom. Still, however, if officials look upon the *Satyagrahis* with a suspicious eye and directly or indirectly use their authority to suppress this religious movement it exhibits the Government's own weakness. When a desire for self-determination and self-respect has arisen in the minds all the nations of the world, repressive laws, jails, bullets and bayonets cannot have any effect on them. Liberality, equality and impartial justice are the only means to effect a change in them. The *Kaira Vartamán* considers it to be the duty of every Hindu and every Muhammadan to observe the fast enjoined by Mahatma Gandhi. The *Dnyán Prakásh* (Gujarati) writes:—It is worth our while to consider what will be the effect of passing this Bill in the face of the public opposition and the *Satyagraha* movement against it. When people are quite earnest about acquiring *Swarádj* and when the question of the Khaliphate and Turkey is agitating the minds of Musalmans, the suppression of the expression of public feeling and opinion is likely to result in a reaction with redoubled force. The *Jain*, while recommending the observance of the fast to the Jains, writes:—Those who have faith in Mahatma Gandhi and his benevolent activities will not fail to join this sacred and religious movement of observing fast.]

Hind Vásí (51), 17th Mar.

11. It is said that Mahatma Gandhi a few days ago wrote to the Viceroy saying that if the latter did not withdraw the black Rowlatt Bill on the next day he would resort to passive resistance. Of course the officials with wind in their heads could not and did not listen to such nice advice. Mahatma Gandhi has therefore now sounded the note of passive resistance, and those whose hearts will be moved by this soul-stirring note will participate in the passive resistance started by the Mahatma. Personally we think that, no matter what support it gets from the people, passive resistance is a movement which must do good. It is necessary that there should be some check to highhandedness and if no such check is exercised then it may be assumed that those who are the victims of high-handedness deserve to be so treated. We rather think that passive resistance will reach its climax when the hopes inspired in the hearts of Indians by British statesman since 20th August 1917 will be frustrated; and there are signs that these will be frustrated. The heads of British statesmen are now turned with the introxication of power and these statesmen are now forgetting the promises made by them in the time of difficulty. The Rowlatt Bills are further proofs of how little the hearts of British statesmen are swayed by

their former promises. There is a close connection between the Rowlatt Bill and the ruin of our aspirations in the way of Home Rule. The destruction of our Home Rule aspirations will be worse than plague for India. We are of opinion that British Statesmen do not seek the Rowlatt Bill as an end in itself, but that they have introduced it with a view to the complete suppression of the Home Rule movement, because if this Bill is passed no movement in the cause of freedom can exist. They say that they want the Bill for three years only and that for anarchical and revolutionary crime only. This assurance has satisfied some of the credulous among us. But do these realize that if the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government had intended the Bill for three years they would surely have inserted the necessary provision in the Bill at the very outset? Again we have to remember that the fate of India as of other countries is to be decided in the next three years and if India's mouth remains gagged during these three years and if on the removal of the gag after the expiry of that period the breath of life appears to have flown into the sky, of what avail will the opening of the mouth be? We have known our blessed officials all these years. They will argue that a certain movement which has not yet led to bloodshed is 'likely' to lead to it, and must therefore be suppressed. The Home Rule movement for instance in the opinion of several officials is a movement which is 'likely' to lead to bloodshed. The object of adding the word 'revolutionary' is to reach that movement which revolutionizes the views of the people to such an extent that they oppose the established order and demand a new order of things. To give an instance our present demand for the replacement of the bureaucracy by a democracy is in the opinion of several men a revolutionary movement. In South Africa and in Ireland people want that the present monarchical form of Government should be ended and a republic instituted in its place as is the case with the French and the Americans, two principal Allies of the British. The people there are free to make such a demand, but if anyone in India were to make such a demand he would be called a revolutionary! We should now prepare such an army of passive resisters, as will endure even after the present struggle is over. Of course those who resort to passive resistance will not care for their lives.

12. The *Dnyán Prakdsh* discusses the question as to what laws are to be broken in connection with *Satyagraha* and objects to Mr. Gandhi's opinion that all laws that have no moral sanction may be broken by *Satyagrahis* and says that those wishing to join the movement should necessarily consider the consequences that may ensue. Though it may be conceded, it continues, that the principle involved may be preached in certain circumstances, such advocacy and practice will not be advisable in the case of the Rowlatt Bills. It does not think that the Rowlatt Act is of such a dangerous nature as to deserve such a treatment. The changes made in the measure have in its opinion removed the fears of the people to a great extent and it holds that Mr. Gandhi's comprehensive agitation of breaking laws is quite improper in the present circumstances.

Objection to Mr. Gandhi's interpretation of *Satyagraha*.
Dnyán Prakdsh (41), 5th Apl.

13. Commenting on the so-called alliance between the Indian Home Rulers and the British Labour Party *Young India* writes :—" Another effect on Indian politics of this alliance, which we fear is that the boycotting of British goods which is being advocated in certain quarters as one of the most effective means of securing the repeal of the Black Act would involve a serious danger to the new alliance which has been struck up with British Labour. To our mind, however, the gaining of any political reforms is less important than the repeal of a measure which has been universally abhorred by the people, which strikes at their self-respect and which is a menace to honest and inoffensive persons everywhere in India. At no time was the country more ready to adopt the boycott of British goods, particularly, of Manchester cloth, than it is now; and what with the production of this country itself and the cloth which

The effect of a boycott of British goods on the alliance between Indian Home Rulers and the British Labour Party.
Young India (16), 2nd Apl.

is coming from countries other than the United Kingdom, a boycott for such time during which this black law is continued would be most effective. The characteristic of the British Nation which Napoleon summed up when he called them 'a nation of shop-keepers' has been proved on many occasions in the past and those who cannot on account of their own individual circumstances support the much more effective remedy of *Satyagraha* could accept the only other constitutional means left to them in the form of the boycott of British goods..... There is a convention of nationalists meeting very shortly in Bombay where this question will be debated in all its aspects and we hope that the leaders of the Nationalist party will not be deterred by any consideration with regard to the new alliance with the Labour Party from suggesting what is most necessary at the moment and what is the only thing which every man without exception can readily and effectively adopt without getting into the clutches of the bureaucracy..... It is high time that the boycott were adopted and we hope that Mr. Baptista with the new love and confidence which he brings with him from the Labour Party will not be prevented from adopting the only right and possible measure at the moment. Apart from these complications the alliance with the Labour Party is all to the good, full of future promise. It is a righteous alliance based on mutual understanding and mutual sympathy arising from a similitude of conditions and common opponents of the ruling classes. Much would have to be done to cement this and we hope early steps will be taken in order to send a deputation, who will explain the Rowlatt Law and the boycott which arises out of that law to the British public."

14. "Time was when the sending of deputations to England was execrated in Nationalist quarters as political mendicancy, but there has since been a wholesome reaction in the Nationalist attitude, and now that party are actually found to take credit to themselves for keeping a prominent politician in England continuously for a longer time than the other party ever did at an enormous expenditure of money. This claim is in a way justified. It is, however, a pity that at the meeting organised in Bombay to do honour to Mr. Baptista, a more detailed account of the work done by him during his stay of twenty months at the seat of the Empire was not given. This work must surely be vastly greater, both in quality and quantity, than half a dozen articles in the Labour party's weekly paper, the *Herald*, his rather inconsequential plea for self-determination in a pamphlet published under that title, the adoption of a self-government resolution by the Labour party at the Nottingham Conference last year, and a few addresses to Labour audiences, if it is to deserve anything like the praise bestowed upon it in the *Mahrátta*, *viz.*, that his achievement is 'the greatest landmark in the history of India.' Perhaps, the writer was describing the regime of the Emperor Akbar in a fit of absent-mindedness!"

The "Nationalists" and political mendicancy.
Servant of India (10), 3rd Apl.

15. In the course of a lengthy article headed "the question of *swarájya*", Mr. Damodar Vishwanath Gokhale writes:— America did not join in the war to extend her territories. She did not long to assume responsibility for the welfare of other nations with 'reluctance' and 'against her will'. The Americans aimed at the establishment of the principle of self-determination everywhere and the elevation of subject nationalities. But it is now clear that the more shrewd nations with whom they co-operated during the war are not prepared to accept their lead and President Wilson is exposed to the charge of having indulged in idle talk. The nations which had lost their life's glory, *swarájya*, in the past for various reasons, welcomed the principle of self-determination as the elixir of life. Their hopes, however, have been frustrated and although the spectre of militarism is laid, force is likely to be used in keeping the subject peoples in their present dependent condition into which they have fallen. The League which cunning men have got President Wilson to formulate is not a league of all the nations but only of those white nations who have won the war. Admission into the League is

Prospect of *Swarájya* for India.
Chitramaya Jagat (99 and 65), for Feb. 1919 (Marathi and Gujaráti editions.)

confined only to free nations who enjoy the rights of *swarájya* and India, Egypt and Ireland are rigidly excluded. The proposed constitution of the League is being adversely criticized everywhere and even in America President Wilson is blamed for his simplicity. He is gradually yielding ground as the strict application of his principles will compel many of the Allies to disgorge the countries which they have swallowed. England, the champion of liberty, drew the sword to destroy Prussianism but is now trampling upon our modest demand for *swarájya*. The bureaucracy has been taking advantage of the ignorance of the British masses in respect of India and acting according to its own sweet will. Formerly that body used to trot out the bogey of sedition whenever the question of *swarájya* was raised in order that it may continue to enjoy unrestrained power and it did succeed for some time. But gradually that argument lost its force and now when the question of *swarájya* has come seriously to the fore the bureaucracy has threatened to revolt. Indeed Government should have entirely disregarded this threat. But like an ever-indulgent father the Viceroy gave it undue importance and weakened the very foundation of *swarájya*. The Civil Servants ought to serve those who pay them and if they are not satisfied with their masters it is open to them to give up service. The nation has been complaining that the bureaucratic administration is oppressive and that the white merchants are fleecing the country. The present system of administration has resulted in the impoverishment of India and as we are required to supply raw materials not only to Britain but also to the other European countries we are practically reduced to the status of hewers of wood and drawers of water. The 'Repression Bills' are a fresh reminder to us how the wishes and feelings of the people are flouted. The passage of these Bills in spite of strong popular opposition will not fail to have disastrous effects. Such an affront remains like a thorn in the side of the nation and shakes its confidence in the rulers. The roots of this distrust and discontent gradually go deeper and deeper and an explosion surely comes in time. The Bills which propose to deal with disaffection will only have the effect of making it more acute. The political atmosphere is disturbed and there are clear signs that the storm is about to burst. In the contest for *swarájya* the cup of the sins committed by the bureaucracy is filled to the brim and popular discontent is flaming up on all sides. People have full faith in Mahatma Gandhi and are therefore, flocking under his banner of *satyagraha*. There is no doubt the movement will succeed. History teaches that we must proceed along our path brushing aside opposition. The obstacles in our way will only be removed by pure self-sacrifice. [The Gujuráti *Chitramaya Jagat* reproduces a Gujarati version of the article.]

Indians and Bolshevism.
Mahrátta (8), 6th Apl.

***16.** The *Mahrátta* quotes the following from the *Independent* (Allahabad):—"Bolshevik propaganda in India is directed from another special department in Moscow, which is under the management of certain Hindu Nationalists, who have grouped themselves about Lenin. The Bolsheviks claim that they have succeeded in establishing secret relations with Bokhara and Afghanistan. Quite recently Lunacharsky made a speech in Moscow declaring: 'The natural ally of the Soviet Republic is the oppressed proletariat of China and India, which regards the Bolsheviks as heroes and reveres Lenin as a Messiah'."

How the British Government can fight Bolshevism.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 31st Mar.

17. . olshivism has not assumed a threatening attitude on our side but we should take a warning from the rapid progress the movement is making in Europe and should refrain from belittling its significance. It would scarcely be an exaggeration to hold Bolshevism responsible for the assassination of the late Amir of Afghanistan. We are, therefore, inclined to think that Government are quite justified in budgetting a large amount in the new financial estimates for the up-keep of troops on our frontiers. While approving of the steps taken by Government as a precautionary measure against the spread of Bolshevism we would ask them to act in accordance with the principles of President Wilson so that they may not continually be under the necessity of resorting to repressive expedients and of allowing the Black Act to remain on the Statute Book. Should the British Government have the courage to

announce their adherance to the principles of self-determination with respect to the Moslem States, Bolshevism would be scattered to the winds and the Moslem States would be friendly to the British. [The paper further refers to the difficulties that the Peace Conference has to confront and expresses the hope that Bolshevism will not be allowed an opportunity to infect the allied countries by prolonging the deliberations of the conference and imposing such harsh terms on the enemy countries as would crush out their trade and industries.]

18. "A persistent rumour is reaching us from Delhi that the Government of India have found several emissaries who are bringing to this country the nefarious propaganda of the Russain Bolsheviks and funds for being used towards that object. We are further told that the object of passing the Emergency Powers Act is to cope with these and not to interfere with legitimate political work as is apprehended by the public. We may at the outset dispose of this puerile trick of the bureaucracy. We do not believe for a moment that the Bolsheviks in Russia are giving any thought to this country and can have any interest in propaganda on this side. We are further convinced that should they bring such propaganda to this country, it would prove an egregious failure because temperamentally, nothing is so opposed to the Indian mind as the pulling down of all authority, the destruction of all social and juridical sanction, and in particular, the weakening or the wiping out of the institutions of property and marriage. This is our deliberate view, because if there is Bolshevik propaganda in this country, the hands of the Government could be immediately strengthened very much by their disclosing it to the public leaders. In the absence of such action on the part of the Government, the rumours which are assidiously being circulated could be only regarded as a little-minded trick in order to weaken the popular opposition to the Black Act. It is easy to touch propertied men and men of old age and men who are temperamentally weak with tales of the horrors of the Bolshevik regime, but we are afraid this would not hold water with the general public..... We have indicated by what means Bolshivism in Europe could be met. It could not be met by merely a show of military force but only by the conciliation of the people and by arousing that confidence in the good faith of the Allies which unfortunately the nature of the Peace terms so far as announced hardly does. As for India, the Government are making as many preparations for a large conflagration in this country by their unwise policy in regard to Rowlatt Law as if they were themselves the agents of the Bolshiviks. All that was good in the association of India and England, all that was full of promise is being steadily undermined and while we are uncertain about the future, we entertain the greatest apprehension because statesmanship seems to be at such a discount at Delhi and at Whitehall."

Young India (16), 2nd Apl.

19. "The British Empire has been grandiloquently described as a little league of nations in which justice and liberty reigned supreme and in which without distinction of caste or creed nations as well as individuals were treated with rigid impartiality. But unfortunately the state of things in India, in Ireland and finally Egypt provides an unpleasant commentary on this pretty picture..... Reuter's telegram of 19th reveals a very serious situation in Egypt and reading between the lines one cannot but come to the conclusion that the state of affairs there has a very close resemblance to the conditions here, though it is greatly intensified. At present martial law reigns in Egypt and some of the popular leaders have been deported. This is a strange commentary on the policy of self-determination which Britain is advocating with such fine enthusiasm in the case of neutral and enemy powers..... The fact is that the League of Nations and a respectable standard of international morality is all nonsense so long as the allies persist in applying it only to their enemies while for themselves they cannot brook any interference in what is euphemistically described as domestic affairs. Our best sympathies go out to the Egyptian Nationalists and we are very glad that they have taken up such a firm stand."

Comments on the political situation in Egypt.

Home Ruler (6), 29th Mar.

20. "The Proclamation of Martial Law in Egypt seems to mark the climax of a series of misdoings which do not reflect credit on the statesmanship or good faith of the authorities in Egypt..... The programme of Saad Pasha and Zaglul Pasha was formulated with strict regard to the claims urged by Britain in justification of her control of Egypt. Even the most inveterate Jingo has not gone beyond the double justification that foreign credit in Egypt demands British protection and that the interests of the Suez Canal call for her influence in the country. Subsequent claims have been formulated by way of after-thought, but the refusal of Britain to evacuate Egypt according to her original professions was justified on the two grounds we have indicated above. As if by habit, apologists of occupation have been latterly talking of the functions of Britain as trustee for the people of the country. It is a far-fetched after-thought, but the point to note at present is that the demand of Nationalists was singularly moderate in its scope, reserving as they did supervisory authority for the British Government in her two chief interests. ..... What wrong did the Nationalists commit for the entire country to be visited by the calamity of Martial Law and reckless military violence? They asked for what they conceived to be their right. It was open to His Majesty's Government to dismiss the claim after a hearing. But the very right of appeal—which is indefeasible in civilised countries—was negatived. Possibly they did not dare to oppose the claims with reason and so resorted to violence. The misfortune of this act, however, has fallen on the Egyptians who are paying in blood the atonement of a policy of provocation and injustice for which the responsibility is not theirs. A more pitiable tale of aggressiveness, it is hard to find in British history. If the methods of repression associated with Prussia are actually practised by the British, let us have less of the mockery of the bloodstained hand pointing to the guilt of others. It is a hard accusation, but it seems justified by the palpably wrong and violent attempt to coerce Egypt into quiescence. There is need for reparation and the punishment of the culprits who prosecuted this series of blunders. High office must not be allowed to screen them. The Nationalists, whose unity is sealed by their misfortune, are not likely to bear the sentence of Martial Law without protest. In their unity there is the hope of Egypt, while in the justice of Britain is involved her title to a good name."

Young India (16), 2nd Apl.

21. "The upheaval has now assumed alarming proportions in Egypt, mainly owing, it world appear, to the mishandling of a delicate situation by the authorities. An energetic propaganda was set up by the Nationalists, stirring up the people to demand full autonomy under the British flag, and a movement was set on foot to send a delegation to Europe. The Government, however, disallowed the deputation, saying that 'no useful purpose would be served by Nationalist leaders coming to London and advancing immoderate demands which it was impossible to entertain'. This recalls to the minds of Indians the language employed by Lord Pentland in his famons speech of May 1917,. threatening action against popular leaders. This led, by a sequence of events which is not fully explained, to the deportation of five ministers. Riots ensued, and the country is placed under martial law. The significance of this cannot be overrated, and if the British Government is wise it will derive from these deplorable occurrences a lesson which will stand it in good stead in dealing with other subject nations. It is clear that the policy 'of sympathising with the idea of giving the Egyptians an increasing share in the government of their country' does not satisfy the intelligenzia, and no enduring improvement seems possible without a drastic change in that policy."

Servant of India (10), 3rd Apl.

22. The *Kesari* says that there is a great difference between the *swardjya* asked for by the Egyptian nationalist and that demanded in India, but it holds that it was not statesmanlike to have prohibited the deputation. For, it remarks, President Wilson and his entourage will come to know in one way or other of the demands of the Egyptian nationalists; what harm would it have caused, it asks, if a deputation had laid before him the demands of nationalists?

Kesari (109), 1st Apl.

These things cannot but be discussed after the establishment of the League, it continues, and what statesmanship has been exhibited by the officials by prohibiting the deputation at present and wounding the feelings of all Muhammadans and bringing about a set of circumstances involving the necessity of placing Egypt under martial law?

23. When a lofty principle is once enunciated it is dangerous to discriminate in its application. When discontented people who have beheld the bewitching appearance of the principle of self-determination are forcibly prevented by their rulers from applying it to themseves, trouble is bound to ensue. This has been borne out by the proclamation of martial law in Egypt. The present trouble is clearly due to the idea of the Egyptian authorities that the principle of self-determination is meant only for the European peoples and that it is sinful for the non-European races to claim its application to themselves. The poor Egyptians would have been spared this misery if the authorities had realised that the days of evasive replies are over and that the people are bent upon defending their legitimate rights. We would also ask Government, whenever blood is spilt, not to blame only the people and completely exonerate their own officials. Such an attempt will only cause more discontent. Government may succeed in establishing quiet by firing upon the people but their discontent will only become all the more deep by such a repressive policy.

Sudhákar (124), 30th Mar.

24. The *Kesari* complains that Mr. Tilak lost his suit because Government took up in this private case the side of Sir Valentine Chirol, because Sir Edward Carson terrified the Jury and Mr. Justice Darling laid stress often on the point that Mr. Tilak had been convicted twice of sedition and that he was prohibited from making any speech under the Defence of India Act. The first two, it says, Mr. Tilak could anticipate but the last was quite unexpected. Mr. Justice Darling forgot, it remarks, that section 124 of the Indian Penal Code was very comprehensive and elastic in India. It is a political offence, it argues, and nobody supposes that it involves a moral downfall. It adds:—When Sir Valentine Chirol found that Mr. Tilak could not be connected with the murder of Rand he brought forward the excuse of moral responsibility. It was the second blunder of Mr. Justice Darling that he supported the defendant's view. Mr. Tilak had not started any school for teaching the art of murder and Mr. Tilak had not even the slightest acquaintance with the murderers of Jackson and Rand and it is not possible to establish the relationship of master and disciple between Mr. Tilak and Chaphekar and Kanhere. Mr. Tilak was prohibited from speaking in 1918. How could this support Chirol who published his book in 1910? He forgot that it had no evidentiary value. The greatest defect in Mr. Justice Darling's summing up is that he asked the Jury to pronounce their verdict on all the points at once. The Jury was confused. What wonder is there that Justice Darling's summing up misled the Jury entirely ignorant of the Indian conditions?

Comments on the decision in the Tilak-Chirol case.
Kesari (109), 1st Apr.

25. In his speeches and writings Mr. Tilak always decried Englishmen and, therefore, his weakness in preferring white judges in England to Indians here is really pitiable. He said in reply to Sir Valentine Chirol's counsel that he filed his suit in England because he expected to get justice in an English court of law. His expectations were realised and the court gave him justice, *i.e.*, pronounced him to be guilty.

Din Mitra (102), 26th Mar.

26. "The Director of Civil Supplies has issued a Press Note as regards the control system of the trade in rice. A statement of conclusions reached at the meeting is given. As regards the issue of import licenses for rice, it has been decided to reduce the number of licenses 'owing to the difficulty of controlling the rice in the case of a large number of merchants, some of whom did not carry out the under-

Comments on the Press Note regarding rice control.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Apr.

takings which they had given.' The Director of Civil Supplies owes an explanation to the public as to what undertakings were not carried out by merchants, since the decision to restrict licenses does not seem to be just. It will create great discontent among rice merchants. For, if the licenses are reduced and given only to a chosen few, what becomes of those merchants in rice, who have been dealing in it for years, but who may not get licenses to import rice this year? The decision will lead to a difficult situation. It seems to be unwise and needs reconsideration."

Alleged critical condition of the Ratnágiri District for want of rice.
Kesari (109), 1st Apl.

27. The *Kesari* publishes the following communication from an annonymous Ratnágiri correspondent under the heading "Is Government going to allow the Ratnágiri District to starve?" The existing stock of foodgrains in the Ratnágiri District which was stated by Government in the last session of the Bombay Legislative Council as sufficient to last till September next, is not so, as a matter of fact. The Collector of the district has therefore been ceaselessly pressing the Controller of Prices for supplying rice to the district, but the Controller has not met even one-fifth of the demand. It cannot be argued that the Controller has no rice in sufficient quantities. The greater portion of the Burma rice received by him goes to the Bombay merchants for local consumption and only a small fraction of it is given to the brokers of the Ratnágiri merchants. The brokers, therefore, have to purchase from the Bombay merchants at a higher price than that fixed by the Controller. How is it that these merchants can afford to sell rice to mofussil merchants when it is isued to them only for local consumption? Obviously, rice in excess of the local requirements is issued to them by the Controller. Would somebody ask that officer how it was that the Bombay merchants are given more rice than their requirements when the demands of the mofussil merchants cannot be met? The Controller's rate for rice is Rs. 11-8-0 per bag, but Rs. 13 to 14 has to be paid for it if purchased from these Bombay merchants. This state of things is going on for over a month; but it does not seem to have attracted the notice of the Controller. If the rice is controlled and the rate is fixed at Rs. 11-8, how is it that the Bombay merchants charge Re. 1½ to Rs. 2 more? Has any permission been given to them to do so? Will the Bombay Government inquire into the matter and arrange to meet the urgent demands for rice of the people of this district? [Mr. Pandurang Ramchandra Mahajan of Harnai (Ratnágiri) writes in a similar strain and adds that there is such a shortage of foodgrains there that rice bags are not available even for money and that if this state of things continues till the end of May next people will have to starve during the rains.]

Food-stuffs control should be abolished.
Kesari (109), 1st Apl.

28. The *Kesasi* complains that the man-made calamity of Food Controllers has aggravated the calamities from heaven. The Director of Civil Supplies admits, it says, that the licenses are openly sold near his office. Why should there be this trouble of Food Controllers and priority certificates? If Government allow all merchants to purchase, it adds, and provide them with shipping facilities, prices will of their own accord come down. In no previous famine was there such a scarcily of grain, it says, and why should Government think that merchants cannot manage the business alone? In its opinion, after the bitter experience alike felt by Government and the people, there should be no objection on the part of Government to let the people have a bit of experience of non-control.

Comments on the reply of Government regarding the deficiency of water supply at Uran (Kolába).
Rájakáran (116), 30th Mar.

29. Commenting upon the reply to the interpellation in the Bombay Legislative Council regarding the deficiency of water in the Uran Peta in the Kolába District and the delay in the disposal of money placed at the disposal of Government to meet the deficiency by Khan Bahadur Hormusji and others the *Rájakáran* writes :—The question and answer give much food for thought. Is it not the duty of Government to

remove the hardships of the people caused by an inadequate supply of water? And if they did not move in the matter themselves, was it not their duty to utilize promptly the amount placed at their disposal by philanthropic gentlemen? Who is responsible for keeping this large amount idle? It is much better for the people to undertake such works themselves instead of handing over their donations to indifferent officials.

Alleged espionage in schools and colleges by professors and students.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Apr.

30. "In the letter of Mr. C. F. Andrews which we published last Wednesday, there was a serious warning against the prevalence of Police spying in our schools and colleges. Mr. Andrews speaks with the authority of a good educationalist, on the danger of Government espionage in the student-world. To those associated with the lives of students, the warning against the blighting consequences of the practice will come as a confirmation of their own experience. Apologists of 'law and order,' official and non-official, may seek to call the exposure an exaggeration or dismiss it with their own explanations..... There can be no doubt as to the impetus to spying and blackmail which are believed to exist in schools and colleges, and which the new Rowlatt atmosphere is bound to promote. ..... The evil grows from day to day with the present system of preserving peace, which regards all Indians as incipient seditionists. Time and again, we are treated to pedantic outbursts on the need of keeping students beyond the range of political influences in the country, and giving them the opportunity of working in an atmosphere of pure study. Much of this talk carries with it the mark of its own condemnation. But behind it there is the ironical fact that in colleges and hostels paid espionage is maintained, so that students and professors are compelled to live in an atmosphere which is far from that of pure study. In the bureaucratic interpretation of political phenomena, the teacher is a dangerous character when in his bosom lurks 'discontent,' visible of course, to the lynx-eyed myrmidons of the C. I. D. It is, however, the teacher's misfortune that when he is suspected of liberal sympathies he becomes the victim of secret observation..... We do not know what excuse the Government has for hiring out students for the purpose of spying on some of the best of our educationalists, but, perhaps, an exposure of this kind will be regarded as among the mischances of the trade and not as a matter for censure in itself..... The system of reckless espionage is fouling the springs of academic life and those interested in the character of our young men must deplore the fostering of corruption. Mr. Andrews rightly thinks that the encouragement of espionage, which the Black Bill will automatically introduce, will accentuate the subtle and very deep evil that lies beneath the surface of Indian life, especially in the student world. A spying fellow-student is as much a moral monstrosity as a spying professor, but there is no safety against either of them under present conditions. We know of a principal who is believed by many of his students as an ally, if not an emissary, of the C. I. D. The corruption is deep-seated. This system of breeding informers and black-listing young men is, however, based on that deep and chronic attitude of distrust with which all the phases of enlightenment are viewed in India. It is pity, it is true..... It is the duty of honest lovers of the country to protest against the system of corruption, futile as it may prove to be."

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's speeches at Ahmedabad and Broach.

Bombay Samáchár (62), 31st Mar. and 1st Apl.

31. Commenting on His Excellency the Governor's reply to the address presented to him by the Ahmedabad Mill-owners' Association, the *Bombay Samáchár* draws the attention of the mill-owners to the invaluable suggestion made therein regarding the improvement of the labouring class and exhorts them to make necessary arrangements for providing them with sanitary housing accommodation and for imparting education to their children. In its subsequent issue, while commenting on His Excellency's reply to the Broach Municipality's address, the paper advises the latter to adopt the suggestions of His Excellency as far as possible and urges it to improve its conservancy system without any further delay.

32. "The reply which His Excellency gave to this (Ahmedabad Municipal) address brings in the forefront the chief point of disagreement between the elected councillors and the Government officials who have a right of supervision over the Municipality. His Excellency said, 'I would ask you to remember that no Municipality charged with so important a duty as you can hope to be successful until it learns to decentralise efforts and trust the officers who serve the Municipality to carry out its orders'..... His Excellency's remark refers, we believe, to the constant disagreements which the general body, whose term is expiring to-morrow, had with its Municipal Commissioner. But in this respect we are afraid His Excellency is misinformed as to the real state of affairs. It is one thing to give wider powers to the high officers and quite another that they should be given the direction of the affairs, the general body's duty being confined to giving a formal assent..... One thing of note which His Excellency has lost sight of in this connection is that the Municipality has no effective control on the Municipal Commissioner, nor does his selection lie with it. This is one of the chief causes of the unsatisfactory relations which at one time existed between the general body and its chief executive head."

Gujaráti Punch (22), 30th Mar., Eng. cols.

33. Commenting on His Excellency's tour in the famine area the *Kesari* says:—His personal visit and the careful inquiries made by him show that His Excellency feels a sincere sympthy for the famine-stricken, but he does not seem to have remembered that the officials under him are not so sincere as himself or he would not have promised Dohad people that they would get their water works if they contribute half a lakh out of the total of 1½ lakhs. His Excellency does not seem to know that Uran people have contributed about two lakhs and yet water is not provided. And again he who would ask the rayats why they do not form fodder stores in anticipation does not know that rayats cannot afford them. It is a good sign, however, that His Excellency feels an interest in personally seeing the conditions of the people and improving them.

His Excellency the Governor's tour in the famine area of Gujarát.
Kesari (109), 1st Apl.

34. Commenting on His Excellency the Governor's speech before the Bombay Sanitary Association on Wednesday (2nd April) the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* says it is a very bold and encouraging speech and remarks that if the words now given expression to by His Excellency will be translated into action as early as possible, his régime will certainly deserve unprecedented renown. The paper attributes the present insanitary condition of the City to the City Improvement Trusts' failure to carry out its proper work and regrets that the body has wasted a huge sum of money that has been given to it by the Municipality in the shape of a yearly grant. People and the Press, it continues, have been all along complaining about this unsatisfactory state of its affairs but it is deplorable to note that the Government have paid no heed to their voice and have allowed the executive officers of the Improvement Trust to use their bureaucratic powers in any way they pleased. It assures His Excellency the Governor that the people, the press and the Corporation will be ever ready to co-operate with Government in effecting such urgent reforms as are thought necessary by him.

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's speech on Sanitation in Bombay.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 4th Apl.

35. Commenting upon His Excellency the Viceroy's visit to the Baroda State and the speech made by him on the occasion of a banquet, congratulating His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda on the progress made by his State in several directions, the *Rájakáran* writes:—We welcome His Excellency's utterances and now ask for an assurance from him that he will follow the example of the Baroda Durbar. Our demand is reasonable since His Excellency has himself acknowledged that the British Government has much to learn from such a progressive State as Baroda. We await eagerly the

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at Baroda.
Rájakáran (116), 30th Mar.

steps which His Excellency will take for the spread of education and trust that His Excellency will also imitate the example of the Maharaja of Bhávnagar who is taking steps to prohibit liquor traffic in his State.

Grievances of Indians in British East Africa.
Servant of India (10), 3rd Apl.

36. "While Great Britain and other Great Powers are engaged in taking over *ex*-German colonies, as a trust of civilization, pledging themselves to administer the trust in a just and impartial spirit, with the sole desire of placing them on the road to national advancement, it were to be wished that the Powers had a clean record with regard to their own colonies. The easy assumption is made, while discussing the future of the enemy possessions, that the standard which is now to be applied to those possessions is already in force in the colonies of the Allied countries, and that the mandatory system, far from being a new principle, is only an extension, in form, of a principle which is silently at work in all countries except those which were till recently under the domination of Germany. Indeed, such a claim is being persistently put forward by Allied statesmen, and even Mr. Wilson has lent his support to it. One can imagine how the self-complacency of the Great Powers will be disturbed if the memorial presented last week to His Excellency the Viceroy by a deputation headed by Mr. Jeevanlal (*sic* Jeewanji) on behalf of the British Indian residents of the British East Africa Protectorate is placed before the Peace Conference and the outstanding facts in the history of these residents are made known to all the Powers which are now hammering out the terms of the Peace Treaty..... A mere recital of the many and serious disabilities from which the British Indians are suffering in East Africa will convince every one that there is wide scope here for the 'compulsion of conscience' which Mr. Wilson wishes to see applied to enemy colonies. For the treament meted out to Indian subjects in the Protectorate is truly unconscionable, and if hereafter the interests of the subject peoples are to be looked to primarily by the rulers, then British East Africa affords an excellent field for the practice of that admirable doctrine. If the mandate theory were enforced in this instance and the authorities required to render an annual report of the manner in which they have discharged their trust to a super-national tribunal, is it imaginable that the people who have been the most instrumental in raising the colony to its present condition would be subjected to the severest handicaps and a handful of Europeans allowed to be in enjoyment of all that is valuable? If a small minority continued to be in the present favoured position and Indians so cruelly ill-treated, the mandate would certainly be revoked, unless the League of Nations discharged its funcitons with a gross partiality. If the well-being and development of subject peoples are to be a trust of civilization, the Indians who form a large majority of civilised people in British East Africa will certainly not be selected for the worst treatment. If the professions of imperial statesment are not a hollow pretence but indicate an honest attempt at international justice, not only this but similiar cruelties practised in other colonies must be put a stop to at once, and then only will the Allied countries have a moral right to discuss plans of taking over the enemy possessions under their care."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd Apl.

37. "The history of British control in East Africa begins with the grant of a Royal Charter to the Imperial British East Africa Company in 1888..... There is no doubt that the Charter of Queen Victoria seriously maintained the principle of equal treatment, as one of the main grounds on which the policy of acquisition was based, said that it was calculated to be advantageous to 'the commercial and other interests of British Indians', and that the possession by a British Company of the Coast line would protect British Indian subjects 'from being compelled to reside and trade under the Government and protection of alien Powers'. What, however, has been the treatment accorded to Indians after this touching manifestation of solicitude for their welfare? The guarantee in the charter has been so violated in practice that it has to be classed under the melancholy category of 'scraps of paper'. The maltreatment of British Indian residents has grown so acute that there should be a final decision concerning their future. If they

are, in the interests of the more recent white settlers, crushed into serfdom, let there be an open declaration, and a candid eschewal of high professions about the liberties of British subjects..... A lot has been said about the business of granting lands for settlement to soldiers. In East Africa, it is being prosecuted on a principle which, if unchecked, will mean the complete ruin of Indians. To British ex-soldiers, land is being farmed out, while for Indian *ex*-soldiers (who are of course entitled under law only to rejected areas), no lands have been so far surveyed for occupation. Indians have fought beside Europeans and shed their blood in mingling streams over many lands, but they are not fit to exist beside their brothers-in-arms after the ordeal. Indians in East Africa are being crushed out of all chances of a free and equal career. Better treatment is available in Portuguese territory. We know that the indigenous races of French colonies glory in the equality of treatment they enjoy, and reverence the flag of the Republic. Is it in British possessions alone that the scandal of persecuting Indians to continue? Are we to infer that in Portuguese territory, and in French territory, Indians have a career greater than what is sanctioned under the Union Jack? Let the British people see to it that it remains an accusation against Germans and not an indictment against themselves, that they proposed the destruction of indigenous peoples. Instead of shedding tears over the fate on the Herreros, it is their duty to see that their fellow-subjects are not maltreated within thier own territory. The memorial to the Viceroy says that the complaints of Indians to the local authorities and the Colonial Office have been so far ignored. For those who consider the iniquity of it, it is a terrible accusation. We cannot bear to think of another South Africa for the Indian subjects of His Majesty; for there, the cup is full to the brim and cannot hold another drop. The cry from East Africa is not a claim for privilege, but for bare justice. Will the Government of Lord Chelmsford realise the seriousness of the situation and stake their credit for the righting of this wrong?"

*38. "The most atrocious and exceedingly provoking treatment given by the British Government and the non-official whites in East Africa to the British Indian residents there, as has been evidenced in the representation of the Indian deputation which waited upon Sir Thomas Holland on the 22nd ultimo, will certainly shock the minds of Indians and make their blood boil within their veins with intense indignation. Words certainly fail us to describe our feelings when we read their pitiful wails in their representation; and the utter helplessness to which they were reduced by the self-imposed impotence of the local authorities and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, brought about by the opposition of white settlers, raises the indignation to almost white heat. There is not a single palliating feature, not a single excuse for the blood-curdling racial discrimination brazen-facedly, consistently and regularly observed by that Government to the detriment of the Indian settlers; and one is really struck aghast to see how a British Government and a white community could so wipe out all feelings of gratitude as to impose all possible wrongs and humiliations on their own benefactors and brothers. Treating the Proclamations as 'scraps of paper', and the tardy fulfilment or non-fulfilment of promises, we have seen; but the white men's sheer ingratitude, and open, brazen hostility towords their own helpers, when the need for their help ceased, has certainly staggered us! [Here the paper recounts some of the grievances, and adds:—] What a reward is this for the gallant Indians' services to defend the colony from the German occupation! What a noble tribute to the dead Indian heroes who fell to preserve the colony! What a fine specimen of charity and benevolence towards the descendants of those who gave their lives for the cause of His Majesty! A petition to Government. And for what? For *not* granting any form of Franchise to Indians! But is that all? No. Their charity does not end there! They further ask the Government to adopt measures for the 'ultimate exclusion of all Asiatics from the colony!' And the representation says 'various European Associations have passed resolutions to support' this reward for Indians! And since when this charity began to flow? Why, just after the termination of the war in which these very Indians shed their blood? That is to say Indians are to be kicked away just after their help is not needed! More we may not say about this horrible,

Mahrátta (8), 6th Apl.

naked, brutal 'Prussianism'. If the things are true, and we believe they are true, then the sooner this administration in East Africa is overhauled by the Supreme British Government the better. By stamping every deed of the white settlers in that colony, disgrace has almost exhausted itself, and the sooner this disgraceful thing goes to oblivion the better. But if the administration is to remain as it is, then let the British Government stop boasting of civilization, liberty, equality and justice. We can frankly say that such a system of Government is brazen Prussian tyranny and nothing else."

The position of Indians in the Dominions.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd Apr.

39. "A Canadian Order-in-Council permits the admission to the Dominion of the wives and children, who are still minors, of Indians already domiciled there as permnent residents. This is not a great concession to Indians as it means only the bare redressal of a piece of cruel injustice on the part of the Canadian Government. Hitherto the wives and children of Indians, resident in Canada, were kept in compulsory separation out in India. The Government has now become enlightened enough to think that this kind of banishment by anticipation is not justifiable. The entry of adult members of a family is, however, by implication, forbidden, so that the main problem of the admission of Indians into the Dominion remains unsolved. We can imagine the anxiety of Governments to impose a certain qualification for foreign immigrants, but so far as Indians are concerned, their disability consists of the crime of having been born in India. The position, then, is that Canadians are free to enter India and do what they like, while Indians are banned out from Canada because they are Indians!"

Indian Muslims and the Peace Conference.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Apr.

40. "Replying to Colonel Wedgwood who is now *par excellence* member for India, Mr. Fisher said that Mr. Montagu and his colleagues were cognisant of the special interests of Indian Moslems and that they charged themselves with the advocacy of the interests in question. But it remains a question why a representative Indian Muhammadan was not given the opportunity to state the Muhammadan case. As the panel system is being followed, he could have been put in only when Muhammadan questions were raised. With all the best wishes in the world, Mr. Montagu may not know the Muhammadan point of view thoroughly or, may not be able to put it before the Peace Conference as an Indian Muhammadan would. If it is not too late in the day, the experiment may still be tried."

The Indian Muhammadans and the question of the future of Turkey and the Khaliphate.
Sind Moslem (12), 29th Mar.

41. "The unanimous *fatwa* of the Indian Ulemas and the numerous meetings held all over the country must have impressed the Government of India with the intensity of convictions held by Mussulmans on the question of the Khilafat, the future of Jazeerat-ul-Arab and Constantinople, and as a result of that it can now safely be said that the Government and the Mussulmans understand each other better than they did even a couple of months ago..... We, in India, have made it abundantly clear that Sheriff Hussain is the last person in the world we would take for our Khalifa and that our *Shara* does not in any way permit us to consent to the occupation of an inch of the sacred Arab land by any non-Muslim power in any shape or form..... Hitherto England has received nothing but the greatest assistance from Mussalmans, for which her spokesmen, during the course of the War, have repeatedly expressed their gratitude. Does M. Venizelos desire England to throw them now overboard? Is the Sultan to suffer for imaginary dangers to England and France from their Muslim subjects? And will it be a just and equitable peace, if M. Venizelos' advice comes to be acted upon? It will, to say the least, be a very poor reward for our sacrifices rendered in very trying times in the cause of England, France and their Allies..... We ask England, therefore, to stand by us as we have stood by her, to listen to our advice as we have listened to hers, to think of her own and our interests first; and of France, Italy and Greece afterwards."

42. The *Political Bhomiyo* asks the Allies to make the peace terms still more liberal so as to allow all the enemy countries to retain their own independence and maintains that the poor subjects should not be made to suffer for the faults of their Kings and Governments. It does not approve of the step taken by the British in Egypt and requests them to apply the principle of self-determnation to the countries under their control as they have done in the case of enemy-countries. Referring to Turkey's position in Europe, it writes:—The Christian States allowed Turkey to be crushed at the hands of the Balkan States in contravention of the terms of the Hague Treaty and so the public have no faith in the treaties of the European States. Some people doubt whether the League of Nations will redeem its own covenants. On a careful consideration this League of Nations seems to be a means of estranging the influential and powerful subjects of the enemy countries from their rulers and governments by enticing them to the principle of self-determination. But in all this, Turkey has been given an altogether different treatment. The Musalmans over the whole world have been much displeased with what has been proposed in the Peace Conference with respect to Turkey's dismemberment. When the integrity of all the Christian enemy-states will be preserved, why should the Turkish Empire be dismembered? Do the Allies consider Turkey to be a deadlier enemy than their Christian enemies? Austria and Germany are the principal enemies and so the punishment for them ought to have been greater than that for Turkey. But the contrary has happened. Some people attribute this difference in punishment to the difference of religion between Turkey and the Allies and declare that the European States have been successful in annihilating the Turkish Empire from Europe, which they had been long trying to do. If this is a fact Turkey may be considered to have been unjustly treated. Other Christian States had also joined the enemy; why are they not punished similarly? Can this be called justice? The integrity of Turkey is in many ways beneficial to the interests of England and France. The loyalty of Indian Musalmans has been extolled by Government from time to time, but what will the praises avail to Musalmans if their wishes and feelings are not respected in this matter by the British?

Political Bhomiyo (74), 4th Apl.

43. "As it is, the conquered territories are to be assigned to member-States of the League as trustees, their ultimate right to self-government being assured to them and lines of development being laid down. The nature of the mandate is to vary in each case according as the area to be transferred is more or less able to stand by itself. This is no doubt a great advance on anything that has gone before in the administration of one country by another, if the scheme is worked out in the right spirit. Lord Curzon claimed that the mandatory system would raise the standard of colonial administration through the world, and Mr. Wilson said that under it the helpless people of the world would come into a new light and a new hope. It is to be seen how far these anticipations come true, but it is very disconcerting to find that even Mr. Wilson does not insist that the interests of the backward peoples, who are to be under the tutelage of more advanced countries, shall be the sole motive with the mandatory Powers; he only hopes that the League will make it its duty to see that 'the nations who are assigned as the tutors and advisers and directors of those people shall look to their interests and development before looking to the interests and material desires of the mandatory nation itself.' It may be that 'there has been no greater advance than this,' but how much opening does it not give to the trustee nation to exploit a country allotted to it for development! Dependent countries like India will, therefore, be excused if they are somewhat sceptical of the practical beneficence of such plans, admirable though they appear on paper. What, however, is utterly indefensible is the plea put forward by the sponsors of the League, including Mr. Wilson, for the exclusion of the colonies of the Allied countries from the operation of the beneficent principles which they have evolved for ex-German colonies. The plea is that the former are already governed on those principles. General Smuts in his pamphlet on the League of Nations and Lord Curzon in his reply to the address on the King's speech have claimed that the mandatory system only means virtually the application to the countries conquered from the enemy the principles on which the British Empire is being

The League of Nations and subject races.
Servant of India (10), 3rd Apr.

governed. The *Times* also says the same thing: 'The principle which it (the mandatory system) embodies, after all, is nothing more than the principle on which our imperial system is based, and the wide acceptance with which that principle meets is really the highest possible tribute to a fundamental doctrine of the British Empire.' That Mr. Wilson should have given expression to a similar sentiment and should have sought to justify a one-sided application of the principle expounded by him is deplorable. 'In the administration of the affairs of more than one of the Great States that are represented here—so far as I know of all the Great States represented here—that humane impluse has already expressed itself in their dealings with their colonies whose peoples were yet at a low stage of civilization..... It is the agreement of the great nations which have tried to live by these standards in their separate administrations to unite in seeing that their common force and their common thought and intelligence are lent to this great and humane enterprise.' This claim cannot be made good, and the exclusion of the colonies of the Associated Powers stands condemned. An article from the *New Statesman* quoted in another column proves the invalidity of the claim with regard to certain colonies; the same can easily be done with regard to others. Instances upon instances can be quoted where the interests of the subject peoples have been subordinated to those of the rulers and gross injustice done. An obligation therefore may well be laid upon the Allied countries to perform their trust towards their colonies in the same manner in which they are charged to perform it towards the areas which they will hereafter attach to themselves."

44. The League of Nations is like a ripe fruit, dangling before India, Ireland and Egypt at a long distance, which will not be able to give them any satisfaction. It is also futile to expect that the League will have the power of enabling Indians to enjoy their birthrights in South Africa or Australia. We do not think the formation of the League will conduce to the peace of the world unless it succeeds in removing all causes of international jealousy.

Sudhákar (124), 30th Mar.

45. The principles of freedom of the seas and of self-determination have burst like bubbles in the Peace Conference. The scheme of the League of Nations reads well on paper but we do not think it will last long when put into practice. A scheme that cannot maintain the equilibrium of all ideals cannot but be defective. We are inclined to think that the European nations will continue to quarrel about their boundaries and that wars will break out. Bolshevism, which has originated in Russia, is gaining force. It is, at any rate, an infection. Mr. Bonar Law made an announcement in the House of Commons that a need had arisen for concluding a speedy peace with Germany owing to the rapid spread of Bolshevism in that country! The Allies are thus confronted with a new enemy. [The paper then proceeds to narrate the differences that have arisen in the Peace Conference and adds:—] Moreover France does not like the scheme of the League of Nations and has shown its preference for the old Balance of Power! What about England? England is anxious about the means of communication with India and has gradually extended its boundaries as far as Mesopotamia, Palestine and Caucasia! For the present the future of Europe looks ominous. There is disturbance in Europe and the Labourites in England are in a state of frenzy. Let us see what happens.

The political situation in Europe.

Gujaráti (20), 30th Mar.

46. "All arms other than fire-arms and fire-arms of an obsolete character 'possessing a purely antiquarian value' will be exempted from all the prohibitions and directions contained in the Arms Act. Is it a great concession? The imperious demands of maintaining 'law and order', we are told, dictate that fire-arms should be placed beyond the reach of lawless characters and even unruly civilians. But in England and elsewhere, where there are similar circumstances and where a free use of arms is allowed, do the streets stream daily with human blood? Have order and law been subverted?..... The police, we are told, will not be consulted in the granting of licenses, yet, the Act provides that where

Comments on the resolution of the Government of India regarding modifications in the Arms Act Regulations.

New Times (9), 30th Mar.; *Home Ruler* (6), 29th Mar.

local administrations consider it necessary, they can require the registration of rifles. Again is it true that racial distinctions are finally obliterated? Clause 6 of the Act entitles Enropeans, under another device, to enjoy the privilege of free use of fire-arms even in the future undiminished, while to Indians it is restricted. Sometime ago the Government gave an assurance that there would be a great change in their Arms Act policy; no honest man can think to-day that the Government have vindicated their promise. [The *Home Ruler* remarks:—Considering the resolution itself on its merits it cannot be denied that it will cause deep disappointment all over the country. Even the most sanguine cannot ignore the restrictive features of this resolution which hedge in every little advancement.....We would suggest a number of modifications. As the minimum for the income-tax is Rs. 2,000 now we would suggest that all persons paying income-tax should be exempted. And we would also suggest that they should be considered eligible for owning pistols and revolvers. Surely a rifle is too cumbrous for purposes of self-defence.....We should also think that every man who has taken a degree from a recognized University is fit to possess arms. The Government must not any longer play with the nation. They want to move forward and they also want hedging the forward movement with a number of vexatious restrictions. This will never do and will inevitably land Government into difficulties."]

47. The new rules under the Arms Act cannot be said to do full justice to the demands of the Indian people. The redeeming feature of these rules is that they eliminate the racial discrimination that was observed between Blacks and Whites in the administration of the Act. The people of India are thankful to His Excellency Lord Chelmsford for what he has done. The new rules now issued have not, however, taken into consideration the recommendation made by the Indian National Congress in the matter of the Arms Act. The rules are defective on the whole and will continue to foster discontent against the Arms Act. Europeans and Anglo-Indians will continue to enjoy their old privileges with this proviso that they will have to get a license issued like all others. Even Indian members of the Indian Defence Force have not been given the concession of keeping arms. [The *Kesari* says that Government have outwardly shown a very generous spirit in announcing changes in the Arms Act but they have played a clever dodge of maintaining almost the same old restrictions. But it would be better, it adds, to write about the changes when the Bill of amendments is moved or when some experience is gained of the new regulations that can be enforced without the Legislative Council's sanction.]

Gujarátí (20), 30th Mar.; *Kesari* (109), 1st Apl.

48. The *Chandrodraya* objects to restrictions being maintained in Burma, the Punjáb and the North-Western Frontier provinces and says that they are insulting to Indians. The meaning of Indians' agitation for the abolition of racial distinctions, it points out, was that they should have the right like the Europeans to bear arms without license not that they should be required to issue licences like us. We are not satisfied with the formal concessions. We cannot say that Lord Chelmsford has done a great favour to India by restricting the freedom of Europeans instead of granting the freedom enjoyed by Europeans to Indians. Moreover though for formality's sake racial distinctions have been abolished, it is natural that the applications of Europeans would meet with more consideration. We think that though the Government of India have announced that changes would be made in the enforcement of the regulations the state of affairs would remain just as it was before.

Chandrodaya (37), 31st Mar.

***49.** " We all were hearing till now about the application of the Press Act to matters which scented of sedition or something of that sort. We never heard, and, we believe, even the framers of the Law must not have dreamt, that the Act would be applied to any press because its *volume* of work has been increased. But the Punjab authorities, who have, it seems, made up their minds

Alleged abuse of the Press Act in dealing with the *New Herald* Press (Punjáb).

Mahrátta (8), 6th Apl.

to startle the whole world by every now and then showing how an Act can be misapplied and abused, have staggered our imagination by applying the Press Act to the *New Herald* Press on account of 'the *volume* of the work now being done by the Press'! The 'quality' of the work was the other reason adduced by the Punjab bureaucrats, and for both these the keeper of the Press was, all of a sudden on the 14th of February, informed that the original security of Rs. 500 was insufficient, and he should deposit Rs. 500 more as a further security. The keeper of the *New Herald* rightly protested against this order. The facts given out by the paper are as startling as the action of the authorities is unjustifiable, arbitrary, mischievous, and horrible.. ..... We do not know how the abuse of the Press Act under such circumstances is tolerated by the superior authorities. Or have the superior authorities themselves sanctioned this abuse? And if it be so, will the Viceroy tolerate it? We have not recently heard of any such example of pure and gross injustice done in broad daylight under the eyes of the liberty-loving English Government. And if this grievance is not redressed, if the prosperity of the Press is to be considered as a crime, then let the British Government bid adieu to all principles of liberty and disown their Miltons and Hampdens and say plainly 'we will rule India by Prussian methods, pure and simple'."

Need of agricultural and commercial colleges in Sind.
Home Ruler (6), 29th Mar.

50. "Sind is a predominantly agricultural province; an agricultural college is an absolute necessity; and equally necessary is a commercial college as owing to the advantageous position of Karáchi which is the base for the importation of a large and increasing supply of goods from abroad and the exportation of wheat and other raw products from the country. We believe that public opinion in the province, whether it is Indian or Anglo-Indian, moderate or extremist, is thoroughly agreed about the urgent necessity of this elementary need in our educational equipment..... Sind cannot afford to be eternally treated as a step-child and we earnestly hope that public opinion will concentrate itself on this object and get it done. A commercial college comes next only in importance to an agricultural college, and the necessity is so patent that there is no need to labour the point..... If Sind were treated fairly we should get facilities for all these studies in our own province and should not be required to travel all the way to Bombay and Poona for it."

Grievances of vaccinators in Sind.
New Times (9), 29th Mar.

51. "The scale of pay of vaccinators of whom there are 80 in Sind with 6 Inspectors above them was fixed 45 years ago when all things were selling at less than a third of the present prices of foodstuffs. Government was pleased to revise the scale of pay sometime back from Rs. 14, 18 and 24 to Rs. 18, 24 and 32. Everybody could see that that too was a very insufficient wage. The vaccinators now pray for better pays and grades; a peon, they urge, should be started with Rs. 12 rising to Rs. 20 with a triennial increment of rupee one; the candidate vaccinator should start with Rs. 25 *plus* 5 rupees for horse allowance and an additional Rs. 5 for house rent in a small place and Rs. 10 in a district town; and a vaccinator should start with Rs. 30 and rise up to Rs. 60 or 80 the horse allowance and house rent to be the same as in the case of candidate vaccinators. The request of the vaccinators is very reasonable. Here is not a question of saving anything for old age but simply to keep body and soul together. Will the Government reconsider their decision?"

LEGISLATION.

Comments on the passing of Rowlatt Bill No. 2.
Sind Vasi (55), 21st Mar.

52. It is a pity, a thousand pities, that the members of the Government of India did not after all relent, and swayed by passion and the intoxication of power and taking undue advantage of the Indians being in a minority passed this fatal Bill on the 18th instant at 6 P.M. thus blotting their administration. [The paper then refers to the resignation of the Honourable Mr. Sarma, and the intention of the Honourable Mr. Jinnah to resign and continues:—] We think that no one

can quarrel with these resignations remembering how the Viceroy and his official colleagues slighted the Indian members by passing this offensive Bill in utter disregard of their remonstrations and entreaties and thus brought a blot on the whole country. We think that all non-official members should have tendered their resignations then and there to enable Lord Chelmsford and his advisers to realize what they had done. Even now it would be well if all Indian members tendered their resignations and thus gave the Government a taste of their unity. This is not the time for mincing matters, nor have we to think of the possible enbarrasment of Government. When Government has not hesitated to make our lives miserable by taking advantage of our helpless condition how can we think of its embarrassments?

Comments on the prevention of Juvenile Smoking Bill.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 6th Apl.

***53.** "The sale of cigarettes to persons under 18 is made an offence; but what about a gift of it?..... How is the shopman or the Head Constable, to know whether a person who asks for, or who is found in the public street smoking or chewing tocacco, is under or over eighteen years of age? Would an action lie against the police officer for highway robbery if the person deprived of his cigarette proves to the satisfaction of a Court of Law that he is over 18 years of age? Major Fernandes knows that the women of our working classes, like the smart society women of the West, are habitual smokers. Would he empower a Head Constable to take forcible possession of her *bidi* from a young woman of under eighteen? What may happen if the Bill becomes law is this: the Head Constable, whenever he is 'dying for a smoke' and has not got a cigar in his pocket, may look around him for a youngish person who happens to be smoking, and lay violent hands on him or her on the chance of being able to show that he or she was a juvenile under 18 years of age. Unless Major Fernandes is willing to add several more clauses to his Bill to safeguard the juvenile-seeming public from the vagaries of Head Constables, the Bill is likely to operate as a law for providing the latter with free 'smokes'. If the Bill is made applicable to all persons and not only to juveniles, it will not be open to any of these objections. After all, smoking is quite as harmful to adults as to juveniles. We do not like attempts to pass on the duties of parents to school masters much less to policemen. Moreover, a law which can be evaded as easily as this, is a greater social evil than smoking by persons under or over eighteen years of age. The latter affects only the individuals concerned; the former affects the smoker, the seller and the police officer."

EDUCATION.

Education in arts and craft and the Bombay Government.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 31st Mar.

54. "The attitude of superficial interest, if not of distinct apathy, and of lukewarm belief in the potentialities of education, has rendered our administrators irresponsible and free almost to perpetuate the worst defects of the English and German methods of education..... In no other civilised country, which devotes some attention to the future of its arts and industries, would such educational institutions of vital importance, as, for instance, the technical and industrial schools, museums, and libraries, be found in such chaotic condition as in this country. Take, for instance, the latest report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency. It shows that there was 'very little progress made during the year in the sphere of technical and industrial education.'..... Almost all the technical and industrial schools are, it may be mentioned, controlled by what is called the 'Committee of Direction for Technical Education,' but the work of the Committee, as evidenced by the statement in the Government Resolution on the report quoted above, is obviously not half as imposing as its name. The statement is, of course, followed by the usual apology. What is needed is, above all, a competent committee which would make itself responsible not only for overhauling the existing institutions but for organising, without unnecessary delay, new and efficient technical and industrial schools in every suitable locality. Public libraries and museums are, no doubt, managed and controlled in a similarly irresponsible fashion. There are,

of course, elaborate rules for controlling registered libraries. But we have yet to hear of a comprehensive scheme of public libraries formulated by the Department of Education which would meet the growing demands of the public. The existence on sufferance of the few museums in the Presidency is well known. The manner in which, for instance, the Victoria and Albert Museum is managed is scandalous. It would appear that the institution is meant not for the education of the citizens of Bombay but for the delectation of stray tourists.... ..... It is only fair that the Bombay Municipality should share the blame for the pitiable condition of the Museum. We hope, however, that some of the new Corporators will try to improve the condition and, at any rate, investigate the process by which the Superintendent of the Pottery Department or, whatever he is called, of the Bombay School of Art found himself translated as a Curator of the Museum. The conduct of the Bombay School of Art is, however, the last word in mismanagement and waste. It will be remembered that we referred some time back to the doubtful qualifications of Messrs. John Wallace and H. F. King who are now appointed to direct the school. The methods which the school employs for developing arts and crafts guarantee the extinction of the priceless indigenous arts and crafts..... As regards the obvious failure of the Normal Class for Drawing Teachers the Acting Principal has happily discovered a plausible explanation. He reports that 'an effort has been made to eradicate some of the defects', but, he adds, that, until the existing staff provided for the Normal Class can be replaced by men who have 'better and more up-to-date qualifications,' mere material can effect but little. We do not doubt the truth implied by the generalisation. But we are not sure that Mr. Hoggarth understands the implications which his vague phraseology conveys. If those responsible for his appointment were to insist, as they ought to, on better and more up- to-date qualifications, we believe that he, himself, along with Messrs. Wallace and King and a host of others, would find their occupation gone. And until that happens, until such estimable persons are effectually prevented from doing, by virtue of their position and power, incalculable harm to the industrial arts and handicrafts of the country, we shall have to wait long before we secure the services of men with better and more up-to-date *Indian* qualifications .....The only policy which has been consistently adopted in regard to the education of Indian craftsmen is the official suppression of Indian craftsmanship..... We thus see that the number of students in practically all the technical and industrial institution noticed in the report has declined and that there are only plausible explanations or no explanations at all for this deplorable state of affairs from those directing their management. We are told that there is a kind of committee of direction for technical education, but its work is 'still hampered by the lack of a permanent inspection staff.' Although we were led to expect marvellous changes at the time the post of Inspector of Drawing was newly created, we now find the Inspector is also strangely reticent about his achievements. The official explanation and apologies have long since been stereotyped. The appointment of committees of direction, the creation of any number of new inspectors and the suggestions for the extensions *ad infinitum* of the inspection staff are, besides being interesting functions, the best remedies for evading difficulties. The Administrators will, we may rest assured, go on applying them invariably. But the exaltation of administrative machinery is, under any condition, a sure sign of decadence in the system of imparting instruction and nowhere is the symptom so dangerous as when it is found in institutions which aim at the development of the arts and crafts of a country which can still boast of a living and distinct artistic tradition."

MUNICIPALITIES.

55. "Sir George Lloyd has now returned from his tour in Gujarát and we are happy to note the business-like nature of the replies he gave to the addresses of the various local bodies in the districts, which approached him with the hope that his Government would give earnest consideration to their manifold needs. It is

Finances of Local Bodies.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd Apl.

noticeable that there is one general grievance running through all these addresses. They point out their unhappy financial position in the face of the many burdens they are asked to, and wish to, bear..... We are glad to learn from the replies given by the Governor that we can expect early legislation to better the condition of local bodies. It is needless to emphasise the point that in all such legislation the provision of adequate taxing powers for local bodies must obtain an important place..... We do not know how many of these proposals will be embodied in any future bill, but we hope the official framers of the bill will not overlook the fact that the taxing resources of local bodies when once the land cess has been exacted, are very limited indeed. The proposal of the Lawrence Committee that the district boards should be authorised to raise the local fund cess to the maximum of two annas in the rupee would prove extremely inequitable, as it would mean a further charge upon the only people taxed for local board purposes. Official homilies on the incompetency of management on the part of local bodies often contain the remark that if local bodies are in need of greater revenue, they should tax themselves more to obtain it. This brings us to the question of the total incidence of Imperial and local taxation, and we are further obliged to examine whether there is an equitable distribution of such taxation between the Central Government and the local bodies. It must not be forgotten that the burden of any taxation, whether local or central, is ultimately borne by the people, and in this country the Central Government retains in its hands a greater proportion of total taxation than in European countries. It is also a fallacy to suppose that the incidence of local taxation in this country is, in any manner, less than in European countries. It is reasonable, therefore, to demand in this country that, before asking local bodies to find more money for themselves, Government should revise its own grant-in-aid system to local bodies, should recognise that these grants-in-aid have not kept pace with the increase in the provincial revenues, and should come to a final decision in what exact proportion they are willing to share in the expenditure of local bodies. We suggest that even if the Government were to look upon the proposed excise cess and the forest cess as permissible sources for the augmentation of the revenues of the local bodies, the financial condition of the latter will still remain uncertain so long as Government do not define the nature of their financial help. Let it be clearly enumerated in any future legislation the Government of this Presidency promise, what the provincial, as distinguished from the local services are, and let the Government lay down precisely what direct and definite share of the expenditure on the local services they are willing to bear. If this can be done, local bodies in this Presidency will cease to suffer from their chronic financial incompetency."

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 11th April 1919.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 12th April 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the *Satyagraha* affrays at various places in India.

Gujarâti (20), 13th Apl., Eng. cols.

***1.** Commenting on the prohibition of Mr. Gandhi from entering the Punjab, *Gujarâti* writes:—"We have reproduced elsewhere his stirring and eloquent Message to his countrymen. It was evidently delivered in the belief that he was going to be interned, deported or or sent to jail after the institution of the usual criminal proceedings. It requires to be read and digested over and over again a hundred times..... We earnestly invite the special attention of our readers to his emphatic warning that 'a departure from the Truth by a hair's-breadth or violence committed against anybody whether Englishman or Indian, will surely damn the great cause'. We are profundly grieved to see that this peremptory injunction has been ignored in certain places and that the whole movement stands in imminent danger of being discredited..... Though he has over and over again warned his countrymen against the exhibition of any ill-feeling or force, when huge crowds gather, it is impossible to guide or restrain them and the authorities never find it difficult to discover reasons for resorting to drastic measures..... The news of Mr. Gandhi's arrest produced a good deal of excitement at Láhore and Amritsar and the crowds that were marching in procession to express their grief and sorrow were fired upon with the result that some people were wounded. If the assembly, which is said to have consisted largely of young men and boys, had been allowed to go on, no such mishap would have happened. But it is so easy in India to issue any arbitrary orders and so far as we can see, the police seem to have acted in a somewhat arbitrary fashion in preventing the crowds from going beyond the O'Dwyer Soldiers' Club and the English Warehouse. These are very unpleasant developments, and though the Delhi Tragedy has caused so much feeling throughout the country, the authorities in the Punjáb have not at all hesitated to fire upon an unarmed mob in mourning. The Delhi authorities throw the whole blame upon the people in their authoritative version and there will be a repetition of the same tale in the Punjáb. The times are full of the gravest anxiety, and self-restraint and wisdom are as much needed on the side of Government as on that of the people at large..... The disturbances that took place in this city on Friday last were not at all conducive to the cause of the *Satyagraha* movement and deserve the condemnation that Mr. Gandhi has pronounced upon their authors in his message delivered at the Chowpatty meeting on Friday last. The authorities deserve great credit for not having resorted to firing when the situation became critical on two or three occasions."

Mufid-e-Rozgár (140), 13th Apl.; *Muslim Herald* (141), 11th Apl.

2. Commenting on the *Satyagraha* Day (6th April) the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* remarks:—The Rowlatt Bills have created consternation throughout the length and breadth of India. His Excellency the Viceroy has failed to gauge correctly the feelings of the Indian subjects about this matter, and has passed such a strong measure as has thrown the country into the throes of agitation. The meeting held in Bombay for the purpose of protesting against the said measure was a splendid success. The passing of these Bills has united the Hindus and the Musalmans like sugar and water, although these two communities once stood apart from each other owing to the long-standing differences between them. The procession was very orderly and no disturbance took place. The whole thing was a great spectacle never witnessed in Bombay before. All the people were unanimous in saying: 'Down with the measure which is about to dispoil us of our peace in life, and make us slaves, and which has already thrown us into a state of mental agony.' The protest meetings held in various places clearly prove that the people are tired of the measure and therefore it is high time that the authorities should repeal it. It is wrong to suppose that Mahatma Gandhi or any other person is the originator of the movement. Hundreds of Gandhis will be produced from the soil of India. The introduction

of this measure denotes lack of judgment on the part of the authorities. [In conclusion the paper exhorts the Musalmans to act on the Quranic injunction 'Do not set up a strife on the earth' and says that they are face to face with great dangers which can be overcome by reliance in God. Elsewhere the paper condemns the scuffle which took place between the police and the people near the Crawfard Market and in which many men sustained injuries by the batons of the policemen, and says that the police constables ought to have acted with self-restraint. At the same time the paper praises the police-arrangements and condemns the Delhi police whose lack of experience was responsible for bloodshed there. The *Muslim Herald* has a word of praise for the police and the organisers of the meetings, and remarks that although Muslim Home Rulers had never fasted before even in the month of *Ramazan*, about which there is a clear injunction of God, yet they did so in due compliance with Mahatma Gandhi's orders. It states that all persons, young and old, said that Government were determined to tyrannise (over the public), and desire to pass a law which will imperil the safety of the subjects' life and property. It confesses its ignorance about Government's intention in this matter, and asks why Government permits such demonstrations and does not quickly remove pernicious feelings from the subjects. It concludes by warning Government that the situation is growing more acute every day, and expresses fear lest the smouldering fire should burst into a conflagration.]

3. The *Indu Prakásh* praises the Bombay Police for behaving well with the people in accordance with their traditions. It also commends the other local authorities and gives them also due credit. The day of *Satyagraha*, continues the paper, was observed according to the orders of Mahatma Gandhi. It is really regrettable in its eyes that Government should not be ready to give up their obstinacy regarding the Rowlatt Act though people have shown their disapproval of the measure in various ways. It would be good, says the journal, if Government respond to public opinion. In its issue of the 11th instant, the paper writes:—The *Satyagraha* movement has succeeded beyond the expectations of the people. [In the next issue the paper writes:—Considerable time will elapse before the Rowlatt Act is actually put into operation, but most deplorable results have followed immediately the enactment came into being. Mahatma Gandhi is peace incarnate and his presence at Delhi would have soothed the agonised hearts of the people there. But Government thought otherwise and Gandhi was deprived of his liberty. It is futile to expect that the movement inaugurated by Gandhi will die out if he and his followers are imprisoned. While Government can command the use of the army, etc., the moral and spiritual forces are ranged on the side of the people. The awe of Government may succeed in producing outward calm, but discontent will continue to burn in the hearts of the people. The Rowlatt legislation is the root-cause of this discontent and its abandonment will at once ease the situation. Government also are in an awkward position. But the difficulty is not without a remedy. Government will earn the gratitude of the people it they will remove the cause of their discontent. It is satisfactory to note that the police maintained order in Bombay without causing injury to anyone. We are fortunate in having a liberal-minded Governor like His Excellency Sir George Lloyd and a sympathetic Commissioner of Police like Mr. Griffith. They take great pains to see that the liberties of the people are not needlessly circumscribed. It is, therefore, to the interests of the people to scrupulously follow the advice of Mahatma Gandhi and regulate their conduct accordingly.]

Indu Prakásh (44), 8th, 11th and 12th Apl.

4. Referring to the orders issued against Dr. Kitchlew and others by the Punjáb Government, the *Kesari* writes:—It is but natural that the people of the Punjáb should feel indignant and astonished at the use of war measures during peaceful time. The men against whom action has been taken are well educated and of peaceful habits, and they are known to be anxious from the bottom of their heart to maintain peace. If they had made speeches obnoxious to Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the royal road

Kesari (109), 8th Apl.

of prosecuting them openly in the Court was open to Government. Sir Michael, however, does not see any wrong in what he has done; he paraded his action in the Council. If Sir Michael had thought a little more he would have seen that the agitators, even more than the Government, want to maintain peace. The second mistake of Sir Michael is that whether in peace or war, Government alone cannot maintain peace at any time. Sir Michael wants to take the sole credit of maintaining peace, but he forgets that the people also had at heart the good object of preserving peace. British statesmen have heartily praised the people of India, and not Sir Michael O'Dwyer, for maintaining peace. Sir Michael did not forget to warn that agitators are nothing before the British Government. But he supposes that strength means only physical strength. There are some moral ties between the British Government and the people of India and the strength of this connection is much greater than physical strength. Though an official with his eye fixed on power like Sir Michael may not have an idea of it, British statesmen who have the power to settle India's future do realise it.

5. "Mahatma Gandhi has been arrested! The Government could not commit a more colossal blunder. At a time which demanded all wisdom, all self-control on the part of the Government, the well beloved leader of the people was served with an order not to enter the Punjáb, not to enter Delhi but restrict himself to Bombay. ..... The old tussle between the people and the administration was never so glaringly revealed as now; the country from one end to the other will ring with protest against the arrest of this eminent apostle of Liberty and Love."

Comments on the arrest and release of Mr. Gandhi.
New Times (9), 11th Apl.

6. "Mr. Gandhi, with his body in police custody and his self free, at this moment symbolises India, where the forces of right—of Government based on moral laws—and of wrong—of Government depending entirely and ultimately on the sanction of brute force—are locked in a struggle which stands on a higher plane than even the great war of arms which has just ended. For, the final arbiter in this struggle is not brute force, however disguised under pretentious claims, but moral force. And the true character of the conflict is brought into relief by nothing so much as by the spectacle of an avalanche of three orders simultaneously hurled against Mr. Gandhi and the latter, frail and ailing as he is in body, calmly and cheerfully refusing to obey them. Apparently the Chelmsford-O'Dwyer-Beadon combination, in the blindness of its power, expected to overwhelm Mr. Gandhi and the country by the sheer number of its 'orders.' But it counted without its host. Of that more anon. While to the Satyagrahis it is a matter of rejoicing that the struggle has begun in the way it has, the action which Lord Chelmsford's Government have thought fit to take and sanction against Mr. Gandhi cannot too strongly be condemned. It is a most flagrant instance of government by executive fiat. Mr. Gandhi was on his way to Delhi to soothe the acerbated feelings of the citizens, to explain to them personally the message of *Satyagraha*, to seek out the truth about the recent tragedy and proclaim it to the world; in short, to establish peace, order and harmony in a disturbed area. To him violence of any sort is alien. His message is one of holding fast to the truth and to accept suffering for it cheerfully and bear that suffering calmly. His word is ever on the side of law and order. His presence at Delhi would have been of incalculable value to the authorities themselves. But the bureaucracy would not see the truth and would not be helped. In their infatuation with their physical prowess they have committed the greatest blunder they could possibly make by attempting to scotch a movement of suffering and sacrifice by a resort to a weapon intended for purposes of combating violent activities. So the Defence of India Act was brought in requisition to get hold of the body of one who was willing himself to offer it. His greatest enemy could not deny that he was going to Delhi to promote peace and order and that he would have fully succeeded in doing so. Yet the Government misuse a war-measure in times of peace to prevent Mr. Gandhi from serving the interests of

Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th Apl.

order and harmony—while to prosecute him would have been the easiest task— a task in the fulfilment of which himself would have helped them most. Why did the Government not prosecute him? In resorting instead to the misuse of a war measure, they have not dealt with him and the country in a straight manner and have only confirmed the fear of the people that they would similarly misuse the Black Act. They have made their choice and the effect of their choice is to steel the hearts of the people in their determination to suffer for truth. Government have got custody of the body of Mr. Gandhi, but that gives them no purchase on his soul. His spirit is unconquerable. 'My arrest', he says to his countrymen, 'makes me free.' It was galling to him to remain free whilst the Rowlatt legislation disfigured the Statute Book. He has now received what he was seeking —either the withdrawal of the Rowlatt legislation or imprisonment. He has done his duty. And he now asks his countrymen to do *their* duty. To his call the country will, we have no doubt, make the fullest response in the manner as well as in substance. There shall be, he demands, no violence and no departure from truth. India is now on her trial in a way she has never been. For years, as he says, her people have been groaning under suffering which they could avoid if they would, because they have swerved from the path laid down for them by the makers of the civilization of which they are the proud inheritors. The conntry must rise to the full height of its opportunity that the travails it must now undergo offer and win the privilege to prove to a civilised but doubting world that moral force is the final arbiter between the relations of man to man and of nation to nation."

7. "The tidings of Mr. Gandi's return to Bombay was hailed by the people yesterday with feelings of the utmost joy. We are glad he is back amongst us, and the huge concourse of people which met last evening at Chowpatty gave him a welcome which was the most impressive of its kind ever witnessed in Bombay. The air is still tense with excitement. Occurrences all over India have so disturbed the atmosphere that people are in a state of painful suspense regarding the rumours that circulate and disquiet them. We are sure that in the city of Bombay the anxiety of the people for the personal safety of Mr. Gandhi is being rapidly composed and a feeling of quiet restored. What is of no less consequence than the unrest in the city, is the feeling of alarm that is among all people over the reports of disturbances in several other important centres in India..... The occasion is one for the steadying of first impulses, and we hope that both the Government and the people will thoroughly acquaint themselves with the actualities of the situation, and proceed without panic or riotous excitement. We earnestly appeal to the Government to bring themselves face to face with the realities of the present occasion, so that they can understand the root-cause of this serious unrest. Government are asked by some to believe that the trouble is manufactured by mischief-mongers who know to save their skin at the time of peril. It is next alleged that opposition to the Black Act may be dissipated by disabusing people of vulgar errors about the Act and convincing them of its harmless and acceptable character. Government are also invited to believe that the agitation is a superficial affair engineered by the educated classes, who, by an ancient hypothesis, have nothing to do with the masses. We entreat Government to renounce all these cherished illusions and face the facts. The opposition to the Black Act is inspired by a love of what people consider to be their liberty; it is strong because they know of the danger of it and are confirmed in their belief by the united stand of the non-officials in the Imperial Council; and it is not the artifical agitation of mischief-makers, but is shared by the masses that hear of it. We hope the Government will realise the depth and earnestness of the feeling of the people as regards the Black Act and not sneer at them like Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who affects to believe that the whole movement is factitious humbug and disloyalty. Those who have been accusing the *Satyagrahis* of criminal motives are striving to mislead Government about the truth of the movement. At every turn, when there is some trouble, whether at Delhi or at Calcutta, critics ask Mr. Gandhi what he has to say about it and warn him that the entire responsibility for

Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th Apl.

trouble is his. The attempt to couple *Satyagraha* with shooting is as wrong as it is unjust to Mr. Gandhi. The truth is that the *Satyagraha* movement is the most effective check we have upon an agitation which was inevitable. We are convinced that there would have been more violence on the part of the Executive and more provocation on the part of crowds, if *Satyagrahis* had not at every turn striven to pacify the people. The *Satyagraha* movement did not precipitate the agitation; it was in fact predicted as inevitable and unprecedented by so friendly a critic of the Government as Mr. Sastri. An outburst of agitation, which governments all over the world call negligible and manufactured, as long as they can help it, was inevitable; and if it proceeded without the restraining influence of Mr. Gandhi, the results, so far as occasional collision with authority is concerned, would have been terribly more disastrous. The *Satyagraha* movement has been an asset of peace and is, in its full strength, capable of drawing all the evil consequences of repression to a narrow and prescribed channel. If, by way of contrast, we speculate on the course of this All-India agitation by the example of the Partition agitation in Bengal, we should have had an infinitely more dangerous ferment in the country. Conceived as an ordinary agitation Mr. Gandhi has really embarrassed the present movement and helped Government by softening it into an ordeal for a few. In Delhi it was the good offices of a *Satyagrahi* that dissuaded the military from a charge on the meeting of 30th March; in Bombay it was a *Satyagrahi* who with his own hands removed the stones placed in the tram-route. To impeach Mr. Gandhi as the first cause and great malefactor of every trouble is wrong, as his personality is pacifying an inevitably powerful agitation and reducing it to a smaller scale of struggle. If *Satyagraha* were stronger, the unrest of mobs would have been weaker. Most important, however, is the duty of the Government to realise the wisdom of refraining from unnecessary provocation and the misuse of authority. The trouble at Amritsar is traced to the abuse of authority shown in interning and gagging respectable men like Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal. It was an open abuse of a war-measure. If the people who see it exercised against well-known citizens infer that their own freedom is always in jeopardy once they are deemed obnoxious, it is vain to profess surprise at general alarm. The Amritsar trouble began with the abuse of law and was aggravated by the deportation, and instead of questioning the *bona fides* of agitators, the Government of Sir Michael O'Dwyer should have regarded the abuse of law unjustifiable. There is no doubt as to the moral of that ill-fated executive fiat. Government have in the passing of the Black Act refused to stay their hand in spite of the protest of the people and shown a fanatical defiance of the popular will. We would nevertheless warn the people against the tendency to excesses and earnestly appeal to them to realise the significance of Mr. Gandhi's warning..... We hope the Government will not delude themselves with unrealities, but see that opposition to the measure is not a factious outcry. The remedy for the present turmoil lies in their hands and they cannot escape the ultimate responsibility of trouble and suffering among the people, if they persevere in the position in which they find themselves to-day."

8. Commenting on Mr. Gandhi's "arrest" by the Punjab Government and asking the whole of Bombay to go on strike in order to express indignation at this autocratic and high-handed step of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—Mahatma Gandhi is not a criminal; nor is he an enemy of the British *Ráj*, that he can be externed from the Punjáb. Mr. Gandhi is revered as a Mahatma by lakhs of people; and only an eccentric satrap can order the externment from his Province of such a revered man. The order is a great insult to the whole Indian nation. The Government of India, too, have committed a serious blunder in restricting him to Bombay. They mistake if they think that the *Satyagraha* movement will be suppressed thereby. They have missued the Defence of India Act in arresting Mr. Gandhi. This will greatly excite the people instead of quieting them. [In its subsequent issue the paper draws the attention of Government to the excitement among the people,

Sánj Vartamán (33), 10th Apl.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 11th Apl.; *Hindusthán* (24), 11th Apl.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (82), 12th Apl.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 1 th Apl.

caused by Mr. Gandhi's arrest, and appeals to the people of Bombay to act up to the message of Mr. Gandhi. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* considers it to be a grave folly on the part of the Punjab Government to have issued such orders and says:—Mr. Gandhi was going to Delhi to pacify the excited people of that place; is it then not madness on the part of the Punjab Government that they should have arrested him? The *Hindusthán*, while expressing similar views, adds:—If Mahatma Gandhi will be imprisoned, unrest and discontent will increase in the country. Still it is not too late for Government to correct their mistake by repealing the Rowlatt legislation. We wish God may give wisdom to our rulers for the purpose. The *Shri Venkateshwar*, while writing in the same strain, praises the Bombay Goernment for the patience and foresight shown by them in the present situation and declares that Mahatma Gandhi's presence in Delhi would have done nothing but spread peace and tranquillity all over the city. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also disapproves of this act of the Punjab Government, though it does not sympathise with the *Satyagraha* movement. It feels glad that Mr. Gandhi is to be released in Bombay and remarks that this wise step must have been taken by the considerate officials of the Bombay Government.]

9. The public may be said to have passed a severe test, if the Governments of the Punjab and Delhi meant to institute one, by issuing a prohibitory order against such a good man as Mr. Gandhi. In India the officials give decisions and hear appeals against their own decisions. The experience of these officials is very limited and so it would not be difficult to foresee the consequences of such a procedure. The position in which they have been placed is unjust both to themselves and to the people. The passing of the Rowlatt Act in spite of popular opposition and the issuing of the order against Mr. Gandhi, which would do credit to a mad man, show the lengths to which the bureaucrats would be carried away by the present system of administration. We are afraid the bureaucrats, by pursuing the present policy, would place themselves in the position of the shepherd-boy that cried "wolf". [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* exhorts Mr. Gandhi to realise his responsibilities as the leader of the *Satyagraha* movement which has resulted in serious outbreaks in various parts of the country and to give up the movement and not to endanger further the passing of the proposed reforms and the peace and safety of the country. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* ascribes Mr. Gandhi's success in winning over the Muhammadans to the cause of *Satyagraha* to the failure of Government in giving an assurnace to the Indian Muhammadans in the matter of the fate of Turkey and the Khalifate.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 12th Apl.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 12th Apl.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 12th Apl.

***10.** "The Government of India did not carry matters too far. They entrained Mr. Gandhi at Muttra, and brought him back safely to Bombay. They have, however, passed an order restricting his movements to the Bombay Presidency only. We do not know whether Mr. Gandhi will break this order or not, but for the present it is certain that he is much pained by the occasional pelting and similar antics of the people, who were anxious for his safety; and he has strictly warned them that if they cannot follow the *Satyagraha* movement in the true sense, then he will have either to abandon it, or give it a different and still more restricted shape, or will have to offer *Satyagraha* against themselves by fasting and giving up his body if need be. This is surely a severe reprimand to his own people, and that shows how sincere he is, and how thoroughly passive he wishes to keep his movement. Those who are growling at him as an agitator, and even as an anarchist, may now know what he is. But it must not be forgotten that all the *Satyagrahis* also are of the same temperament. They have been all along condemning violence, and many of the leaders who are not *Satyagrahis*, have also deprecated violence. The cult of violence is dead, and we hope it will be buried deep by the *Satyagraha* movement. Constitutioual agitation is the royal road and Passive Resistance is the extreme form of it. Mr. Gandhi has taken it up with a view to compel Government to withdraw the lawless Law, and we all, whether *Satyagrahis* or not, are on our trial. If we condemn brute-force

Mahratta (8), 13th Apl.

in Government, we must equally condemn it in us too. Mr. Gandhi has done that, and we hope that it will purge away the impulse of violence from the minds of his followers and sympathisers. We must take up all constitutional movements in right earnest, and follow strictly the peaceful methods advocated by our leaders. If we believe that soul-force is superior to brute-force, then we are in duty bound to follow all the dictates of the apostles of it. Mr. Gandhi has done his duty and we are sure his followers, too, will do theirs. But what of Government? Can they not even now learn that the Rowlatt Law is the cause of all this trouble, and its withdrawal is all that is sought for by the determined band of Gandhi's followers and sympathisers? Is not this loss of life, damage to property, ever-increasing discontent, and open defiance of some laws sufficient to teach them a little wisdom and move them to repeal the obnoxious law? Is not the tremendous and surging wave of indignation going all over India enough to impress them with this? Surely if they persist in their folly, then there can only be one response, and that is of ever-increasing discontent, and stiffening of the present attitude of the people. Men like Mahatma Gandhi are determined to stake everything, to risk everything, even their lives if necessary to get the law repealed, and is the law worth the sacrifice of so many precious lives? The agitation has already cost us, and even our English brothers, some innocent lives, and we, therefore, appeal to Government in all earnestness to withdraw the fatal measure as speedily as possible."

11. "The 6th April will remain memorable in the history of India's fight for freedom. Liberty has been enchained by the passing of the Rowlatt Act and the Passive Resistance movement started by Mahatma Gandhi is intended to break these chains..... A trial of strength, not necessarily physical, is an indispensable preliminary. Mahatma Gandhi proposes to demonstrate by passive resistance against the Rowlatt Act that the authority of the Government rests only on the moral support of the people and when that support is withdrawn it is ineffective and falls to the ground. Nothing can be a better proof of the strength and magnitude of that moral support than success in getting the Rowlatt Act repealed. The Government of India is absolutely committed to it and cannot withdraw from that position except by a complete acknowledgment of defeat. This is then our trial of strength, a combined Runnymede and Waterloo, which will finally proclaim the end of all bureaucratic and autocratic administration. Mahatma Gandhi could not have chosen his ground better..... The Rowlatt Act is by far the most central issue in so far that it will enable us to determine once for ever that the will of the nation must prevail. If the Rowlatt Act can be repealed by passive resistance, what act is there, old or new, which can stand the force of such an opposition? And if we can repeal any unjust law why cannot we by the same process get necessary legislation passed? And what is that but self-government? The fact is that Mahatma Gandhi is laying the most pucca foundation on which the Indian nation is to be built."

Comments on the celebration on *Satyagraha* day.

Home Ruler (6), 5th Apl.

12. "No one could have witnessed the extraordinary scenes on the day of national mourning and protest, enacted in the city of Bombay or could have read the accounts which are pouring in from all sides of unprecedented demonstrations held on Sunday last without feeling that this was the beginning of a new era in Indian political life..... ... We, however, realise that this is only the beginning. What is still wanted is to steel our hearts against violence which is bound to proceed from exasperated officials and others whose notions of prestige would be rudely shocked at all these demonstrations and these fraternisations and at the public protests..... The next step that is indicated by Mahatma Gandhi is the adoption of the *Swadeshi* vow. This is not a new duty..... We hope that the public will take the *Swadeshi* vow as a protest against the black laws and that they will observe it without any excitement or passion, but with unswerving determination at all times. For those who cannot tolerate injustice and untruth and who by their inner courage, tem-

Young India (16), 9th Apl.

perament and social conditions are prepared to put in bigger efforts in this direction, Mahatma Gandhi has extended the invitation to join the Satyagraha Sabha. The object of this Sabha has been over and over again misrepresented both by friends and by foes..... It is easy to criticise those who, at extreme risk to their person and property and to their worldly standing and position, have come forward for the difficult task of building up a political cult based on a scrupulous regard for truth and on self-suffering, eschewing violence of all kinds, renouncing secrecy and conspiracy, working in the open fearlessly, at a risk to no one but themselves. But it would be difficult for these critics to suggest anything in the alternative. The Moderate wiseacres who rushed in to condemn the passive resistance movement as full of danger to this country are sitting down with folded hands, accepting meaningless assurances from officials whose very stuff of life is breaking the promises made in grandiloquent terms. We regret to have to say this, but we cannot help pointing out how very objectionable the attitude of Moderate politicians is in regard to the black law. The scarred hearts of the public are none of their concern, but their eyes seem to be turned to the reforms under which they are going to have a few more offices and a few more emoluments. To the man in the street, the whole question of reforms has become altogether secondary and a mockery while the Government persist in their unjust attitude about the black law. With that law on the Statute Book no honest man would have any scope for public work of any kind. If we are wrong in this estimate, we ask what is the programme of the Moderates for opposing the black law, if they are not prepared to countenance passive resistance? There are, besides the Moderates, several other groups of politicians with their followers, who are also sitting on the fence in regard to the passive resistance movement. We do not doubt their love of the country and their horror of the black law, but would urge upon them to take such steps immediately as may recommend themselves to their judgment and their conscience. Mahatma Gandhi and his followers do not press anybody to do anything without the fullest thought and consideration, but the public is entitled to know what the alternative programme of these political parties is if they are not going to come and join in the *Satyagraha* movement."

13. Commenting upon the celebration of the *Satyagraha* Sunday in Bombay, the *Hindusthán* congratulates Bombay on conducting the proceedings in an orderly a manner and writes:—It is said the civilised nations respect public opinion. But it is our misfortune that the British Government, in spite of being a civilised government, do not pay any heed to the voice of the people. Yesterday the voice of the people was declared in an unmistakable manner. The people of Bombay showed admirable patience in celebrating the day. But our object cannot be accomplished by one day's work. We have to strive so that our voice may be heard by the King-Emperor and the bureaucracy may be compelled to listen to us. Last Sunday inaugurated the first step in the movement. [The *Praja Mitra* also congratulates the public of Bombay on the orderly manner in which the day was celebrated and adds:—Care should be taken to see that the *Satyagraha* movement is not associated with any trace of compulsion in respect of those who do not join it of their own accord. It is only by proceeding with caution that we can enlist the maximum amount of public sympathy with the movement and induce the authorities to recognise the necessity of seeing eye to eye with us in the matter. The *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—With the exception of a single incident near the Crawford Market, the behaviour of the Police was admirable throughout the city on the day. We would, therefore, congratulate the Police Commissioner and his staff. The most noteworthy and exciting scene of the day was the joining of the mourning procession by the Muhammadans accompanied by black banners. The day marked the triumph of the *Satyagraha* movement. May the movement continue to triumph and prosper and may there be regeneration for India, is our prayer to God. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* asks Government to recognise the force of public

Hindusthán (24), 7th Apl.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 7th Apl.; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 7th Apl.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 8th and 9th Apl., Eng. cols.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 7th Apl.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (27), 6th Apl.; *Jain* (79), 6th Apl.

opinion as manifested on the *Satyagraha* day by the participation of the Muhammadans in the movement and to yield to it. In the subsequent issue the paper commends the orderly proceedings of the day and asks those who participate in the movement to refrain from using undue persuasion or force on those who do not think it worth their while to join them. In the English columns of the same issue, however, the paper writes :—" With the resolution to expose for sale proscribed literature the Gandhi movement has definitely degenerated into *Durágraha*..... Where is this teaching of defiance of law to end ?..... The logical consequence of setting at naught the rules of ordered pacific government is chaos and anarchy..... Nor can the so-called passive resistance possibly remain in tranquil channels long. The Karáchi incidents and the Delhi tragedy belie the fatuous belief." The *Akhbár-e-Islám* holds Mr. Gandhi responsible for the unfortunate incidents at Delhi and quotes the opinion of Mrs. Besant and others who are opposed to the organisation of the passive resistance movement in India. It declares that needless panic was caused on the *Satyagraha* Sunday in the Muhammadan localities in Bombay by the procession of Muhammadan Home Rulers with black banners. It wishes that a demonstration like the one organised on the aforesaid Sunday had been organised by the Muhammadans to express their depth of feeling in the matter of the Khalipate. In conclusion, while sympathising with the popular opinion against the Rowlatt Bills, it declares that the *Satyagraha* movement has been instituted rather hastily as in its opinion such a movement would only be justified after the misuse of the measure passed by Government. It ridicules the joining of Hindus with Muhammadans in the mosques and wonders whether the Muhammadans in their turn will join the Hindus in their worship in the temples. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* expresses disapproval of the *Satyagraha* movement which in its opinion has been engineered by the extremists with selfish motives without any consideration of its serious consequences. It also objects to Mr. Gandhi calling it a religious movement. The *Jain* exhorts its readers to participate in the movement by fasting on the day as a religious duty and thus help the country to assert its rights and to bring about its own awakening.]

***14.** " The striking demonstrations that took place throughout the country on the 6th April, the Black Sunday, are full of the deepest significance. Any civilised Government in genuine touch with the upper as well as under-currents of Indian thought and feeling would have deemed it necessary to stay their hands and pay some consideration to the views and feelings of the aggrieved people. When a Government chooses to ignore the unanimous opposition of the ruled, it evidently relies not upon its moral prestige or moral force but upon its power and authority as a mere governing instrument endowed with irresistible physical force. It is no statemanship at all to rely upon this agency in times of peace and it is very sad to reflect that India, which remained profoundly quiet and loyal throughout the war, should now be thrown into an unprecedented ferment from one end to the other."

Gujaráti (20), 13th Apl., Eng. cols.

15. " Karáchi closed its shops and centres of business : when did such a stupendous thing happen before in the history of the city ?..... . One was impressed at yesterday's function with one soul-stirring fact—the disappearance of *communal, parochial and sectarian impulses.* There were ' Hindus ', ' Muhammadans,' ' Parsis ', ' Khojas,' ' Jains ' yesterday ; but they all felt they belonged to *one commnnity*—the Indian ; they all felt that there was the One Religion in various religions, the Religion of Self-respect, the Religion of guarding India's rights for the service of Humanity..... The Pathans (who roast meat in the Joria Bazar) closed their shops as did the Khojas and Hindus on the Bunder Road, and Parsis and Khojas and Memons in the Camp."

Satyagraha day at Karáchi.
New Times (9), 8th Apl.

16. " Yesterday the whole country observed the National Humiliation Day. It was, however, not merely a Humiliation Day. It was also a day of Self-Realization such as no day in the history of modern India has been. If the passing of the Black Bill has demonstrated

Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th Apl.

the enforced political helplessness of the people, in the intensity and universality of the protest which has gone forth from every nook and corner of the country, it has found out where its real strength lies. It lies in the indomitable spirit of the people determined to be free, whatever the obstacles in the path. The demonstration against the Black Act held in the city yesterday was in many respects unique in the history of Bombay. Even the most apathetic observer could not have helped being impressed by the thousands of people who, in solemn silence, met together for the purpose of mourning and self-renewal. It was really a day of preparation which, if sustained in the spirit of patriotism and self-denial, will represent a tremendous reserve of moral force in the service of the nation. The participation of thousands in the functions of the day indicated the fact that the feeling of humiliation was shared not by *Satyagrahis* only but by all the real people of India who have rallied to their support. Hindus, Moslems, Parsis and Christians mingled in the same cause, the devotions of the day bringing them on a common platform. As announced, it was observed as a day of fast and prayer. The functions of the day were calculated to fortify the spirit, and the successful manner in which the programme was observed by thousands of citizens must have encouraged sympathisers, and caused a feeling of uneasiness among sceptics and cavillers, that there was behind the demonstration a very serious purpose. That such a vast concourse of people proved amenable to the discipline of mourning, is significant. Business was practically at a standstill, but there was no exercise of coercion in it. In fact the peaceful conduct of the people was not a police problem at all. Mourning in memory of the dead at Delhi and humiliation at the thought of the impotence of the popular will roused among all a deep spirit of stillness and resignation. That the unity of purpose among the people was illustrated and confirmed by the impressive demonstrations of the day is a matter that augurs well for the future of the struggle which Mr. Gandhi is leading. In pushing the Black Bill through the Council in utter defiance of protest, the Government have exhibited a misanthropic zeal in the interests of 'law and order,' the expression of which will at each step be accompanied by inevitable recoil. The Delhi tragedy which the people are mourning is eloquent proof of the mood of the Executive to which the powers of the Black Act are entrusted..... The drastic style in which 'rioters' in Delhi were dealt with is another instance of the love of short-cuts to public tranquillity. Thus, the Black Act is not only the annulment of the rights of individual freedom, but it is also symptomatic of an ugly mood of the bureaucracy which arrogates to itself the authority to find swift ways to public peace. We cannot leave to the Government the privilege of 'suspecting' people and doing as it likes. And the claim is rightly challenged. At every resort of public worship yesterday, was seen the spirit of union and of dedication. The demonstration proved the solidarity of the people who found intimate contact with each other as defenders of a common cause, which, with their constancy, will be vindicated in time."

17. "Black Sunday, the day of national humiliation and self-renewal, will remain a landmark in the history of India. The soul-stirring accounts that we published yesterday and many more that we publish to-day about the huge and unprecedented demonstrations held througout the country ought to be enough to open the eyes of any Government—which professes to be civilized. Never before during the British rule in India has public opinion been expressed in such an emphatic and religious way, never before has public indignation been stirred to such depths as in this case; and to disregard the intensity and universality of the feelings evoked would be a stupendous folly. There are moments in the history of every nation when it rises to a man to resist an act of injustice. At such moments the psychology of the nation's mind has properly and fully to be analysed and understood. If the rulers fail to understand it, the inevitable doom overtakes them in the fulness of time. Lord Chelmsford has failed to understand the psychology of the people's mind. Here lies the real danger. No Government in the world, however autocratic it may be, will dare to disregard the universal feelings of a whole nation. When the governed lose trust in the Government and the Government becomes suspicious about the people, an atmosphere of distust prevails everywhere.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 9th Apl.

The good relations which ought to subsist between the rulers and the ruled become strained. Needles sufferings follow—but the victory ultimately remains with the people. That is the lesson of history which should not be lost sight of..... In the blind arrogance of their power and strength Government may misread the signs of the times. But they have no excuse to misread the lesson of history."

The Delhi tragedy.
Kesari (109), 8th Apl.

18. The *Satyagraha* movement has made it known to Government not only that people do not approve of the Rowlatt Acts but that the sorrow felt by them is so poignant that helpless and weak as they are, they see no other way but to court misery and imprisonment. Leaving aside the question as to who was to blame for the Delhi tragedy, all cannot but have before their mind's eye always the fact that on the soil of the capital itself the blood of about 25 Hindus and of about 25 Muhammadans was spilt by the firing of the soldiers. The motherland was reddened by their blood. This fact can never be forgotten. No firing, no repressive laws can make us forget them. The *Satyagraha* movement meant the condemnation in toto of the Rowlatt Acts and it also cleared away the Hindu-Muhammadan differences entirely. The *entente* which Akbar would have found it difficult to effect by using his imperial power was effected last Friday in Delhi. The *Hartal* was not inspired by any hatred to ruin others, but the sorrow felt and the natural idea that it was the proper method to remove the misery were the cause of the strike. Some Anglo-Indian newspapers are trying to hold Mr. Gandhi responsible for the bloodshed and some of our own people are supporting this mean attempt! Is it not necessary to hold these very people, the anti-*Satyagrahis* who obstinately insisted that the Rowlatt Bills should be passed, responsible for it instead of blaming Mr. Gandhi? To hold the saint responsible who advises people to control the tendency to adopt extreme measures when their feelings are excited and who asks them to tread the path of truth, would be to put the blame on the wrong party. Why was Bombay quiet and Delhi disturbed? The reason lies in the attitude of the local officials. Would it not be more wise to change the officials in Delhi and the Punjáb rather than ask Mr. Gandhi to give up his agitation? Mahatma Gandhi and his *Satyagrahi* followers cannot help adopting the method of breaking laws and suffering the consequences silently. In some matters observance of law may be blame-worthy and disobedience would be creditable to heroes, mahatmas and ascetics. Instead of spending time uselessly in discussing what laws should be broken it would be better to follow Mr. Gandhi and break the laws broken by him according to one's strength. There is no sin in it and there would be no prickings of conscience. [Elsewhere the *Kesari* discusses the Associated Press message and the Government communique regarding Delhi affairs. It says that since the Associated Press was taken over by Reuter, it has become almost officialised and it does not give the slightest value to the communique because it avoids certain particulars. It adds:—It is a question why the Gurkhas are not referred to in the communique by name. It may be inferred that Government consider their conduct censurable and that they want to conceal matters in order that the Gurkhas may not incur a bad name as was the case in East Bengal, during the partition days. If the help of Swami Sraddhanandji had been taken and if he had been asked to address the *Satyagrahis* there would have been no bloodshed. Indians feel even after reading the communiqué that some hasty and disappointed and irresponsible official gave the order to fire and sacrificed *Satyagrahis*. Mr. Rauf, Barrister, says that some boys were shot at because they jeered at soldiers and Gurkhas. Is it not a repetition of the Zabern incident? The point is important and if it be false, why have not Government stated so in their communiqué? It is the duty of Government to have the matter inquired into by a commission. But from experience gained at Madras, Madura and Calcutta it has been found that Government evade inquiry. If the communiqué states the truth, why should Government jib at the idea of a commission? The conduct of Shraddhanandji, the Hindu-Muhammadan *entente*, and the devotion of both the communities to the Swami, the courage displayed by *Satyagrahis* in spite of the outrage and the fund started for a

memorial to the *Satyagraha* victims and the donation of a lakh given for the purpose are facts which are praiseworthy and hopeful for the rise of the nation. The days of fearing repressive acts or orders are gone for ever and people are now prepared to conduct the *Satyagraha* movement without being afraid of bayonets, rifles and machine guns and showers of shots. What patriot will not admire with pride these *Satyagrahis* who were the first to sacrifice their lives in Delhi at such a hopeful time?]

Gujarâti (20), 6th Apl.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (82), 11th Apl.

19. The *Gujarâti* gives a discursive account of the affray at Delhi in trying to show some discrepancies in the official account and writes:—Even the official account does not refer to any reading of the Riot Act or any warning given to the people. The police are said to have resisted the crowd for two hours; but how can two hours have elapsed between 1-30, when the people are said to have assembled at the station, and 2-30 when the crowd was fired upon? Unfortunately blood was shed in Delhi, but it has cemented the hearts of Hindus and Muhammadans. It is our prayer to God that the flower of unity may grow and flourish for ever in the soil reddened with blood. The sympathy of all people is with those who have lost their relations in the affray. Government should appoint a mixed committee of officials and non-officials to enquire into the matter with a view to winning the confidence of the public. The days of "martial law and no damned nonsense" are numbered. [The *Shri Venkateshwar* also urges the need of appointing a committee of inquiry without any delay.]

Sudhâkar (124), 6th Apl.; *Râjâkaran* (116), 6th Apl.; *Bakul* (95), 6th Apl.; *Jâgaruk* (45), 5th Apl.

20. In our opinion the Government of India was wrong in giving a certificate of good conduct to the authorities at Delhi in the communique they have published. In the investigation of this affair the points whether it was at all necessary for the Police or the Military to fire upon the crowd and, if so, whether they did not use excessive force, are of very great importance. People have appointed a commission of their own to inquire into this matter and, we think, Government also will have to do the same. It was improper on the part of the Government of India, therefore, to exonerate in advance their officials at Delhi. We are also of opinion that the official communique should have been issued by the Commissioner of Delhi and not by the Government of India. At the time of this regrettable affair the Government of India was enjoying the cool climate of Simla, whereas the authorities at Delhi were on the spot. Naturally, therefore, the responsibility of publishing the true facts rested with the Delhi administration and, in our opinion, the Government of India should not have assumed it. Shraddhanandji deserves to be congratulated on his efforts to maintain the peace at Delhi and also on his disclosing the immense power of the *Satyagraha* movement. He did not betray the least sign of fear when about a dozen soldiers levelled their rifles at his breast and fearlessly told those beasts to shoot, if they liked, an unarmed *sanyasi* like himself. Whose heart will not be filled with love and devotion for him on reading this? It is owing to the existence of such Mahatmas as Shraddhanandji in India that she hopes to rise from her present hellish condition. No Government official was injured at Delhi because of the unique courage and presence of mind displayed by Shraddhanandji. The bureaucracy assert that the authorities at Delhi were compelled to fire upon the people because they pelted the Police with brickbats. It is worthy of note, however, that they do not mention a single instance of a policeman being killed or injured by the people. The argument that there is no objection to fire upon an unarmed mob if they throw a few stones or brickbats is most contemptible. Even in countries where the people are allowed to carry arms the Police do not dare to return bullets for stones. This is possible in India because the Government and the people do not trust each other and because the Government of India is bureaucratic and not responsible to the people. We humbly ask Government to learn from the tragedy at Delhi that they can no longer attain their object by threatening to use guns and rifles. [The *Rajakaran* takes Mrs. Besant severely to task for maintaining that the Military were justified in firing upon the crowd while engaged in the task of quelling the disturbance. The *Bakul*

gives an exaggerated account of the disturbance at Delhi and says that a large number of people were killed by volleys fired from machine guns. It says that the Military did not take the usual precaution of seeing that the people fired at were hit below the waist. The *Jágaruk* on the other hand writes :—It is now beyond Mr. Gandhi's power to control the forces which he has loosened. He says that *Satyagraha* is a purely religious movement and is based upon soul-force, but the conduct of his followers shows that it will only end in open rebellion. We trust Mr. Gandhi will realise that it is hopeless to carry on the movement according to the principles laid down by him and will, therefore, drop it. The question is whether he is able to quench the fire which he has kindled.]

21. The *Karnátak Vritt* attacks the Associated Press message and says that the messages sent by the agency are mostly based on information gathered from the officials and that in cases like those of the Delhi tragedy information is supplied to them by Police. It further adds :—Even judging from this prejudiced story the action of the officials resulting in the death of the people does not appear to be just. It can be seen from the touching Delhi incidents what little value is attached by European officiais to Indian lives. We do not think that more cruelty and heartlessness can be seen even while shooting down beasts. We hope that the officials concerned will be suitably dealt with and that the Rowlatt Act—the cause of all these disasters—will be repealed as early as possible. [The *Shubhodaya* writes :—What a trifling cause! And disasters have happened causing sorrow all over India! People had not gone to the sweetmeat seller's shop in order to loot it. Technically it may have been a compoundable offence. But who is responsible for ordering machine guns and firing on the people causing loss of life without any ground? Is this a lawful way of protesting against *Satyagraha*? The authorities have used a Nasmyth hammer to kill a fly. The *Karnátak Vaibhav* writes :—Our Government without considering whether it was just or unjust, defying the protest made by the whole nation, has let loose the mad dog of the Rowlatt Act in the midst of the poor Indian people naturally peace-loving. We beseech His Majesty not to give his consent to the measure which will brand Indians with slavery. [It here refers to Delhi incidents.] If Government suppose that they can threaten the people in this way and make them give up their love of freedom, they are under a delusion. The days are gone when people used to be afraid of the severity of Government. Let Government surely understand that Indians will try for the uplift of the motherland however much the officials may harass them and that the people will calmly suffer all that they are made to and that they will not go a step backwards from the righteous path.]

Karnátak Vritt (86), 8th Apl.; *Shubhodaya* (91), 4th Apl.; *Karnátak Vaibhav* (85), 8th Apl.

22. "The undesirable effects of the *Satyagraha* movement have begun at last to manifest themselves in spite of Mr. Gandhi's repeated warnings for caution and self-restraint. The Delhi tragedy has shewn, if anything, what danger the movement is likely to be when the minds of the mob are stirred and inflamed. An attempt is being made to shew that the officials, the police and the military alone are to blame for the bloodshed that has occurred. We say that this is simply foolish and mischievous. To maintain order is the first duty of the Government and any laxity in its discharge would surely be looked upon as an invitation for the repetition of such fatal occurrences. While we deplore the incident and the causes that led to it, it is due to the officials at Delhi to say that they have only obeyed the imperative calls of duty in not allowing the infuriated mob to get out of control."

Vibhákar (38), 7th Apl., Eng. cols.

23. "Coming events, it is said, cast their shadows before. The ink was hardly dry on the signature of the Viceroy to the Rowlatt Bill than the news spread like wildfire from one end of the country to the other about the dastardly action of the Delhi authorities in connection with the observance of mourning and suspension of all activities as a protest against the passing of

Young India (16), 9th Apl.; *Bombay Chronicle* (1), 12th Apl.

the Black Bill. The bureaucracy have not let any grass grow under their feet but have been, judging from all accounts, anxious to nip in the bud a movement conceived by them to be a nuisance. The full measure of arbitrary power which would be enjoyed by the executive in future under the Black Law can hardly be realised at the moment, but the tragedy at Delhi comes as a foretaste of what is in store for the public. It must have been expected by the Government that the protest against the arbitrary passage of this Bill through the Legislative Council, the character of the new law, and the method of carrying it through was bound to be universal and shared by everyone in the community and it goes without saying that they would not exactly approve of such a protest however respectfully and in an orderly manner it may be made, because the current theory and the accepted tradition of the Indian Government are that the public should be always grateful to them whatever their gift may be, whether it is bread or whether it is stone, or whether, as in this case, it is iron chains calculated to emasculate and perpetually to enslave the people of this country. Since 'strong measures' is the order of the day, we have no hesitation in saying that to all appearances it seems to us to have been a deliberate intention on the part of the authorities 'to have the situation well in hand'. We regret, however, to have to say that the authorities have been little too previous (sic) on this occasion and that they made a serious miscalculation with regard to the possible effects of their action in Delhi which is a knock-out blow to whatever remnant of faith the people had in the *bona fides* of Lord Chelmsford's Government and in their goodwill towards the people of this country..... It is impossible for those engaed in *Satyagraha* to resort to any violence either of language or of action and it is only by infinite patience and self-suffering putting everywhere love against hatred that the ultimate end is to be achieved. The exponents of passive resistance believe neither in brickbats nor in bullets, but while they will warn the public for their own and for the good of the country scrupulously to refrain from any manifestation of hatred or violence even on those whom they love and whom they consider to be misguided, they would also warn the Goverument against the use of bullets, against the use of guns and of military force. 'Fear and avarice', says Emerson, 'never reared a state.' Let the Government put their faith in the moral support of the community and everything would be all right. Failing that, the Government can take hold of the bodies of a few men, they could inflict death on a few more, but the immortal ideas for which the followers of truth are pursuing the ideals of Christ himself, men who sacrifice, will survive the more and will bear their inevitable fruit." [An anonymous correspondent discusses at length the Delhi affray and concludes :—"The crowning lie which detracts from any value which the official version may have had, is that no boys were killed. It is now known in Delhi beyond doubt that at least two 'boys' were killed on the spot at Chandni Chowk, and several more among those injured or wounded died since. No trace is found of those who were killed at the railway station. Quite a considerable number is reported to be missing by their parents and relatives. Why should the Government be in such a hurry to stultify themselves by issuing apologies in which the officials only glorify themselves to hide the effects of their criminal folly and panic? The proper authority to exonerate them would have been an independent commission, and evidently the Government know their own weakness too well to entertain such an idea for a single minute. I am content to leave the reading of the version to the public."]

24. Commenting on the Delhi affray, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* says :—The military tried their strength against those who were unarmed. The exact number of casualties is not yet ascertained, yet it can be easily imagined how disastrous the result can be when thousands of people are fired at. Had our rulers acted with self-restraint and forbearance, this unfortunate event would never have taken place. Similarly if the station master of Delhi had given up his obstinacy and stubbornness, the bloodshed would not have occurred, and children and young women would have been safe from wounds. Have machine-guns been made for the purpose of shooting at poor subjects?

Mufid-e-Rozgár (140), 6th Apl.

To whom should the poor people appeal? [Elsewhere the paper writes:—When the people are against the new Act which is full of dangers, it should not be made into a law. Government have enough of prestige and strength, and this law is not likely to invest them with any new power. Government are already sufficiently powerful; hence, to appease the public would not endanger their prestige.]

25. "The recent happenings at Delhi must open the eyes of the public to the situation. In a place where Haileyism rules rampant, even a peaceful demonstration is rank sedition. Over-zealous minions of the police will doubtless be glad to provoke open rupture to discredit *Satyagraha*. We are treated to disquisitions from some quarters as to our incapacity to carry on the *Satyagraha* struggle without violence. Indeed, when there are provocative agents too ready to cause fights, the task of the *Satyagraha* movement is not an easy one. But, we hope, the *Satyagrahis* will take careful note of the situation, and defeat the purposes of all provocative agents..... Several people were wounded; and a few died when the crowd was fired upon. Is nobody reponsible for this simply because the affair was misnamed a 'riot'? The public will not be satisfied unless Government order an impartial inquiry and punish those who are proved guilty." [The *Home Ruler* remarks:—"We must make it perfectly clear that if the people are not to lose all confidence in British justice an impartial committee, which will inspire universal confidence, must be immediately appointed to investigate and report. And finally it is hardly necessary to add that the firing had nothing to do with *Satyagraha* unless it was intended to crush the movement by that means. It is, indeed, due to the *Satyagraha* alone that the mischief ended where it did."]

New Times (9), 5th Apl.; *Home Ruler* (6), 5th Apl.

26. "The tragic occurrences of March 30 yet remain obscure. The versions of Swami Shradhanand and the local officials are widely divergent and hopelessly irreconcilable. The Government of India have so far done nothing but to issue in the form of a communique the news retailed to it by the Delhi authorities..... All these statements are categorically denied in the other version, which in the eyes of the people will not be entitled to less credit but more. But leaving these details apart and granting that the mob did commit some excesses, it is not easy to believe that the officials on their part were not guilty of excessive harshness..... .. It is on the clearest proof of the necessity of such a stern measure that firing can be justified in any particular instance, and it devolves upon the Government to institute an inquiry and publish facts as regards the various incidents of the disturbance..... A non-official inquiry is being conducted, and all the details in regard to the breach of the peace are being collected. But it is necessary that the Government should carry on its investigation and form its opinion, in the light of the results of the inquiry, as to whether force was rightly used or not. It would be disastrous to create the impression that the officials are anxious to suppress the popular feeling by intimidation.'"

Servant of India (10), 10th Apl.

27. "We think the Delhi officials have done India and the cause of Indian nationalism a great service by their action on the 30th March. That day and the 6th April 1919 will mark a new and glorious page in the history of India..... The bloodshed at Delhi has served as an amalgam to knit the Hindus and Mussalmans of India closer together than at any time since the two communities have been living side by side in this country ..... One God, one people, one nation, one destiny. Have Colonel Beadon and the other officials of Delhi any objection to this simple proposition? After demonstration comes action and no time has been lost in following the marvellous demonstrations of Sunday last by action..... The laws to be civilly disobeyed have been wisely chosen. The proscribed books that are being sold in Bombay and Ahmedabad are *Hind Swardj* and 'The Story of a *Satyagrahi*', both written by Mr. Gandhi..... The *Satyagraha*

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 10th Apl.; Eng cols.

movement has spread all over India and it is only necessary that the example of Ahmedabad and Bombay should be followed in order that the object of the movement may be achieved..... The leader of the *Satyagraha* movement has laid all his cards down on the table, face upwards. It remains now for the authorities to show their hand."

28. "No thoughtful person will wonder at the rather undesirable aspect that the so-called *Satyagraha* assumed at Delhi the other day. Of course the Home Rulers are loud in their protests against and condemnation of the 'unjustifiable conduct' of the authorities who were responsible for the peace of the town. They are blind to the circumstance that the responsibility for the blood spilt lies on the heads of those who launched this 'essentially religious' movement against the Rowlatt measures. Mr. Gandhi assured all that his *Satyagraha* was based on 'soul-force,' self-humiliation, penance and the rest. But his followers at Delhi exhibited none of these virtues when they compelled the shopkeepers to close their shops, or forcibly stopped tram-cars and other vehicles or hurled brickbats at the Railway police for protecting the stall-keepers! The soul-force is nowhere to be seen, while the brute-force is manifesting itself everywhere!"

Deccan Ryot (5), 3rd Apl.

29. "We do not know if the Government of India think that they have put the lid on the Delhi trouble by publishing an official summary of a report from the Local Administration. It is high time for them to institute an inquiry into the conduct of the people, the police and the military, and decide whether, as has been alleged, there was not the use of excessive force in the shooting of the people. We may warn the Government that the public is not satisfied by the random allegations of the authorities in Delhi and the assumption of credit by themselves. More than ten days have passed since the tragedy, and the Government cannot rightly leave the people to comfort themselves over the funerals any way they like, and look for the men who have not been traced out after the trouble. There should be no delay in announcing the decision to investigate the origin and course of the trouble and the responsibility for the loss of lives."

Demand for an inquiry into the affray at Delhi.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Apl.

30. "If the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi had intended to irritate rather than pacify the public, he could not have chosen a better form of notice than the one he issued on Saturday last. It was very presumptuous of him to think that where the Viceroy and the Home Member failed to convince the people of the necessity and propriety of the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, he would succeed in dispelling their doubts. It would have been more in taste also if, instead of trying to persuade the people of the innocuousness and the beneficence of the measure, he had merely sought their co-operation in preventing an outbreak of disorder and in quelling it, if it should happen. He threw the whole of the blame for the tragic events of the preceding Sunday on the *Satyagrahis* and he told them that the latter were solely responsible for converting passive resistance into an active riot. Even if this were literally true, it would not help in preventing the recurrence of such an outbreak to remind the people of it. Again, what effect would ordinarily be produced on the mind of a miscellaneous crowd to be told that the closing of shops would under no circumstance hurt the *Sirkar*? One would have thought that the public would take it as a challenge thrown down by the *Sirkar*. It is a characteristic vice of the bureaucracy that where a delicate situation requires tactful handling, the authorities almost invariably fail. Colonel Beadon's behaviour on this occasion and Mr. Pratt's blunder in dealing with the Kaira affair only serve to show how hopelessly unfitted their official experience makes the authorities in pacifying an excited people."

Comments on a notice to the public issued by the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi.

Servant of India (10), 10th Apl.

31. "The experience of the last fortnight should be enough to satisfy an ordinary human being as to what would be the probable results of the movement led by Mahatma Gandhi. In the abstract, the movement should not produce any results of the kind which are actually threatening us on all sides..... That the line dividing it from lawlessness or violence is very thin in India is another matter. But it must be admitted that Mr. Gandhi is perfectly right in having hit upon it as the best remedy open to Indians in their present circumstances. At any rate, there is no wisdom in condemning *Satyagraha* on the ground that it will not achieve its object in proper circumstances..... With all the ascetic traditions of our people, the use of this weapon must be easier than many suppose. But the real question which thoughtful men must answer in connection with the agitation set afoot by Mr. Gandhi is not whether the movement is likely to succeed or not, but whether the circumstances of our country to-day justify resort to it or not. According to Mr. Gandhi the passing of the Rowlatt Bill in spite of the unanimous opposition of the country and the signs of a determination to give only the shadow and not the reality of reforms to India, which are visible in the conduct and utterances of men in authority, justify the movement..... The leaders of the moderates are deprecating the movement as uncalled for and likely to be detrimental to the interests of the country. The Government of Great Britain is on the eve of introducing far-reaching reforms in the constitution of this country. A Radical statesman like Mr. Montagu is at the head of Indian affairs in Parliament and has committed himself to radical changes in the polity of this country. There are rifts in the lute no doubt. But on the whole it is obvious that we are on the eve of an era which ought to be beneficent in its effects upon the destinies of India. May be that our hopes may not be fulfilled. But is it wise to blast those hopes in anticipation of their non-fulfilment? If the promises of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law are to mean nothing, if the commitments of Mr. Montagu are to be in vain, if all the goodwill of Britain due to India's willing participation in the war is to mean nothing, India may be justified in *Satyagraha*. To assume all this to-day because a very rigorous law has been passed against political criminals is not only foolish but mischievous. It is to plunge the country into a storm in which she is bound to suffer tremendously, and this at a time when peaceful progress in the right direction is within sight!" ["The outlook of the *Satyagraha* propaganda is black—very black—as black as it can be. The scenes that were witnessed on Friday last in several places in the city and particularly in and around Pydhownie, Bhuleshwar and the Crawford Market have no parallel in the annals of Bombay. The living generations have never witnessed such lawlessness. Judging from what was in evidence throughout the City and particularly in the areas detailed above, the movement can so longer be termed 'Passive Resistance,' but a deliberate and premeditated challenge and defiance of constitutional and duly constituted authority..... With alarming and sensational headlines when the first batch of telegrams reached Bombay about Mr. Gandhi's movements, the headlines such as 'Mr. Gandhi arrested' 'Taken to unknown destination', etc., appeared in long and large black types in the supplement of a daily paper though the message distinctly said that all that had been done was to stop Mr. Gandhi from proceeding to the forbidden Province and to force him to return to Bombay. It was clear that there was neither arrest nor detention save that his carriage was detached and he was forced to return to Bombay, which was the only alternative left. In spite of this natural interpretation of the messages, misleading head-lines which roused the ire of the public were deliberately used and continued in the edition issued on Friday morning, even though it was well-known by that time that Mr. Gandhi was returning to Bombay as a free man. It was this mischief and nothing else which created all the needless alarm and for this only the *Satyagraha* organ is responsible..... It is, therefore, that we emphatically say that the *Satyagraha* leaders and their organ are primarily responsible for the present unrest and excitement in the City and that it devolves upon the Government to resort to measures which will avert a recurrence of the scenes which were witnessed by the public on Friday. As we have said before, they were nothing more than

Comments on the *Satyagraha* propaganda.
Deccan Ryot (5), 10th Apl.; *Sunday Tatler* (15), 13th Apl.

demonstrations of lawlessness and challenge to authority. If such a state of things is to continue for a longer period, the prestige of Government and its officers will suffer considerably. The Government will do well to take a lesson from the events that have transpired in other parts of India and it is a repetition of that kind which must be avoided."]

32. The *Hindusthán* enumerates the grievances of the Press and the public against the operation of the Press Act, especially in the matter of proscribing books even for a single objectionable passage without giving the publisher an opportunity of publishing an expungated edition of the same, and adds :—The Acts which Mr. Gandhi has chosen to defy are those against which we have a long-standing grievance and even Mr. Gandhi's enemies will not be able to blame him for breaking the Acts. It is to be seen what steps Government take in the matter. [The *Sánj Vartamán* approves of the *Satyagraha* movement organised by Mr. Gandhi and suggests that unless boycott is added to the vow of *Swadeshi* the eyes of the British people will not be opened to the true state of public feeling existing in India against the Rowlatt Bills. The *Shri Venkateshwar* also lends its support to the *Satyagraha* movement as a protest against the Rowlatt Bills and praises the authorities in Bombay for taking matters coolly. In a subsequent issue it asks Mr. Gandhi to reconsider the question of defying the Press Act as in its opinion those who take the *Satyagraha* vow should not come in direct conflict with Government. The *Praja Bandhu* asks Government to take popular opinion into consideration and to yield in the matter of the Rowlatt Bills. It asks Government to bear in mind that the people of India have now been thoroughly imbued with the principle of self-determination and asks them to move with the times. The *Deshi Mitra* discusses the origin of the present discontent and declares that the *Satyagraha* movement is the natural outcome of the disregard shown by Government for public opinion. The *Sindhu Samáchár* exhorts the people to take up the *Satyagraha* movement to show their resentment against the passing of the Rowlatt Bills and asks them to add the *Swadeshi* vow to it to make it more effective. The *Hind Vijaya* is of opinion that the *Satyagraha* movement is fraught with great possibilities for the unification and uplift of India. The *Akhbár-e-Islám*, on the other hand, declares that the *Satyagraha* movement has lost its claim to public support the moment its leaders thought of breaking laws. It looks with disapproval on the delivery of sermons by Hindus in mosques as in its opinion the feelings of orthodox Muhammadans would be injured by such sacrilegious action. The *Political Bhomiyo* dwells upon the failure of Mr. Gandhi in his passive resistance movement in the past and declares its disapproval of the *Satyagraha* movement started by him and warns the Muhammadans of what it considers as the intrigues of the Hindus to enlist their sympathy in the movement which, it declares, is based on a complete misconception of the Rowlatt Bills. The *Gujarát Mitra* and the *Surat Akhbár* warn people against the dangers of passive resistance and the evil consequences of breaking laws. The *Káthiáwár Samáchár* also asks people to take a warning from the disturbance at Delhi.]

Hindusthán (24), 8th Apl.; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 8th Apl.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (82), 8th and 10th Apl.; *Praja Bandhu* (30), 6th Apl.; *Deshi Mitra* (66), 10th Apl.; *Sindhu Samáchár* (84), 29th Mar.; *Hind Vijaya* (68), 9th Apl.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 10th Apl.; *Political Bhomiyo* (74), 11th Apl.; *Gujarát Mitra* (21), 6th Apl.; *Surat Akhbár* (77), 7th Apl.; *Káthiáwár Samáchár* (71), 9th Apl.

33. Commenting upon Mr. Gandhi's exhortation to the people to take the vow of *Swadeshi*, the *Hindusthán* writes :—We wish Mr. Gandhi's words are engraved upon the hearts of the people and that they will take the vow of *Swadeshi* as suggested by him. Mr. Gandhi does not like boycott, but if people take the *Swadeshi* vow or even if they make up their minds to use *Swadeshi* goods as far as possible, foreign goods will be boycotted to some extent. The people should, therefore, recognise the necessity of taking the *Swadeshi* vow as without it Indian industries will not flourish. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi*

Mr. Gandhi's exhortation to the people to take the *swádeshi* vow.

Hindusthán (24), 8th Apl.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 7th Apl.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (82), 10th Apl.; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 9th Apl.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 9th Apl.

and the *Shri Venkateshwar* also write in a similar strain. The *Sánj Vartamán* writes :—We are afraid many will not be able to agree with Mr. Gandhi in his views on *Swadeshi* and boycott. We do admit that boycott has no place in *Satyagraha*. But we are of opinion that foreign goods should be boycotted with a view to convince the people of Great Britain of the wrong done to the Indians by the passing of the Rowlatt Bills. We fail to see any feeling of hatred in the boycott movement. Should, however, Mr. Gandhi have a strong objection to the boycott movement, we shall refrain from advocating its use and shall advocate resort to the *Swadeshi* vow as urged by him. We, however, see no necessity of putting a strict limitation on the *Swadeshi* vow as urged by Mr. Gandhi. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* asks people to refrain from boycott as urged by Mr. Gandhi and asks them not to go to extremes and to take a lesson from the utter failure of the *Swadeshi* vow in Bengal at the time of the agitation against the partition of Bengal.]

34. Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal contributes a long article on passive resistance to the *Home Ruler*, in the course of which he remarks :—" I am for a passive resistance movement against the Rowlatt Act, but only on real conscientious ground ; but not directly as a political weapon. ..... But, to make it a real conscience movement we must not extend its scope beyond the present Act or such other Acts as may be organically bound up with the administration of this outrageous Act, the Oath's Act, for instance, which demands that whoever is called upon to give evidence before a court of law must do so. The passive resister cannot consistently give evidence in cases under the Rowlatt Act and thereby help its administration or accept its authority. We must therefore refuse to obey the Oaths Act in relation to the Rowlatt Act. I think we cannot legitimately extend the operation of our resistance beyond these limits without giving up our plea that it is a real conscience movement. We ought not to do so because it will then make it really a retaliatory movement. And no one who has any idea of what passive resistance as a retaliatory political weapon means and what are the natural consequences of it, will deny that passive resistance as a retaliatory movement is the most difficult and dangerous to lead or control. We should beware of its evil possibilities."

Mr. B. C. Pal's views on passive resistance in connection with the Rowlatt Laws.
Home Ruler (6), 5th Apl.

35. "The *Satyagraha* Sabha has announced that, for the time being, laws regarding prohibited literature and registration of newspapers may be civilly disobeyed. Those who realise the purpose of the movement, will easily see that the first acts of disobedience relate to laws and orders which have been regarded as unjust and discreditable by the entire community. The four pamphlets selected happen to be under official interdict, but those who know the works will have no doubt as to their moral value and their title to free dissemination. The breach of orders touching them is deliberately to be executed by *Satyagrahis* who believe the orders to be, in the words of Mr. Gandhi, in violation of the national conscience. The books deserve to be in free circulation, and, therefore, the prohibition is wrong and has no business to exist..... Regarding the second series of disobedience, they relate to the Press Act which is admittedly a dangerous engine of oppression in the public life of this country. The country has been absolutely unanimous in the condemnation of the Act and its pernicious influence, and there has been strong and legitimate resentment against the authority of the Executive to strangle publications at pleasure. Now it is going to be challenged..... Apart from the main object of removing tyrannous laws, the breach of laws by the *Satyagrahis* is so directed as to constitute an education for the people, 'showing them a clear way out of the difficulties that lie in the path of honest men desiring to do public work'." ["The sale of proscribed literature and publication of newspapers without registration are a challenge to constituted authority. It may be that the first offence has not been penalized, but the second is. We would wait and watch the further developments and the Gov-

Comments on the decision of the *Satyagrahis* to break Press laws.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th Apl. ; **Sunday Tatler* (15), 13th Apl. ; **Indian Social Reformer* (7), 13th Apl.

ernment will repent if they do not resort to remedial measures in good time. Over a week has elapsed since the *Satyagraha* now and the prestige of the administrators is held up to ridicule. Why should not the Bombay Government resort to measures like the other Provincial Governments? Precedents are not wanting and possibly more will be heard on His Excellency's return from Simla or even earlier. Further delay by way of parleying with these political agitators should not be allowed. In the interest of law, order, peace and prestige, let there be an end to all this dangerous *tamasha* which is verging on fanaticism. We may be hasty and impatient, but the Government is calm, sober, patient and sedate. But there is a limit for all such virtues." "The news of Mr. Gandhi's arrest, as first published, led to some wild outbreaks of mob violence and rowdyism in Bombay, chiefly by way of compelling people to close their shops and to get out of tram-cars and victorias but they were put down without use of firearms. Great credit is due to the authorities for the patience and forbearance with which they comported themselves under extremely trying conditions. The splendid feeling which prevails in Bombay to-day towards them is their best reward. The Police are regarded by the public as friends, almost for the first time in the annals of the Indian administration. The name of His Excellency the Governor is on everybody's lips, and the sentiment universally felt is one of high respect and admiration. We are sorry that at Ahmedabad things assumed a black complexion. The mob would seem to have got thoroughly out of hand..... The excesses in Ahmedabad are most regrettable, but, on the whole, thanks to the wise attitude of Government, they are exceptions to the general rule in this Presidency..... We deeply deplore the occurrences at Amritsar, and while we feel that the spirit of murder and outrage should be sternly put down, we also feel that it is to the unexpected action of the Punjáb Government in opposing Mr. Gandhi's entrance into the Punjáb at the last moment, that we owe the turmoil caused in this Presidency. If Mr. Gandhi had not been interfered with, the loss of life at Ahmedabad and Láhore would not have happened. His presence everywhere has the most salutary effect in keeping down violent spirits."]

36. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* regrets that a handful of *Satyagrahi* Muhammadans should have allowed Hindus to enter the mosques in Bombay and Delhi in direct violation of an injunction of Islam and to make seditious speeches and declares that the religious susceptibilities of Musalmans have been greatly injured thereby. It objects to *Satyagraha* being preached in the religious places of different communities and writes:—It is deplorable that Hindus do not hesitate to defile the holy places of Moslems. If *Satyagrahis* themselves will murder the 'Goddess of Justice' in this way, we cannot understand how their cruel movement will succeed. What Musalman will tolerate such inflammatory and profane speeches being made by the idol-worshipping Hindus in mosques? We request Government to prevent the repetition of any such act in future as the Muhammadans are greatly offended thereby.

Protest against Hindus entering and preaching in Musalman mosques.
Akhbár-e-Islám (59), 11th Apl.

37. An anonymous correspondent writes to the *Bombay Chronicle* over the signature "Parsees":—"The result of the deliberations and conclusion of the Peace Conference is in sight and it is likely that the peace may be signed by all the parties concerned and celebration of the Victory Day may come off soon. In view of the resplendent return made to India by the British Government—for all her zealous and sincere efforts to help England to win the war against the most formidable enemy—in the shape of Rowlatt Bills, subversive of the most elementary principles of justice and equity to his Majesty's loyal and docile subjects comprising of no less than one-fifth of the world's population, it is but fair to ask if India consistent with her self-respect—which is the common heritage of all humanity, high and low—should take part in the Victory Celebration?..... Would it not be a fitting and just answer to the passage of the unrighteous Bill through the Council by bureaucratic vote, for India to abstain from taking any

Indians should abstain from taking any part in Victory rejoicings as a protest against the Rowlatt Legislation.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 9th Apl.

part in the rejoicings of the Victory on the day the Government may fix for the purpose? It behoves every true son of India to be honest to himself, to his country and to the Government, and to give a clear indication on the Victory Day of what he sincerely thinks of that 'Success', in the train of which have come the Rowlatt Bills fettering the liberties of every Indian, which, as the recent developments have proved, has plunged India into deep and never heretofore experienced sorrows and affliction."

Alleged highhanded conduct of British soldiers near Poona.
Kesari (109), 8th Apl.

38. Mr. Raghunath Krishna Joshi, B.A., LL.B., Pleader, writes from Junnar (Poona) :—Some European soldiers who had gone to Chákan for a 'sham fight' had to go back to Talegaon as it was for some reasons abandoned. When, on 2nd April 1919, they noticed the motor van carrying mails between Talegaon and Junnar passing the travellers bungalow where they were quartered at Chákan, they immediately compelled the passengers including men, women and children to get down and threw out their luggage. The motor-driver, Mohanlal, supported by two of the passengers—one a retired Mamlatdar and the other, Head Clerk to the Police Superintendent, Poona, explained to the soldiers the delay that would be caused to the mails and the unnecessary detention of passengers in the sun without food and water, but without any effect. The soldiers got into the motor car and forced the driver to take them to Talegaon. Returning to Chákan again, the van picked up the detained passengers and mails and reached Junnar late by some five hours. Will Government look into this matter at least so far as the delay caused to the mails is concerned, if nothing is to be done with regard to the poor people concerned?

Comments on the permission given to Ireland to present her demands to President Wilson.
Sind Advocate (11), 20th Mar.

39. "It was only the last week that we had to report that President Wilson in his explanations as to the formation of the League of Nations had decided that the question as regards Ireland came under the category of Home politics and it concerned Britain to settle the matter. Reuter now informs this country that permission has been accorded to the Irish leaders to present their demands to President Wilson direct. In view of the former news this will cause some surprise. It cannot be forgotten that while Dr. Subramanya Iyer addressed a letter to President Wilson direct through American people, Mr. Montagu called it a disgraceful breach of etiquette, and now it remains to be seen whether this disgraceful spectacle of Ireland can be tolerated."

Mahrátta (8), 13th Apl.

***40.** "One may ask, why is English opinion so anxious to settle the case of Ireland? The reason is obvious. There is pressure from Sinn Fein Ireland, there is pressure in the form of a petition from the Irish soldiers themselves who fought in the war on the side of England, and there is pressure from abroad, especially the United States of America. This continuous and sustained pressure is exerted by Irishmen all over the world, and they have brought it to such a point through President Wilson that England cannot but bend before it. That pressure of public opinion has so far resulted in securing the release of Irish conspirators and rebels, and the Government of India must learn a lesson from this. The Rowlatt Committee said that there were conspirators and rebels in India and the Committee advised the Government to pass a law to crush them. The Government of India accepted their advice, and passed the much-troublesome law. But in England the Government is advised otherwise, and instead of 'crushing' the rebels, the Government have 'released' them, and even a Conservative paper like the *Times* blesses that policy as a 'well-advised step'. The Government and the people there believe what one correspondent in the *Times* happily says: 'The old vicious circle has again appeared—the shattering of hopes based on constitutional action has led to unconstitutional movements; and the unconstitutional movements are treated as a ground for refusing constitutional reforms.' We ask then if the British Government deems this policy as 'a well-advised

step' in Ireland, why is the same Government in India pursuing an *exactly opposite policy* in *exactly similar* conditions? Why is it so intent on 'crushing the rebels here', supposing that they are so, by the Nasmyth hammer of the Rowlatt Law? Can the Home Member answer this?"

Necessity of immediately supplying the Ratnágiri District with rice.
Kesari (109), 8th Apl.

41. Mr. Náráyen Vishnu Jog of Málgund, Secretary, District Agricultural Association, Ratnágiri, writes:—If rice is not sent to Ratnágiri sufficient to meet the requirements of the district which are estimated at 17 to 18 lakhs bags of rice, before the sea communication with Bombay and other districts is stopped, thousands of people, it is feared, will starve during the monsoon. The licensed rate of selling rice in this district is Rs. 1-8 or 1-12 over the Controller's rate, but people have to pay Rs. 16 per bag when the Controller's rate is Rs. 11-8-0. This Government system of controlling rice has done no good to the people but on the contrary it has ruined many. In this rice business extraordinary profits are being made at the expense of the poor ryots. Will Government come forward to investigate this and take immediate steps to put a stop to this state of things?

Complaint about the effects of the system of food control.
Deccan Ryot (5), 10th Apl.

42. "The Director of Civil Supplies, Bombay, announces that the number of those who are to be permitted to import rice from Burma is being very much limited with a view to make supervision and control easier. If efficient control is the only object aimed at, why is not the Director giving a monopoly of the rice trade to one firm like that of the Rallis? Of course this is all in the wrong direction. If instead of twenty, 200 firms are permitted to import, there need be very little more difficulty in exercising control. All that the Director has got to do is to bind all the importers, be they 5 or 5,000, to sell the stocks only to such mofussil people as hold his own licenses and at rates that he himself fixes. There is no point in the present attempt to give over the whole of the rice trade into the hands of a few Bombay merchants. We know of a proposal made by a Belgaum merchant who was ready to sell at rates even *lower* than the controlled rates if permitted to import from Burma. He was told that he could not do it. We wonder what this means. If a man offers to sell at a certain rate on his own responsibility and gives the necessary security to satisfy the Collector that he will pay a penalty in case he fails, it is the duty of the Director to give him the license to import. The merchant we refer to assures us that the prices fixed by the Controller for rice imported from Burma leave a wider margin of profit than is really proper or than the one at which a large number of merchants, perfectly solvent and reliable, would be quite ready to sell if allowed to import. The restriction of the number of importers under these circumstances is extremely unwise and leaves room, we must add, for all sorts of rumours with which the commercial circles are rightly or wrongly full. The result of all this is that people are looking upon the control system as anything but a system designed to lower the prices of foodstuffs! Will Government attend to this more carefully?"

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's views on Bombay's housing problem.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 9th Apl.

43. "Generally the bureaucracy fights exceedingly shy of public agitation in any form. But Sir George Lloyd, coming fresh from a freer atmosphere, welcomes public agitation. We only hope that he will not allow the bureaucracy to stifle his good intentions and that he will show himself responsive to public agitation. Speaking on Bombay's housing problems, Sir George said:—'It is time that we had a better and stronger public opinion here. I should like to see columns of it in newspapers. I should like to see an expression of public agitation to drive both the municipality and Government on in this matter. My own experience as an elected representative of the people has been that public agitation is the greatest incentive to municipal and other reforms.' We hope to see Sir George's administration affording a fresh proof of this truth."

44. "It must be admitted, His Excellency Sir George Lloyd has so far displayed the greatest coolness, forbearance and circumspection. Acting with a singleness of purpose and unique devotion to duty and fully alive to the susceptibilities of the popular mind which has been so ruthlessly trampled upon by an unsympathetic Government, His Excellency has stood firm, showing unmistakable signs of his strong personality by exercising wholesome restraining influence on executive vagaries. Neither the police nor the military in Bombay have yet shown any panicky symptoms, nor have they been provokingly insolent and defiant amidst crowds of people who have joined the movement. It shows the wisdom and dignity of the hand that guides the affairs of the present Government in the province, over which any other Government would have gone into hysterics and lost all self-possession. But Sir George Lloyd has held the reins tight and whatever he may do to uphold the prestige of his Government and the dignity of law he will do it in accordance with the dictates of his inner self, irrespective of the clamours of the bureaucratic gods in the Secretariat who are perhaps panting to post a picket with machine-guns in every nook and corner of Bombay. This is the sort of person India wants—a man who has the courage of conviction to act as he thinks best— and then nothing can go wrong. Behind the majestic panoply of Government the spirit strong in power mysteriously meets the spirit of the weak in suffering, and this is the humanising element in popular Government, which becomes virtuous and hence stronger than ever. This has been the spirit of Sir George Lloyd's administration and Lord Chelmsford would do well to take a leaf out of it. There is bound to be difference of opinion between His Excellency as the head of the administration in the Province and the enthusiastic Nationalists—and the world will be too monotonous to live in, if there was none—but in this diversity, there will be good understanding from varying standpoints as well as mutual respect, and then there can be no attribution of unworthy, self-seeking motives to anybody."

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's attitude towards public agitation.
Sunday Chronicle (14), 13th Apl.

45. "The Moderate party has organised itself in Bengal, Bombay, the Central Provinces, the United Provinces and Madras. The party is not numerically strong in any of these provinces, but some of the best elements in Indian Nationalism are to be found within its ranks. The parties have largely reshaped themselves within the last few months, and the Indian Liberals have received a large accession of strength in the person of some who have recently joined the party. Some others who have not formally done so are at one with the Liberals in principles and policy, and will throw the whole weight of their great influence and power into the scale of the Liberals. This is a time for concentration of forces, when we are face to face with reaction, and if only the party plays its part well and worthily its contribution to the upbuilding of *New India* will be very substantial; although for the moment it is its unfortanate portion to contend against a lot of misdirected enthusiasm, which is calculated, in its opinion, to set back the hands of the clock."

The present position of the Moderate Party.
Servant of India (10), 10th Apl.

46. "Sir Basil Scott will soon leave these shores, and his qualities, good or bad, need not much exercise the public now. The more important and interesting speculation now is who is to be the next Chief Justice..... If the local conditions demand a local man, then it would be difficult to ignore the claims of Mr. Justice Macleod, the senior barrister judge on the Bombay bench. Mr. Macleod's appointment as puisne judge was in the nature of a hazardous experiment. He was not a practising barrister, when he was raised to the High Court bench, but an official. His success, however, as a Judge has justified his appointment, and perhaps also encouraged the authorities to repeat the experiment. There is no question as to Mr. Macleod's abilities. His grasp of cases, especially of commercial transactions, is marvellously quick and clear. For despatch of work he has had no rival here. He is somewhat hasty in forming his opinions, and prone to rely too much upon

The Chief Justiceship of the Bombay High Court.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 11th Apl., Eng. cols.

his own reading of the case rather than on counsel's statement of it. With a little more patience, and a little more of the judicial temper and methods, he should make an excellent Chief Justice. The misfortune of the Bombay bench has been that it has been occupied by judicial or practical extremists. We have either had judges, like Mr. Justice Marten, too much enamoured of legal forms and technicalities to pay adequate regard to the practical demands of justice or those who, like the late Mr. Justice Davar ride roughshod over all the farms and safeguards of procedure and evidence, to arrive at their own intuitive estimation of the merits of a case. We want a happy moderate, who would avoid the faults of both these classes. It is curious that both tend to be impatient. It would be well always to bear in mind, what is oft repeated, but not always practised, that patience is the first of judicial qualities."

Indians in East Africa.
Kesari (109), 8th Apl.

47. The *Kesari* refers to the "fresh persecution" of Indians in South Africa and says:—Mahatma Gandhi requested the Viceroy to appoint a Commission, but His Excellency assured him that the matter was under correspondence with the Secretary of State and through the Secretary of State with the Colonial Secretary and that it would be solved in a satisfactory manner. How long are Indians to rely only on such assurances? While the South African grievances are as yet unredressed, a deputation from East Africa came down to wait upon the Viceroy, but the Viceroy did not even condescend to receive it personally. Sir Thomas Holland received it in his place and gave it a similar assurance. While the British officials are giving to Indians wordy assurances the new Lord Kitchener is engaged in forming a settlement of British soldiers granting to them hundreds of acres in East Africa. There are 6,000 Europeans in East Africa and though the number of Indians is many times more they have to lead a life of misery. What will be the state of Indians if thousands of British soldier colonials are added to the number of Europeans! How can Indians resist the tyranny to which their countrymen who have gone to live in other countries are subjected?

Grievances of Indian settlers in British East Africa.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th Apr.

48. "We make no apology for drawing the attention of the public and the Government of India once more to the position of the Indian settlers in East Africa. His Excellency the Viceroy has taken up the memorial presented to him for 'sympathetic consideration,' but the white settlers in the Protectorate have not allowed the grass to grow under their feet. The latest mail from East Africa contains serious news. The new Governor of East Africa, Major-General Sir Edward Northey, has ranged himself on the side of the white settlers, a fact which has come as a shatteriug blow to the hopes of Indians..... His Excellency has, in his first speech in the Legislative Ceuncil, endorsed all the arrogant demands urged by white settlers in respect of the policy of excluding Indians from the colony and oppressing those already there..... The Governor seems to have submitted proposals for 'improving' the government of the country. He announced in the Council that he had received a cable from the Secretary of State for the Colonies 'to the effect that approval is given to my proposals.' In a word, new legislation is going shortly to be effected in violation of the principle of eqnal treatment. We presume that not only is there going to be no abatement of past oppression, but there is to be an addition in the burden of unfair treatment in future..... We want to know if the rights of security of life and property are going to be abrogated in the case of Indians and if the protection of British citizenship is a colossal sham. Lord Milner, who is Secretary of State for the Colonies, is a pronounced anti-Asiatic and it may be that he will refuse to interfere in the interests of Indians; but are our rights so precarious as to be violated at the pleasure of any Cabinet Minister? A strong hand is needed to check the collusive sympathy of the Colonial Office in this policy of extermination pursued by the East African Government. To disinherit the Indian from the possession of his belongings and utterly to pauperise him into serfdom, is the object of the white settlers, who are not disguising their purpose. How long are Indians to be left to

suffer and meditate on these wrongs? We know of a man who sincerely holds that the position of Indians under oppression has turned him into an atheist. The iniquity of it is gross in East Africa where the new policy is being adopted with a deliberation and forethought which are truly appalling. It is the duty of the Government of India uncompromisingly to urge the British Government to desist from countenancing it. We hope Lord Chelmsford will realise the gravity of the issue."

Comments on Mr. Jinnah's resignation as member of the Imperial Legislative Council.

New Times (9), 4th Apl.; *Home Ruler* (6), 5th Apl.; *Kesari* (109), 8th Apl.

49. "Mr. Jinnah's resignation of his membership of the Imperial Council does not occasion surprise; the merit of his letter of resignation lies in his merciless exposure of the methods of an 'overfretful and incompetent bureaucracy'; Mr. Jinnah charges the Viceroy with inconsistency and with 'ruthlessly trampling upon principles for which Great Britain avowedly fought the war'. One does not wish to believe that the principles were proclaimed to get help when the issue of the world-war was undecided!" [The *Home Ruler* remarks:—"It is well that Mr. Jinnah has come forward to show that there is at least one man who finds it impossible to work in co-operation 'with a Government that shows such an utter disregard for the opinion of the representatives of the people in the Council Chamber and the feelings and sentiments of the people outside'..... We are glad Mr. Jinnah has spoken out so plainly and the country will universally endorse his opinion when he says that 'the Government that passes such a law or sections in times of peace forfeits its claim to be called a civilized Government'." The *Kesari* refers with approval to the resignation given by Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya of their membership of the Imperial Legislative Council. It says that the members have been alive to their self-respect and that they resigned because they could not brook unjust laws. They deserve to be commended, continues the journal, because they have once more brought to the notice of the people how reprehensible is the enactment of the measures.]

Sudhákar (124), 6th Apl.; *Din Mitra* (102), 2nd Apl.

50. We are of opinion that it is better to refuse to co-operate with Government and thus make government impossible by constitutional means than to break the laws and go to jail. The Legislative Councils are among the prominent items where such co-operation is extended by the people under the present system of administration. We are sure the bureaucracy will have to rectify its mistakes in respect of the Rowlatt legislation if all the Indian members resign their seats in the Legislative Councils to mark their protest and carry on an extensive agitation in the country with a view to freeing their country from these fetters. The Honourble Mr. Sharma spiritedly adopted this course on the passage of Rowlatt Bill No. 2. Unfortunately, however, his courage did not last long and he fell a victim to the persuasions of His Excellency the Viceroy and the Moderates. The Honourable Mr. Jinnah, however, had announced that he would resign his seat if the Bill was passed and we heartily congratulate him on faithfully keeping his word. He is not likely to withdraw his resignation as he has tendered it after mature consideration. We have experience of Mr. Jinnah's tenacity and steadfastness. These qualities of his came prominently to the fore on the occasion of the Willingdon Memorial movement. We trust that those who co-operate with Government in the Legislative Councils, the Municipalities and in various other ways should ponder over the course adopted by Mr. Jinnah and follow his example. It is a good sign that some Patels and Kulkarnis in Gujarat have sent in their resignations to the Collector to mark their disapproval of the Rowlatt legislation. Such resignations will, as nothing else can, convince the bureaucracy that it is impossible to carry on the adminisrration of the country by wholly flouting public opinion. [The *Din Mitra* on the other hand declares that Mr. Gandhi's fight for truth is only one-sided since the social tyranny to which the backward and the depressed classes are subjected does not move his heart.]

51. The great aim of the League of Nations would succeed only if all the communal and racial differences were sunk and the concerted idea of the white man's superiority is abandoned. When the integrity and independence of Germany and Bulgaria will be preserved, why should the Turkish Empire be completely dismembered and its Sultan be reduced to a position similar to that of the Pope? The enemy least responsible for the war is Turkey, and had the Great Powers not committed the mistake of deviating from the path of justice at the time of the Balkan war, there would have been no occasion for the last war or, at any rate, Turkey would not have been entrapped by the enemy. The differential treatment meted out to Turkey has awakened the Asiatic nations and they look upon the Allies with a suspicious eye. It would scarcely be just to coerce other nations into subjection and to force an alien civilization on them. But the most deplorable of all these things is that some of the self-governing British Colonies have refused to allow ingress to British Indian subjects. These Colonies would have Indians to help them at the time of war and to supply labour to their industries, but they would not have them to share the rights of citizenship and independence with them! Japan has raised the question of this racial bar in the way of Asiatic emigrants and has insisted on its being placed before the general body of the Peace Conference. Its decision is sure to influence the opinion of other nations with regard to the purity or otherwise of the motives of the Allies.

Doubts as to the purity of the motives of the Powers constituting the League of Nations.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 9th Apl.

52. Commenting in Persian on Shahzada Abdulla Khan's letter on the future status of Mesopotamia, published in its issue dated the 30th March (*vide* paragraph 54 of Weekly Report No. 13 of 1919), the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* affirms that the Turks did not oppress the people of that country in the way the abovenamed contributor has described in his letter. As regards the assumption of suzerainty over Mesopotamia by Persia, the paper states that the former has always been subject to the Khaliph, and that the Shah of Persia has never claimed, nor now claims, spiritual supremacy, hence it cannot be handed over to the Shah. Finally it deprecates the disunion on this subject among different sections of Moslems, and characterises the attempt of the contributor to blacken the Turks who looked after the holy places of the Shias as being far from grateful.

The future of Mesopotamia.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (140), 6th Apl.

53. Reverting to a consideration of the meeting of the Bombay Musalmans held to discuss the question of the Khaliphate, the *Muslim Herald* says:—What means should be adopted with a view to place the Muslim sentiments and feelings before the Peace Conference? Is their any representative of the Musalmans at the Conference to give expression to the inner anxiety felt by them? A non-Muslim cannot adequately express the sentiments of the Muslims, and it is impossible to get a non-Muslim having impartial views in this question as well as the question of the future of the Capital (Constantinople). What justice can we expect from those who wish to wipe the Turks out of the world and who are already prejudiced against them? None of the speakers said anything as to what secular or religious evil would arise if the Musalmans were left without a Khalif of their own. However, we pray that the resolutions passed at the meeting might prove effective.

Comments on the Bombay Moslem meeting to discuss the future of Turkey and the Khaliphate.

Muslim Herald (141), 4th Apl.

54. Referring to, Lord Jellicoe's visit, the *Home Ruler* writes:—"We are cheerfully prepared to bear the additional burden which the navy must entail, but the fundamental condition is that the Indian Navy must be in reality as well as in name the Indian Navy. Any attempts to play with the strong sentiments of the people on this subject will prove disastrous in the long run. India has now reached a stage of national

What should be the position of Indians with regard to a future Indian Navy.

Home Ruler (6), 5th Apl.

consciousness in which the slightest indignity is bitterly resented; and if the Indian Navy for which India will pay is manned by foreigners it will not be by any means a slight indignity. We are perfectly aware of the fact that by the help of their official bloc the Government of India can do anything over the head of the popular representatives, but such a mockery of legislation has absolutely no moral value behind it. We trust that even the Government of India cannot forget the serious blunder it has made in passing the Rowlatt Act and that that lesson will not be forgotten so quickly. We therefore again emphasise that no artificial hitches must be placed in the way of Indians who want to enter the Commissioned ranks of the navy. After the arrival of Lord Jellicoe mischievous attempts have been made in certain quarters to depreciate the merits of Indians, to harp with damnable reiteration on the indispensable character of the British officer and to advocate at the same time the fitness and special claims of Anglo-Indian youths for commissions in the Navy. The Anglo-Indian Press possesses both the ears of the authorities and the agitation which these amiable journals have set up for ignoring the rights of Indians for commissions in the Indian Navy is ominous. It is therefore quite in the fitness of things that the Indian press and public opinion must rouse itself and make it perfectly clear that any such unjust arrangement will not be tolerated. If the Indian navy is to be started under such conditions we must oppose the very existence of that navy."

LEGISLATION.

55. The bureaucracy always maintains, while passing liberty-destroying laws like the Defence of India Act, the Press Act, the Rowlatt Acts, etc., that it will not misuse them. We need not remind the reader how often the first two have been misused, for an instance of new tyranny serves but to remind the people of old injustice. From this experience it may be said that the popular belief that the Rowlatt Act will not but be misused is based on reason. The Lahore New Herald Press's security was enhanced because it made a greater profit, as if the Press security is an income tax or excess profits tax. As the right of appeal is of no great use under the Press Act the bureaucracy is free to do anything. In some matters under the Defence of India Act, there is no appeal and there also injustice can be done. But where appeal is allowed the real nature of the bureaucratic doings is revealed. Messrs. Kane and Mahajan of Chanda (Central Provinces) were proceeded against under the Defence of India Act and sentenced to one year's imprisonment. But they were acquitted by the Sessions Court. In the case of Narayanrao Vaidya the same thing happened. As the High Court was of opinion that the bureaucracy went beyond its powers in Dr. Varad Rajulu's Case, the whole thing came down with a crash. It may be seen from this how hollow is the cry raised by the bureaucracy that they do not misuse their powers and how necessary it is to have the right of appeal in order to obtain true justice. Bureaucracy is convinced of it and, therefore, it allows no right of appeal under the Rowlatt Act! One feels indignant when he thinks what the state of the innocent patriots would be under the Rowlatt Act which does not allow open inquiry and the right of appeal.

The Rowlatt Act is likely to be misused.
Kesari (109), 8th Apl.

***56.** "The greatest disturbing cause has been the introduction of the two Rowlatt Bills and the passing of one of them in the face of a solid Indian opposition within and without the Imperial Legislative Council, and almost entirely with the help of an official non-Indian majority. As a rule we avoid raising racial issues, but it is impossible to do so in this case. The responsibility of forcing those who, like us, have, as far as in them lies, striven all these years to bridge the gulf between the English and the Indian communities, to raise such issues, rests with the Government of India. If nothing else, this aspect of the effect of passing a Coercion Act almost entirely by English votes, should have weighed with Government. Most of those who voted in

The Rowlatt Act and the prospects of constitutional reforms.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 13th Apl.

favour of the Bill at the several stages in the Legislative Council are English members of the Indian Civil Service. A considerable proportion of those whose movements have been restricted under the Defence of India Act are Indian students. Few English officers of the standing of the members of the Imperial Legislative Council have children of that age residing in this country and attending schools in this country. These gentlemen in voting for the Bill were absolutely free from the thought, present to the minds of every Indian member, that the provisions of the Bill may be abused in relation to persons in whom they may be interested. It is the curse of Indian administration that policy is settled by one set of persons and the effects of that policy have to be endured by a totally different set. The evil effects of this anomalous state of things is nowhere so deplorable as in education and in matters arising out of or having a bearing upon educational policy. Several leading Moderates opposed the Bill..... Government, however, turned a deaf ear to their representations. The position of the Moderates in Indian politics becomes untenable unless they can show that their methods are more efficacious than others in obtai ing redress of popular grievances at the hands of Government. In other words, the task of persuading people to adopt a policy of patience and trust becomes impossible unless those who advocate it are able to point to a reasonable measure of success for their method. It is not too much to say that the position of the Indian Moderates has never before been more seriously undermined than by the unbending persistence of the Government of India in passing the principal Rowlatt Bill. Yet they could have accepted the Moderate position without the least deviation from their purpose in passing the Bill. That purpose was to provide against a recrudescence of anarchic crime. The Moderates, while hoping that the introduction of reforms might make such recrudescence impossible, had repeatedly pointed out that Government had ample powers to meet any emergency in the Ordinance powers of the Governor-General. The declaration of *Satyagraha* at this juncture by Mr. Gandhi completed the discomfiture of the Moderates. They were obliged to repudiate it promptly, but, in view of the severe rebuff they had experienced at the hands of Government, they were powerless to prevent the rapid spread of the movement. They could, under the circumstances, adduce only one reason against it, and that a very poor reason, namely, that it may prove injurious to the reform scheme. As if the Act does not take away far more than the reform scheme can give. In the presence of a law which puts in the hands of the Executive Government the power to determine by proclamation the guarantees accepted in every civilised country as the right of the subject in respect of his person and property, a reform scheme which proposes to place the control of roads and schools and sanitation in the hands of elected Ministers, even without any attempts at whittling it down, loses much of its attractiveness..... The danger to the reform scheme owing to *Satyagraha*, even if real, does not trouble us much. We are strongly of opinion that no reform can have a fair trial with such an Act on the Statute Book. Indian politics has become largely a matter of making the British public believe this or the other thing of India and her people. This is true of both opponents and supporters of constitutional reforms. If we take care that the people of India have the qualities required of a people striving after responsible government, there will be no scope for opponents to deny nor need for supporters of reform to assert that they are fitted to exercise the functions of self-government."

EDUCATION.

57. The *Bombay Samáchár* welcomes the suggestions and recommendations made by the special committee that was recently appointed to report on Moslem education in the Presidency and thanks the Government of Bombay for the active interest evinced by them in the question. It fully approves of the new system of granting aid to the *madressas* and other private schools conducted by Mullas, and requests Government to enlarge the present scale of aid to them in proportion to their expansion in future. It also asks

Appreciation of the steps taken by Government to help Musalman education.

Bombay Samáchár (62), 7th Apl.

the well-to-do Musalmans to do their duty in the matter by co-operating with Government and by helping the poor students of their community by giving them scholarships.

Criticism of the educational policy of the Bombay Government.
Deccan Ryot (5), 3rd Apl.

58. "Last week's *Servant of India* has made an attempt to prove that the Bombay Government's educational progress is quite satisfactory. We admit that the *Servant* is right in its own way. Looking at the matter from its higher-caste's point of view, what else can be a better policy than to allot one lakh for opening new primary schools and add two lakhs to the same amount from the increase in the Excise revenue which the Government is *bound* to spend for the purpose, while sums several times this are sanctioned for additional grants to Colleges or New High Schools in the districts? Will the *Servant* tell its readers what proportion of the proposed additions to the educational expenditure will help the education of the classes who form over 80 per cent. of the population? Will it also say what justification Sir Ibrahim has to allot large sums for the adoption of special measures to encourage Mussalman education, while so shamefully little is being done to encourage the Backward and Depressed Hindu Classes? Or is this part of the so-called Hindu (Brahman)-Moslem *entente cordiale* that the Hindu (Brahmans) should not grudge what the Moslems want, while the Moslems should give the Brahmans all that they want? Sir Ibrahim may be very good to our politicians; but as long as we see no trace of sympathy for the crying needs of the backward Hindu Castes and the Depressed Classes, we cannot approve of his statesmanship. The goal of universal literacy is as old as the Chaturshringi Hills. No Sir Ibrahim was needed to lay it down. The question is: When is the goal to be reached? What right has he to spend lavishly on other already well-fed branches of education, while that goal is almost as distant as the stars themselves?"

MUNICIPALITIES.

Mismanagement of the Karáchi Municipality.
New Times (9), 10th Apr.

59. "We have suffered from municipal corruption for long long years, and the strangest part of the matter is that the evil has been tolerated by the highly-placed. From one end of the city to the other, is heard the cry of water, more water; yet nothing has been done to ensure a steady flow throughout the city; the city's mortality continues to be the highest of any city in the world; children continue to die like flies; tuberculosis is causing havoc amongst the little ones who are the real builders of the Nation; hardly 10 per cent. of school boys are healthy; the crowded condition of the town defies description; but our city fathers seem to take things in a philosophic way! His Excellency warned Bombay citizens that if the problem of congestion in the city was not tackled forthwith, the work-people and their children would die out in the next two or three generations. Karáchi well may have a similar warning; yet the situation here can be saved; for, we have vast open spaces to expand to meet the growing needs of the city."

The Bijápur Municipality and the Collector of Bijápur.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th Apr.

60. "We have over and over again emphasised the conviction, based on the experience of the working of local self-governing institutions, that the whole fabric is a farce, and that so long as the present policy of Government regarding municipal and local boards is not replaced by a policy of complete popular control, the position of these bodies will never improve. For if an official like the Collector, with his powers of control, seeks to rule these bodies as he thinks fit he can easily do so, by the simple process of persuading a few of the members—themselves creatures or seekers of official patronage—to make common cause against the main body of their elected colleagues. This process no doubt makes the latter powerless and voiceless, but at the same time it causes friction where harmony should exist and any exercise of the powers of control on this basis is apt to be an unwarranted and harmful interference in the internal affairs of these bodies, constituted as they are. The

history of many a municipal body tells this melancholy tale. The experience of the Bijápur Municipality during the triennium which has just closed has not been different. The President, Mr. Kowj algi, was an elected councillor. His very election to the presidentship was sought to be thwarted. Failing that, his regime was full of thorns throughout. Ultimately he had to resign his post, a few days before the expiry of his term, because of the interference on the part of the Collector, Mr. J. K. N. Kabraji, and his creatures in the Municipality. A recent instance of friction which has considerably agitated the public mind in that city refers to the municipal elections which were concluded in the middle of February last. Of the election rules framed by Government Rules 24 and 28 require that the voting papers and counterfoils shall be destroyed at the end of fifteen days after the date of the declaration of the results of election, or if any application be made to the District Court under section 28 of the District Municipal Act to set aside or amend any elections, after the disposal thereof, and till then the voting papers shall be under the seal of the municipality and in their custody, and the counterfoils and the unused foils under the seal and custody of the polling officers. After the declaration of the results an application under the Municipal Act had been made to the District Court and, therefore, these papers were preserved under the respective seals and kept in the municipal building. The object of the rules is quite evident, and it is that the secrecy of voting should be kept inviolate, and that nobody should have any right to look into these papers and know what voter voted for what candidate, by comparing the foils with the counterfoils except the District Court which may do so for a just and proper decision of the applications under the Municipal Act. The Collector, however, called for these papers. The President, we are told, refused to part with them as he was of opinion that the rules prohibited him from so doing and he at the same time requested the Collector to refer the matter to Government, if his opinion was questioned. The Collector. however, rested his right under section 173 of the Municipal Act which says that the Collector shall have power to call for any document in the possession or control of the Municipality. But the rules apparently create an exception to the powers under section 173 and, moreover, the counterfoils which are required to be under the seal of the polling officers, though in this case, kept in the Municipal building, were legally in their possession, and the Municipality had no control over them except to destroy them. On this view of the law, the President refused to submit the papers to the Collector. But a resolution was carried under the inspiring presence of the Collector, that the papers should be submitted to him. This was done on 24th March. The very next day a suit was filed against the Municipality by a councillor in the Sub-Judge's Court and the Court directed the Municipality by an *ad interim* order of injunction not to send the papers to the Collector. The order was duly served on the Municipality. By this time the President had resigned, and the Vice-President was master of the situation. He, it is alleged, ordered that the boxes containing the papers should be forwarded to the Collector and some other councillors—of course the nominated ones—looked to the actual forwarding of them. The Vice-President, however, saw his blunder the next day and requested the Collector to return the boxes. The Collector, we are told, would have none of it. On the other hand, again in his presence, another precious resolution was carried in the Municipality to the effect that the suit should be defended though many an elected member counselled to the contrary. The plaintiff, therefore, applied to the Court to make fresh orders for the proper preservation of the boxes till the decision of the suit. But before it could pass any orders the boxes were apparently opened. The Court, however, passed orders regarding the safe custody of the papers that were in the District Court pertaining to one of the three wards, in connection with the application under the Municipal Act. The suit will continue and the question of right will be decided in due course. No comments are necessary as the matter is *sub judice*; we have merely narrated the story. But so far as these facts go, there is no doubt that the imbroglio could have been avoided. Some rate-payers have sent telegrams to the Comissioner, S. D., and the Government of Bombay, regarding the alleged infringement of the right of secrecy of voting, but nothing has as yet

been heard in reply. Will Government enquire into this matter? We only wish that the shackles of control are relaxed—without reference to the present case—so that the Municipality may breathe a little more freely. And the sooner such control is ended, the better for local self-government."

Complaint about the high-handedness of the President of the Hyderabad (Sind) Municipal Committee of Management in connection with the proposed grant to the Nava Vidyalaya.
Home Ruler (6), 5th Apl.

61. The Hyderabad correspondent of the *Home Ruler* describes how at a meeting of the Municipal Committee of management at which the Collector and President Mr. Gibson was not present, the proposal for the making of of a grant of Rs. 9,000 to the Nava Vidyalaya was negatived, how the Collector subsequently proposed to call another meeting at which he himself was to move a proposition in favour of the grant, how this excited the public and brought them in large numbers to the meeting "to witness the drama under the managership of the Collector who was making a farce of local self-government in Hyderabad," and how Mr. Gibson then decided to hold the meeting *in Camera*. The correspondent then continues:—"Let Sir George Lloyd look into this matter. His last speech at Ahmedabad savours full of hopeful expectation for the advancement of local self-government in this presidency. Let His Excellency turn his attention to the poor benighted Sind and see what his subordinates are doing there. Municipal administration has suffered considerably under Mr. Lawrence and some of his faithful District officers. The present local self-government in Sind is a mere mockery as district officers are so emboldened that they do not hesitate to ride rough-shod over public opinion and carry their point in such a shabby way even in places like Hyderabad. In about an hour's time the knotty question was settled, all excepting three, who stood true to their guns to the last, voting in favour of adhering to the previous resolutions. How it was done need not puzzle us seeing that those who sided with the Collector were either European officers or men who could change so conveniently."

Comments on the nomination by Government of an "untouchable" on the Poona Municipality.
Servant of India (10), 10th Apl.

62. "We congratulate the Bombay Government on their adopting the suggestion made by the Servants of India Society's vernacular journal of Poona that the place of a nominated councillor, left vacant by Mr. Apte's death in the Poona City Municipality, should be filled by a member of the depressed classes..... We daresay an interesting situation will be created in the Poona Municipality by the appointment of a gentleman belonging to the so-called untouchable classes, who is the equal of any other member in point of respectability. The municipal board boasts of at least two Nationalist members who had the temerity in these days of democracy openly to oppose an innocent resolution urging the desirability of removing the taint of untouchableness from the depressed classes at a conference of the Poona District last year. They may, if they so choose, wash off the pollution in a holy bath on the riverside every day (which will also afford them an opportunity to add to their religious merit), but we trust they will restrain their nationalist impulses so far as to abstain from bringing forward a resolution in the municipality for reserving a separate seat for the new member, as seats are set apart for Pariah boys in schools. This experiment may well be extended by Government and at least one member of the untouchables nominated on each of the municipal and local boards; it is calculated to bring about a substantial improvement in the civic conditions of the localities inhabited by the depressed classes, as well as to bring down the hauteur of the higher castes and restore to the lower castes their self-respect, lost long long ago."

NATIVE STATES.

The Kolhápur State and its Vatandar Kulkarnis.
Rájakáran (116), 6th Apl.

63. People in British India need not envy the lot of their brethren in the Native States. The manner in which the administration of some of these is carried on shows that the British bureaucracy need not plume itself upon its autocratic and unrestrained powers. Some of the rulers are so high-handed that even the unprogressive bureaucracy can very well copy their

methods. When the bureaucracy wants to enact a repressive piece of legislation it has to go through the farce of appointing committees and commissions. The rulers of Native States, however, have not to do anything of the kind. Anything that is prompted by their whim becomes the law of their States. It is open to the people of British India to agitate against a repressive law, but the subjects of the Native States are debarred even from doing this. We are reminded of this by the hand-bill issued by the Association of Watandar Kulkarnis in the Kolhápur State which meets at Nipani this month. The British bureaucracy took it into its head to substitute paid talatis for watandar kulkarnis. But in spite of the baits of the bureaucracy and the threats of the Deputy Collectors, there are still some kulkarnis in their posts. The rights which the British bureaucracy could not abolish even after taking so much pains the Kolhápur Durbar abolished with a stroke of the pen and deprived hundreds of kulkarnis of their hereditary watans.

M. K. SHAIKH,

Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 17th April 1919.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 19th April 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. "The public statement on the present situation which Sir George Lloyd made last evening was couched in considered language. It was certainly not modelled on the denunciatory rhetoric of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. We are glad of the spirit of good temper with which he has discussed the position of Government at the present crisis. According to His Excellency's admission, there is more behind this phase of disturbance than meets the eye and it is well that we have the example of Sir George Lloyd's chariness in ascribing to *Satyagraha* all the evils of violence it has been combating since its inception. It is plain that in some parts of his speech His Excellency has been skating on thin ice, though there is little doubt as to the purport of the final appeal. No one has attempted to discredit the Government of His Excellency with the allegation that they have been reckless in the 'employment of the ample military resources' at their disposal, and there will be no question as to their claim regarding the comparative patience they exhibited in Bombay on Friday last in the face of trouble. Now we believe that the policy of His Excellency is being caught in the current of action indicated in the communique of the Home Department, especially as in his speech he does not pause to discriminate between the pacific attitude of *Satyagrahis* and the turmoil, which, according to general belief, it is wrong to confound with the consequences of *Satyagraha*."

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's pronouncement on the present situation.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th Apl.

***2.** "The transparent sincerity of Sir George Lloyd and his honest and outspoken statement cannot be misconstrued by anybody. A Governor of a province, under a Viceroy like Lord Chelmsford as arch-dictator, has to consider many circumstances, of which the public know very little. What however they know is that a little bit of O'Dwyerism might have set the whole province ablaze. Sir George Lloyd has saved the people from that horrible situation by his quiet and tactful wisdom and real statesmanship. As the Governor of the province of Bombay, His Excellency could have extended the arms of the law and quelled every sort of disturbance by sheer force of arms. But he has not done it. Wisdom, tactfulness and statesmanship have played their proper part in his administration, and however a peculiar class of unthinking Anglo-Indians and illiterate Indians may accuse him of diffidence, hesitation or cowardice, every man who can think honestly and courageously for himself, will give Sir George Lloyd the highest praise for his courage, coolness and sound judgment. He has felt the pulse of the nation and Indians have reason to be grateful to him. For His Excellency's sake, and for the sake of giving him every help in keeping peace and quiet in the province, every Indian should do his utmost to desist from practices which in any way are likely to lead to unfortunate results. *Satyagrahis* will do well to ponder over these. The dignity of law and order must be maintained, and every one must remember that Sir George Lloyd is here among us to deal justice tempered with mercy, in consideration of the fact that the whole Indian nation has taken the infamous Rowlatt Act as an insult to the nationhood of India. Whatever might have been the excesses by an unthinking and unreasoning mob under shady and questionable influences, Mr. Gandhi and his followers have with one heart tried their honest best to stop them from acts of violence, and certainly Sir George Lloyed knows it."

Sunday Chronicle (14), 20th Apl.

3. "We must congratulate the Governor who has already made his mark in dealing with a difficult situation and in keeping a cool head and to whom the community is particularly grateful for the avoidance of bloodshed on Black Sunday. The pronouncement of His Excellency is at once a sober and temperate statement containing an exhortation in a dignified manner. We hope that the response to his appeal will be as great as is called for by the present emergency. There is one point on which we differ from His Ex-

Young India (16), 16th Apl.

cellency and in regard to which we would utter a word of warning. It may be perhaps natural to make a sweeping condemnation of several movements which appeared on the scene after the passing of the Rowlatt Bill and to assign indiscriminately all consequences to any or all of them put together. But it is a matter of mere coincidence that the passive resistance movement initiated by Mahatma Gandhi came on the scene at the same moment as other movements, and while violence of all kind is universally condemned, the public has great faith in the elevating influence of *Satyagraha* and in the ultimate solution of the difficulties of this country being reached not by injuring others but by self-discipline such as is involved in the movement. It is a difficult task which the Governor of Bombay has in his hands, and while we would urge on the public to help him in carrying it out, we would urge on His Excellency Sir George Lloyd the desirability of not mixing up issues and of taking such temperate measures as would commend themseves to the moral support of the community."

*4. People believe that if there has been no conflict so far between the people and the authorities in Bombay, it is solely due to the vigilance of His Excellency the Governor. Sir George Lloyd has declared that there is no wisdom in using repressive measures against constitutional popular agitation. And he has upto now kept his Executive Councillors in check on the same principle. The public talk goes that in the meetings of his Executive Council, he and his Indian Councillor were on one side while the Civilian Councillors were on the other. His Excellency says that he is convinced of the necessity for the Rowlatt Act. People say it is his duty to do so; but that cannot lessen the popular opposition to the Act. There is no reason to believe that the people do not properly grasp the real nature of these Acts. We assure His Excellency that the people have so far had no reason to complain about his administration. The people declare that he is independent, sees things for himself and is not led away by other officials. All are alike sorry that the disturbances at Ahmedabad and Viramgaum should have taken place in his *régime*. These disturbances were due to the rumours about the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and Miss Anasuya, and had nothing to do with *Satyagraha*. His Excellency's pronouncement is couched in soft words likely to allay overwrought feelings. There is nothing in it of the parade of power made by Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Lord Ronaldshay; nor is there any attempt in it, as in the Government of India's resolution, to put Government's own responsibility on the shoulders of the popular leaders.

Gujarâti (20), 20th Apl.

5. "The agitation over the Act has certainly taken a most sinister and alarming turn, and the peace and security of the whole country are at stake. While the peace, security and progress of the country are threatened, it would certainly be the duty, as it would be the interest, of all peaceful persons to support Government in their attempt to put down lawlessness and restore order. The object of Sir George Lloyd's statement was to make this appeal to the representatives of the different sections and interests of the people of Bombay. We are sure the appeal will have the desired effect. All law-abiding citizens are themselves alarmed, in view of the recent disturbances, at the threatening turn of affairs. Sir George Lloyd also proceeded in the right manner and right spirit, in taking the citizens of Bombay into his confidence. His speech is characterised by a wise restraint and an anxious desire to avoid giving offence..... He is no believer in the policy of mere terrorism. He pointed out with pardonable pride how his Government had never unnecessarily interfered with the freedom of the public..... This is quite true, and the Police, the military, and His Excellency's Government certainly deserve the thanks of Bombay for the tactful manner in which the *Satyagrahis* in Bombay were dealt with. Sir Geogre Lloyd has won universal praise by his policy of wise moderation and non-interference, which has had this great result, that, whereas Bombay has been the centre and starting point of the *Satyagraha* movement, and has witnessed scenes of the greatest excitement and enthusiasm, it has been subjected to

Praja Mitra and Pârsi (31), 18th Apl., Eng. and Ver. cols.; *Jâm-e-Jamshed* (26), 18th Apl.

the least amount of violence and disorder. Sir Michael O'Dwyer in a recent speech seemed to sneer at Bombay having led the way in breaking the law. But the sequel here and in the Punjab has shown the superiority of Sir George Lloyd's policy over that of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's. The only dark chapter in the story of the recent demonstrations in this presidency is the occurrence at Ahmedabad. But the story of Ahmedabad is still more or less a mystery. We do not think His Excellency was quite right in the view that he seems to have taken, of the results of a policy of patience and moderation..... The situation is certainly not ordinary. There are extraordinary causes and forces at play. Perhaps we are all thinking too much of the political side of the present discontents, and ignoring the economic side of it. Hunger and economic distresses are always and everywhere at the root of general troubles and disaffection. While the leaders of the people are for claiming political rights, and the Government is for enforcing its authority, nobody seems to think of alleviating the economic conditions of the country. We hope both Government and the leaders of the public will early concentrate their attention upon this aspect of the position of things. We are glad Sir George Lloyd made his statement before so many representatives of industry and commerce, among others..... Sir George Lloyd has gone along the right path in proceeding upon the lines of conciliation and confidence." [The paper in its vernacular columns adds :—His Excellency's statement in this connection is founded on erroneous assumptions. He has not done a wise thing in reminding the public of the force at Government's disposal. We know our Governor does not like to pride himself upon the force at Government's disposal; but it seems his reference to it is prompted by the orders of higher authority. The gravity of the present situation requires that Government should call for the aid of those outspoken persons who are looked upon as promoters of the present disturbances by officials. What military force could not achieve at Ahmedabad was successfully achieved by a few sweet words from a revered leader like Mr. Gandhi. We confidently assert that thoughtless and precipitate action on the part of the officials and their impatience to demonstrate their own strength are at the root of these disturbances. A great mass of people look upon Mr. Gandhi as a deity and he is believed to be the incarnation of Christ in many places. People are prepared to sacrifice their very lives for him and so they cannot tolerate any insult to him, such as his externment from the Punjáb and his consequent arrest. It is this externment and arrest, and not the Black Act, that is the cause of all these disturbances. Can any Anglo-Indian tolerate similar insult to one whom they revere like a god? The *Jám-e-Jamshed* hopes that the policy of moderation followed by Government up to now will also be continued hereafter and asks the leaders of Bombay to publish their manifesto against *Satyagraha* and to co-operate with Government in suppressing the disturbances as desired by His Excellency the Governor in his statement. It is constrained to say, however, that the public opinion cannot agree with His Excellency when he tries to justify the need for the Rowlatt Bills.]

6. From the speeches delivered by His Excellency the Governor during the short period of his administration and from what we have heard of him in private, we are convinced that Sir George Lloyd is a true friend and sympathetic benefactor of the people. It is our duty to give our serious thought to the statement, made by such a sympathetic and good Governor, regarding the present situation before the leading citizens of Bombay. The occurrence of violence and arson at Ahmedabad and Viramgam has sullied the fair name of the people of this presidency. In India the British Government have supreme power and they can suppress any disturbances and unrest with that power; but it would not be high and wise statesmanship to resort to repressive measures for that purpose and to quell the present unrest among the people by mere physical force and not to discriminate the large portion of the loyal, innocent and law-abiding public from a small band of rioters and creators of unrest. The disturbances at Ahmedabad have been identified with the *Satyagraha* agitation by some of our Anglo-Indian contemporaries. We wish our contemporaries would publish the name of even a single *Satyagrahi*

Sánj Vartamán (33), 17th Apl.

who may either directly or indirectly be traced to be at the back of them. These disturbances have nothing to do with *Satyagraha*. The *Satyagrahi* has been accused of law-breaking; so far as the Press Act is concerned this is true; but the *Saiyagrahi* never aims at creating or maintaining disorder. He is ever ready and willing to submit to the penalty of the law. The law-breaking at Ahmedabad and Viramgam is not the breaking of civil laws. It is a grave breach of criminal laws and it can deserve nothing less than capital punishment. The appeal to the public by His Excellency the Governor for preventing such disturbances cannot but have a profound effect on them. His Excellency's statement in this connection is characterised by sobriety and moderation. He has not like Sir Michael O'Dwyer indulged in diatribes against the political agitators; nor has he held out any threats to the public. The present situation is no doubt full of unrest and disquiet; but bureaucrats like Sir Michael O'Dwyer and our Anglo-Indian contemporaries have aggravated the situation to a great extent. Sir George Lloyd has not only altogether refrained from using language that would add fuel to the fire but he has also tried to take the public into his confidence. A rumour was afloat in the city yesterday that His Excellency would refer to the persons whom his Government intends to deport. In our opinion it was a ridiculous rumour. His Excellency has done nothing of the kind. The disturbers and rioters are certainly the enemies of the British *raj*, but those disturbers and rioters are neither encouraged nor instigated by the *Satyagrahi* or by the public sympathising with *Satyagraha*. The great mass of the public have nothing to do with them either directly or indirectly. It is not the work of political agitators but of revolutionaries. We must thankfully acknowldge that the policy of non-interference adopted by His Excellency with regard to the agitation against the Rowlatt Bills has greatly gratified the people. Sir George Lloyd deserves all the credit for avoiding such lamentable incidents as have occurred at Delhi and other places. Last Friday, the general mass of the public was considerably excited in Bombay; and had there been Lord Sydenham or Sir Michael O'Dwyer at the head of the Bombay Government, bullets would have soon appeared on the scene and the loss of hundreds of lives would have been the result. It is the good luck of the Bombay people that they have got a Governor like Sir George Lloyd at the present juncture. His Excellency has shown wisdom in withdrawing Martial Law from Ahmedabad. It would have entailed considerable hardship on the innocent people. The British *raj* rests on law. The people are loyal to the British *raj* simply because the British respect law and justice. But unfortunately the Executive Council of the Viceroy has, in enacting this law, set aside all principles of law and all standards of justice and principles of liberty; and so it is the duty of the nation to oppose it. His Excellency asks the leaders of the public to declare themselves against *Satyagraha* as it (*Satyagraha*) advocates and teaches law-breaking. If the *Satyagraha* movement is responsible for what has happened in the country, it should be discontinued at once. But onr conscience refuses to believe that *Satyagraha* or the *Satyagrahis* created the present grave situation; and so long as it is carried on within the limits prescribed by the instructions and orders of Mahatma Gandhi without disturbing the public peace and without injuring the life or property of the public, we cannot oppose it. The *Satyagraha* movement is not undertaken without due deliberation nor is it against the British *ráj*. It is not a movement for breaking all laws of Government. Mahatma Gandhi is perfectly conscious of the responsibilities of what has happened in the country and we have such faith in the purity of Mr. Gandhi's teachings that so long as the movement continues under his guidance and control and so long as he is not deprived of his liberty, we think there will not be any recurrence of the disturbances that have occurred at Ahmedabad and other places. We are ready to place our services at the disposal of Government for the purpose of suppressing violence, riots, etc., but we cannot honestly declare ourselves against *Satyagraha*, so long as it is carried on without the perpetration of any evil. We look upon and believe *Satyagraha* to be a sacred movement. *Satyagraha* is our creed.

7. The attempt made by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd to take the people into confidence and to lead them to the right path in these times of trouble is really praiseworthy and it is hoped that it will produce good results. We hope the public will give such a satisfactory response to the appeal made by His Excellency that the liberal policy pursued by him in this Presidency will be followed and initiated by the rulers of other provinces. It appears from the advice given by His Excellency in the matter of legitimate political agitation that His Excellency himself does not consider the decision in the matter of the Rowlatt Act as final and that he sees no reason for the public to be disappointed. The popular leaders should, therefore, continue. The legitimate agitation against the Rowlatt Bill should now adopt such means as would not afford a tool in the hands of those who want to accomplish sinister motives. Mr. Gandhi has, therefore, done well in keeping his agitation in suspense and asking his followers to help the authorities to bring the culprits to book. [The *Shri Venkateshwar* writes:— His Excellency's speech deserves a careful consideration. It is now the duty of every citizen to strive his utmost to extirpate the evil of disorder from this country as suggested by His Excellency. It is hoped that the people of this country will not drive His Excellency to the painful necessity of resorting to stern measures.]

Bombay Samdchár (64), 19th Apl.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (82), 18th Apl.

8. His Excellency Sir George Lloyd has not used a single harsh word in the speech he delivered yesterday before the citizens of Bombay and has tried to enlist their sympathy. His Excellency has, however, set forth the official view of the Rowlatt legislation; but there is always some scope for difference of opinion. Unfortnnately Government officials are of the opinion that the popular opposition to the Rowlatt Bills is based on false rumours circulated among the masses. It may be granted that the masses do not understand the provisions of the Act; but Government do not seem to realise that not a single educated man has lent his support to it. When His Excellency the Governor was occupied in explaining the Rowlatt Act, the members of the legal profession were raising their protest against that very Act. Do not the Vakils understand the law? The people know that the Act will not be put into operation for six months. But why should the Government of India get the Act passed so hurriedly? With due deference to His Excellency, we beg to point out that Government are mistaken in thinking that the people do not understand the Rowlatt legislation. The incidents at Ahmadabad and Viramgam are regrettable. There are many guesses with regard to these occurrences; but the true facts require to be brought out. We would request His Excellency to take the people more into his confidence. He should not think that the educated people are the enemies of Government. We fail to understand why the representatives of the Press were kept out of the meeting. This is the only mistake committed at the meeting and the Press should, therefore, he treated with more confidence in future. The Government of Bombay have confidence in the Press and they must have realised by this time that it has not embarrassed the position of Government. The Government of India should depute His Excellency Sir George to the Punjáb and we feel sure he will be able to restore peace and order in that province by his tact and judgment.

Hindusthán (24), 17th Apl.

9. In view of the critical times through which we are passing, it is earnestly hoped that every word of His Excellency the Governor's speech would be carefully perused by the Bombay public. The speech is meant to rouse the people to a sense of their duty as citizens. His Excellency's four months' administration of the Presidency has not failed to impress the minds of the public with his wise statesmanship which fully stood the test during the recent mill strikes. In the matter of dealing with the *Satyagraha* agitation in Bombay he has showed much skill. The peaceful conduct of the Bombay Police on the day of the fast and on the day of Mr. Gandhi's release was due to the sympathetic attitude of His Excellency. The cordial co-operation with

Indu Prakásh (44), 18th Apl.

Mr. Gandhi of the authorities at Ahmedabad and the withdrawal of martial law from the city at his request were also due to the same cause. It is clear from the speech that His Excellency is extremely anxious to see this Presidency lead the whole of India in all matters. To bring this about depends not only on Government but also on the people. The threatening language used by the rulers of some other Provinces does not find a place in His Excellency's speech which expresses his thoughts in mild and conciliatory terms, and we confidently trust that our people in consultation with their leaders will not fail to assist Government in restoring peace in response to His Excellency's appeal. At the same time we must say that we are surprised that His Excellency should have like the rulers of certain other Provinces defended the Rowlatt legislation. When the Act is being opposed by the whole Indian non-official opinion, it is vain to expect the people to approve the singing of its praises. Similarly we do not agree with the idea that the *Satyagraha* movement was the sole cause of the riots. The people have been goaded to desperation by famine, pestilence and other causes, and the Rowlatt Act has added one more cause. The people already knew by experience that Government attached very little value to public opinion, and the passing of the Act marked the culminating point of that policy. Public opinion was insulted and thereby exasperated. *Satyagraha* afforded an occasion to give vent to the feelings of exasperation, which transformed themselves into riots. The only means to pacify public opinion is the repeal of the Rowlatt Act. Exhibition of military power or the deportation of leaders will not pacify the people. Let the leaders be set free as has been done in Egypt.

10. "Compare Sir Michael's heroics about 'strong rule' and his harsh measures, with the sagacity our own beloved Governor, Sir George Lloyd, has shown in meeting the situation in Bombay, the centre of the *Satyagraha* movement; consider how Lord Chelmsford tried to soothe the outraged feelings of Indian members when the Rowlatt Act was passed; and you will realise the difference between statesmanship and stupidity..... The situation is critical. We earnestly appeal to Lord Chelmsford to reconsider the whole matter; there is nothing wrong in withdrawing the obnoxious Act; to retract would not be to show weakness; to undo a wrong is a sign of strength, and the people's regard for his Lordship will grow..... Let not civilization say that the generous blood of Indians flowed in the war only to receive the reward of the Black Act; withdraw the Act, so that the people may be encouraged to believe that the Government does honestly mean to see the Indian situation by the light of justice."

New Times (9), 13th Apl.

11. The *Muslim Herald* prefixes the following remarks to a translation of His Excellency the Governor's speech delivered at the Science Institute on the 16th instant:—There is no doubt that the public which is so much agitated over the Rowlatt Act possesses a very limited knowledge, if at all, about that measure. Only an *ex-parte* judgment has been given. It is wise of the Governor to try to describe to the public its nature, its jurisdiction and its consequences. We hope the public will consider these points. [The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* also reproduces the translation of the speech and observes as follows:—The Rowlatt Bill has set up a tremor in a beautiful building. Praise be to God, for the people of India have begun to distinguish between what is good for them and what is bad. Daily rumours and the freshest news show that the executive officers do not fully try to console the people; rather do they make the unarmed subjects the target for bullets and machine-guns. Why are Government not informed clearly and unmistakably that the people will have none of this Bill? Are Indians disloyal? No; they are loyal to the core, and they have proved their loyalty in such a manner that the authorities have acknowledged it themselves. Why then are loyal subjects being fired upon today? Why is their fidelity not recognised? This can only be when our cry reaches His Majesty the King; otherwise the subordinate officers will brand us with anything, particularly disloyalty and perfidy.]

Muslim Herald (141), 19th Apl.; **Mufid-e-Rozgár* (140), 20th Apl.

12. "After the communiqué regarding the Delhi disturbances, the Government of India reverted to a spell of silence which has now been broken. No useful purpose would be served by attempting to explain away the stern language of the present communiqué and it is best to face facts and recognise it as a serious portent. We do not want to disguise its meaning and we do not desire that anyone should misconstrue it as a casual warning. For more than a week after the trouble at Delhi, the Government were apparently hesitating as to their policy towards the agitation against the Rowlatt legislation. The interval has enabled them to roll up their strength and they have now declared war against the anti-Rowlatt movement which they have, without discrimination or reserve, lumped with the exhibitions of violence in some parts of the country. Touching the outbreaks of violence, we have never disguised that it is the right and duty of Government to suppress them with all the legitimate means in their power, but we have insisted that for the safety of the innocent and for securing the minimum of suffering, the authorities are under an obligation to use their strength with a sense of humanity and restraint. Where it is apparent that the authorities have exercised their power without regard to the necessities of an occasion, the public, in whose interests the acts are done, has the right of demanding an inquiry into the allegations of excess. That is a funamental condition of good and orderly Government which is apt to be forgotten in times of excitement. Between the assertions of the Government of India concerning the cause of the trouble and the allegations of the public regarding it, there are serious differences, but as regards the lawful punishment of those who took to deeds of violence, there can be no difference of opinion. Unfortunately the communiqué does not pause to speak of equal justice to all, since it displays an infatuation in the interests of order without discrimination as to the means that would suffice. Attempts have been made to damn the *Satyagraha* movement and to disparage its beneficent influence during the trouble by the reactionary press, which with amazing impertinence has endeavoured to scare the public by combinations like '*Satyagraha* riots' and 'Passive Resistance outrages'. We fear that, in the course of their tremendous philippic, Government have not paused to discriminate and deal fairly with a movement which at every stage of trouble has proved to be an asset of peace. Any other view is sheer perversion or Philistinism. The communiqué ends with the declaration that Government intend to prevent by all means, however drastic, any occurrence of these excesses. The public abhor these excesses; they suffer by them and have the right to expect Government to protect the peace of the country. No one can, however, help being taken aback by the resolution of Government to drag out weapons of terrorisation from the lumber-room of obsolete statutes, and handing them over for 'free' use. Behind the display of these relics of legislation, is the announcement that the Governor-General will not hesitate to employ the ample military resources at his disposal to suppress organised outrage, rioting or concerted opposition to the maintenance of law and order. In a time of official panic, we are afraid, such an announcement openly made as a license to local authorities, stands in peril of being used as a screen for drastic 'suppression' of people who, in the eye of the authorities, exhibit signs of truculence or contumacy..... It will be a terrific spectacle to see all these engines of repression at work, acquainted as we are only with their intermittent operations in the past. And lastly the Governor in Council appeals to all loyal subjects of the Crown and to all those who have interest in the maintenance of law and protection publicly to dissociate themselves from the 'movement', which, in the context, stands for agitation against the Black Act. Whether these threats to effect the dissociation of the people from the movement is going to achieve its purpose remains to be seen, but now the ominous and outstanding fact is that the Government are in the mood of panic and wrath. We are entirely in support of Government in their aim to suppress violence and bloodshed, and we appeal to all the loyal subjects of the Crown to rally to the help of Government in the legitimate exercise of their power for this purpose.

Comments on the Government of India's resolution on the present crisis in the country.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th Apl.

We regret, however, that the Government should have been so lacking in perspicacity and in sympathy as to crown their argument with a summons to the people to abandon the agitation and to acquiesce in the Black Act. We entreat Government not to imagine that the most extravagant use of physical force will destroy the antagonism of the people to the Black Act, but to realise that the inner opposition of the people is not something which a Government with a title to a civilised name can attempt, by show of power, to exorcise. We lay down the anticipation that the course of events will show no diminution of the opposition to the Black Act..... Various rumours are afloat that the situation is likely to develop into a trial of strength. We shall not be surprised, as in the parallel case of the Irish Coercion Act, if the authorities fought for the prosecution of their strength with frantic disregard of the popular feelings. History repeats itself, but in cases like this with fatal exactness and with small excuse. We are afraid that summaries and annotations of the Black Act are at this time of the day useless and superfluous. Whether it is acceptable or not, has been discussed and settled. It has been analysed inside out in the Imperial Council, threshed out in the Press and torn into tatters on a hundered platforms. The Government may affect to be superior to sentiment, but they cannot afford to forget the psychology of the people or ignore the seasoned love of personal and national liberty which has matured through the experience of the war. In men, money and service, India has been an unstinting contributor, and at the dawn of peace it will be a tragedy of the first magnitude if over a question like the Black Act, the Government should be seen in armed struggle against a helpless people and possessed of a giant's strength using it like a giant. The hideous measure would never be acceptable among the people of a free country and the Government of India are asking too much that the people of India should, prepared as they are of a long step towards responsible government, absolutely abstain from agitating against it. Will Government realise the depth of the feeling evolved in the minds of people touching the character of the Act and the stern temper in which their representatives were bowed out after passionate protest? As regards the Black Act, there is no choice to be made to-day. It is over. We fervently hope that in the name of that choice, we shall not witness the sufferings of people who are opposed to violence and the unjust penalisation of those who invite the lawful consequences of their acts."

*13. *Gujarâti* (20), 20th Apl., Eng. cols.

"The interests of social progress and public peace and tranquillity imperatively demand that these excesses should be emphatically condemned and the hands of Government strengthened in the maintenance of law and order without which the very existence of society would be impossible. What has happened in Russia, and Germany and elsewhere has a terrible lessen to teach. For our own part we are not prepared to believe that the Bolshevist propaganda has had any thing to do with the present upheaval in India. That is no doubt a very convenient way to explain the unfortunate situation in India. But the causes are both political and economic, some immediate whilst others are of long standing and cumulative in their volume and intensity. It is no use diagnosing the causes of the malady in an empirical fashion. Only righteous statesmanship of a high order will succeed in solving the complex and grave problem that has arisen. The Resolution issued by the Government of India on the 14th instant deserves to be read by all, and no doubt it will be perused everywhere with a due sense of responsibility and with a full appreciation of the potentialities and possibilities lying before the country. We are sorry that what was prophesied by the non-official Councillors as a certain result of the passing of the Rowlatt Bill in face of unanimous opposition has been treated in the Resolution just as if it were a threat..... In a chain of complex causes and effects, political and economic, it is not correct to say that the deplorable incidents with all these painful features that the country has witnessed for the first time in the history of New India are the result merely of the agitation that has followed the passing of the unpopular measure. Though the non-official estimate of its scope and potentialities is widely divergent from the official exposition,

we welcome the re-iteration of the pledge given by the Government of India that the tenor and intention of the Act, which are explicitly confined to anarchical or revolutionary crimes, will be scrupulously safeguarded should occasion arise to put it into operation. But even the Government of India might have to depend upon an O'Dwyer's estimate of the local situation. We all know what value can be attached to it. All the same the 'most categorical pledge,' which has once more been repeated by Government, ought to be gratefully welcomed throughout the land..... No sane Indian, to whatever school of political thought he might happen to belong, can contemplate the events of the last two weeks without the deepest concern for the political future of India without being led to express his sense of strong abhorrence of the foul deeds that have been committed and dissociate himself from all demonstrations resulting in injury to human life and property. There are constitutional ways of opposing unpopular measures, and we must all respond to the appeal made by the Governor-General-in-Council and exert ourselves in quieting the present unrest and preventing the recurrence of disorder."

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 19th April.

14. We must congratulate the Government of India and the Local Governments on the efforts they have made to secure co-operation of the people in pacifying the country. But we think that the attempts that have been made to prove the necessity of the Rowlatt Act are bound to fail. There is no doubt that the stringency of its original provisions has been a good deal abated, but the fact remains that it has not been found necessary to undertake similar legislation in countries where there have been actual revolts. Still it would go a great way in pacifying the present disturbed state of the public mind if Government succeed in convincing the people that the Act would not be used against those who do not take part in anarchical movements. The riots at various places had nothing to do with the constitutional agitation against the Act and Government themselves have admitted that the *Satyagrahis* had no connection with them. The rioters deserve to be severily dealth with, but the severity should not be excessive. The measures taken in the Punjáb are excessively severe. Deportations of men like Lala Dunichand will only aggravate the unrest. The Governors of Bombay and Bengal deserve thanks for the self restraint they have shown in dealing with the situation. His Excellency Sir George Lloyd deserves special commendation for withdrawing martial law from Ahmedabad as soon as peace was restored there owing to Mr. Gandhi's efforts. We would ask him not to interfere with *Styagrahis* so long as their operations do not interfere with the maintenance of peace. Such self-restraint on the part of Government will prevent an evil turn being given to the symmpathy naturally felt for the *Satyagrahis*.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 16th Apl.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 17th Apl.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (82), 17th Apl.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 17th Apl.

15. Commenting upon the Government of India resolution on the present disturbances, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes:— We must congratulate the Government of India on their breaking silence and speaking out on the subject, but it is to be regretted that we cannot congratulate them with all our heart on the warning they have issued and the threat they have held out for suppressing agitation against the Rowlatt Act. The recent occurrences in Egypt are fresh in our minds and we know with what jubilations the people of that country received the news of the release of the deported Nationalist leaders. The policy of repression has failed in Ireland and a similar policy in India for the last twenty years has not met with any success. Government have no right to suppress any agitation if it is carried on in a legitimate maner. If, Government were to suppress all agitation whether legitimate or otherwise, as their resolution leads us to fear, they will commit a blunder surpassing all their previous blunders. The Resolution does not refer to the excitement caused at Delhi by opening fire on the crowd nor does it promise any enquiry into the fracas at Delhi. The disturbance at Amritsar was evidently caused by the arrest of two popular leaders. The resolution is equally silent on the question of the excitement caused by the prohibition issued against Mr. Gandhi to enter the Punjáb and the order

issued by the Government of India. Government should enquire into all the causes that led to public excitement. These are the times when people should be taken into confidence and attempts should be made to remove any ill-feeling existing in their minds. It is our firm belief that the excitement in the Punjáb will be allayed by removing the orders against Dr. Kichlew and Mr. Satyapal and by inviting Mr. Gandhi to visit the Punjáb. The presence of Mr. Gandhi at Amritsar will put an end to the disturbances there. No one can defend the intention of Government to suppress all movements against the Rowlatt Act. Unrest in the country will increase if Government put their intentions into practice and deport those who take a leading part in the present agitation. If Government want to suppress the *Satyagraha* movement they should take steps against it in the court of law. The leaders of the movement will gladly consider any suggestion coming from Government to suspend the movement in the interests of peace and order. Government should call a conference of all popular leaders at Delhi to suggest the means to meet the present situation. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—We never expected the use of such strong language as that employed in the resolution issued by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford. Government do not seem to have given careful consideration to the investigation into the causes of the present situation. While thanking Government for the assurance they have given that the Rowlatt Act will be used only against anarchists, we cannot consider the assurance as quite in keeping with the threat against legitimate political agitation and the *Satyagraha* movement. The Government of India should take a lesson from the bold policy pursued by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd in Bombay. The *Shri Venkateshwar* refers to the threat held out by the Government of India towards the agitation against the Rowlatt Act and asks those who are carrying on the agitation to suspend it in view of the breach of the peace and disturbances that have occurred in the various parts of India. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* calls upon those who have followed the *Satyagraha* movement to come forward and help Government in finding out the real culprits and asks Government to adopt the liberal policy followed by the High Commissioner in Egypt.]

Comments on the official communique on the Delhi riots.

Shubhodaya (91), 11th Apl.

16. The *Shubhodaya* discusses the statements made in the official communique on Delhi incidents in detail and says that the police should not have arrested *Satyagrahis* who had been at the station but should have taken down their names and allowed them to go. It adds:—The officials committed great folly in ordering the military from the fort. If those arrested had been given up, people would have dispersed peacefully. Are they not fools like those who would use a Nasmyth hammer to kill a fly? [The paper thinks that there was no occasion for firing and that officials committed the unpardonable sin on account of their thoughtlessness and cruelty. It holds that the version regarding the Chandani Chowk is a shameless false excuse. It proceeds:—Why were two shots fired without the knowledge of the Police Superintendent? Would it be a great crime for the people to throw stones at the miscreants who wanted to bring about loss of life unjustly by firing in this manner? It is said boys have not been killed. Ask parents who are weeping and cursing!]

New Times (9), 17th Apl.

17. "A *Gazette of India Extraordinary* published at Simla deals with the present grave situation. It does not point out what necessity there was to deport Congress leaders of the Punjab under the provisions of the Defence of India Act. It is silent on the question why there was a show of military force at Láhore..... Has the Government of India instituted a public enquiry into the Delhi tragedy in response to persistent public demand? The Governor-General in Council recounts, in the Simla *communique*, all the powers he possesses; but is it statesmanlike to proceed on the line of military measures? We have repeatedly urged that repression is not the right remedy. The present hour calls for sagacious statesmanship. Both the Indian and European communities should be careful to keep themselves under control; and the authorities must avoid the mistaken methods of

Mr. Beadon and Sir Michael. Let Government consecrate its strength to the purpose of developing national life. And let the people behave with self-control under all circumstances."

Comments on the Government communique on the disturbances at Láhore and Amritsar.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th Apl.

18. "The order of the Punjab Government forbidding Indian-edited papers from publishing independent reports of the turmoil at Láhore and Amritsar has been followed by an official communique which, we regret to say, is as imperious in tone as it is scanty in facts. We are told that nearly thirty Indians were killed in the encounter, while the circumstances in which Europeans lost their lives are related with a degree of reserve which adds to the mystery of the account. Mr. Robinson attempted 'to check the advance of the crowd' and was mobbed to death; as regards Mr. Stewart, Mr. Scott and Mr. Thomson we are marely told that they were foully murdered. The *Civil and Military Gazette* says that Mr. Thomson killed many before his death. He might have been foully murdered, but let us know how. Now that the trouble has been suppressed it is desirable for the public, who lament these results as much as the Government, to know the circumstances in which these men were overpowered. Whatever be the causes of the tumult, it is obvious that some persons fought with a frenzy which was deepened by the relentless conduct of the police and the military. ..... None of the pro-official reports. including the communique, has shown much compunction regarding the toll of Indian lives. We are not surprised at the sense of misanthropic repose and self-exculpation thus displayed. A contemporary brooding over the death of the four Europeans—which all have unequivocally deplored—has remarked that the story of Amritsar will send a thrill of horror and indignation throughout the Empire. Let us not be over-cynical in equating the values of human lives, but deprecate the event and demand justice for all..... Our point is that those who demand justice in a spirit savouring of a blood-feud deserve no hearing and that the only legitimate course open is that of an impartial inquiry for the adjudication of blame. We are afraid that the demand for an inquiry into the conduct of the authorities is nowadays looked upon as a querulous affair and a concession to agitators. Dead men tell no tales, but premature heroics about the conduct of the military are hardly calculated to ensure justice, which can be done, not by executive self-approval, but by the finding out of the facts. For the sake of justice and for proving that no offender however highly placed is immune under British rule, it is necessary to institute a court of inquiry. The Government cannot in justice afford to wind up this tale of blood without the punishment of those, whether private offenders or public officers, who are responsible for the outrages committed. It is no use declaiming against the class of people called agitators and yielding to the temptation of leaving things alone after volleys of hard words and—of bullets. The Government of India cannot rightly be content with the perfunctory recital of events given by Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Government. The oracular and entirely superfluous contention that the duty of a Government is to maintain order does not meet the demand that there must be a sifting and independent inquiry into the circumstances leading to and connected with these incidents..... Those who attempt to impose on Mr. Gandhi and *Satyagraha* the responsibility of these unfortunate occurrences are pursuing a foolish line of reasoning and they will not help Government in reaching the right remedy..... Weapons are being drawn from the old armoury in the Punjab and in Amritsar and Láhore the Seditious Meetings Act has come into operation. The *Pioneer* has thus cause to rejoice. The point, however, to note at present is the larger co-operation of the people for the maintenance of order during the agitation which has come to stay and which Indian critics of *Satyagraha* may one day have to bless in the event. Mr. Gandhi has accordingly appealed to the public to avoid even in their constitutional activities many practices to which they have been accustomed. He is bound with the weight of his moral authority and restraint to succeed in controlling a movement which really has tempered an agitation that was inevitable, and which depends on the sufferings of those who are pledged to them, for emerging victorious in the end."

19. We express our emphatic disapproval of the disturbances that have taken place at Delhi, Láhore, Ahmedabad and various other places. The Rowlatt legislation cannot be removed by the murder of Europeans or the burning of Government offices. Such acts are contrary to the advice given by Mr. Gandhi and those who resort to it should bear in mind that they are putting a weapon in the hands of their enemies to frustrate the object of *Satyagraha*. We are aware that the educated classes have no hand in these disturbances and that they are due to the disturbed state of the mind of the masses. It is therefore the duty of every educated individual to help Government in putting down such disturbances. It is also the duty of Government to act tactfully in these troublesome times. The disturbances are regrettable but Government would be mistaken in thinking that the masses alone are to be blamed and should therefore be put down by force. Government should take prompt steps to tranquillise the people. At any rate they should not give any further cause for excitement. It seems His Excellency Sir George Lloyd has understood the heart of the people. Had there been any arrests here in connection with the *Satyagraha* movement we would not have seen the quiet Bombay is now enjoying. We are beholden to His Excellency for the maintenance of the peace and order in Bombay. It is unfortunate that other presidencies and provinces do not possess such tactful and statesmanlike rulers. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—Had Mr. Gandhi been allowed to proceed to Delhi he would have tried to tranquillise the people there. His arrest gave rise to rumours of various sorts and added to the excitement of the people. But the public at large with one voice express their indignation and disapproval of the disturbances that have resulted in the loss of the lives of Government officials and the destruction of public property. It is the primary duty of Government to enquire into the disturbance at Delhi. The paper then proceeds to point out the dangers of unreasoning passive resistance and asks the people to bear in mind the advice given to them by Mr. Gandhi and to refrain from doing anything rash and violent. It asks Government to keep their head cool and not to get excited and expresses confidence that the Indian people will not fail in their duty to help Government in putting down disorder and establishing peace. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* also expresses its disapproval of the unfortunate incidents at Delhi, Ahmedabad, Amritsar, etc., and thanks His Excellency the Governor of Bombay and the Bombay Police for the able manner in which they maintained peace and order inspite of serious causes of provocation afforded by the people. It declares that His Excellency Sir George Lloyd has shown his implicit confidence in the people by allowing Mr. Gandhi to move freely in the Presidency and exhorts the people to show by their actions that they are worthy of the trust placed in them.]

The *Satyagraha* movement and the disturbances in the country.

Hindusthán (24), 14th Apl.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 16th Apl.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 14th Apl.

20. "The movement in Bombay and several other places has degenerated into active resistance and as every day passes we obtain undeniable proof of conditions assuming an ominous outlook, which, certainly, if not held in timely check, would culminate into acts of violence and a state of lawlessness and disorder..... It is undeniable that the *Satyagraha* movement was full of potentialities of infinite mischief to the country at the present time, but unfortunately this does not seem to be generally realised."

Gujarát Mitra (21), 13th Apl.; Eng. cols.

***21.** "It is plain that the movement of *Satyagraha*, which produced no violence except at Delhi, before the arrest of Mr. Gandhi, and the subsequent action of the *Satyagrahis* cannot be held responsible for the disturbances that arose independently of, but contemporaneously with, it. This we must clearly bear in mind before arriving at any definite conclusion..... Then what is it that has given rise to these disturbances, and who caused them? The Government of India in their resolution say that the present situation has arisen out of the agitation against the Rowlatt Act, which, as they say, 'followed a double

Mahratta (8), 20th Apl.

line of action, namely, direct criticism of the Act by means of public speeches and publications, and the initiation of the threatened movement of Passive Resistance.' They further accuse the opponents of the Bill who had publicly stated that a campaign of agitation on an unprecedented scale would be followed, and they thus lay all the blame at the doors of these two classes of opponents of the Bill, namely, those who had the temerity to criticise it, and secondly those who waged the campaign of Passive Resistance..... The honest and fair critics and honest *Satyagrahis* cannot be charged with misrepresentation of the law or misdirection to the people. They knew its real import, and after having thoroughly studied it, and 'passed many a sleepless night over it' they decided to oppose it by all constitutional means. It is quite true that this lawful opposition and legitimate criticism has created, as it must, a tense feeling of unrest and excitement, but for that they cannot be blamed. They often and often implored, beseeched, and even warned Government that the passing of the Act was not conducive to public good; but their warnings and their passionate appeals were unheeded..... And if their conscientious opposition has created a feeling of unrest and excitement how can they be held responsible for it?..... It has been said by some men and by Mrs. Besant that resisting other laws has bred the spirit of defying all laws, and thus the movement of Passive Resistance must be held responsible for this spirit of lawlessness. Experience in South Africa, however, goes against this accusation..... We cannot, therefore, accuse Mr. Gandhi of creating the spirit of lawlessness. It was not produced in South Africa and that movement, as has been shown above, has not bred it in India. This charge, therefore, against the movement is absolutely groundless. From the foregoing remarks it will appear that before Mr. Gandhi's arrest and externment, and before the deportation of the Punjáb leaders, Dr. Kichlew and Satyapal, there was no outbreak of violence even though there was much criticism of the law, and much agitation of Passive Resistance. It followed these incidents, and, therefore, we must trace the cause of it in these orders..... At Delhi mere suspicion about the apprehended arrests of leaders led to simple maintenance of strike only; but where, as at Amritsar, the leaders were actually deported suspicion developed into conviction and strikes developed into still graver outbursts of popular indignation. And when, to top all, the news of the arrest of Mr. Gandhi reached that unhappy place, popular indignation began to blaze, and riot, arson, murder and other heinous outrages upon innocent Indians and Englishmen followed. The situation, we think, can only be thus explained. But regrettable though the mistakes of the authorities are, they do not justify the people to cross the limits of constitutional agitation, and commit most horrible atrocities. We have no patience with those who have done that;—we abhor them, we condemn them in the most emphatic manner possible. Such outrages must be stopped, and, therefore, the immediate and the most important question before the people and the Government is 'by what means peace and order can be restored in the country.' In this both are equally concerned in using all means within their power to attain that end..... But even in taking the necessary measures for this purpose, it is our duty to tell the Government that a policy of conciliation and co-operation with the peoples' leaders has proved most successful at Bombay, Ahmedabad, Calcutta and recently at Delhi also, and that should be followed first before coercive measures are undertaken. Sir George Lloyd has followed this policy with phenomenal and immediate success, and even though Ahmedabad was the hot-bed of disturbances for some days, co-operation with Mr. Gandhi and other leaders and immediate withdrawal of Martial Law at Ahmedabad had the most salutary effect in quelling the disturbances..... Unfortunately the Punjáb Government of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, whose record is stained with autocratism, pure and simple, and who had not enjoyed the least confidence of the leaders of the people, followed the most disastrous policy of coercion before conciliation, and his failure is being written with the blood of innocent Englishmen and Indians in that province! That policy has converted one of the most loyal provinces in India into a rebellious one at present, and yet that satrap is frantically pursuing it with more and more disastrous effects. And we do not know how the Government of India, who are seeing with their own

eyes the success that has been achieved by Sir George Lloyd, Mr. Barron, and the Bengal Government by pursuing the policy of conciliation, are allowing Sir Michael O'Dwyer to follow his policy of coercion and no conciliation. All ideas of prestige must, under such grave circumstances, be brushed aside, and an unfit man must either be removed or checked..... They know that mistakes of Government, armed with all the powers and military equipments, prove more dangerous, more disastrous, and more enduring than the mistakes of the unarmed subjects. All these considerations must force them to put a stop to the insensate policy of the present Punjáb satrap, and we are sure that if conciliation and co-operation instead of coercion is followed, the people of the Punjáb will no doubt refrain from committing the violent deeds which they are doing now."

22. "The fears of those who discountenanced the passive resistance movement at the very start have partly come true. The small corps of *Satyagrahis* has in every place attracted a crowd of loose adherents who cannot understand *Satyagraha* and whose blind worship of its teacher does not include a scrupulous regard for his teaching. The delusion is flattering but nonetheless disastrous that all the units that compose a throng of demonstrators are convinced of the rights and wrongs of the issues involved and are earnest for a just settlement..... In India Mr. Gandhi has several able and cultured co-workers, but none fully trained to conduct a campaign of soul-force or commanding the confidence and homage of the masses of their country. Besides, the occasion is sentimental, dealing with the abstract right to a judicial trial as distinguished from executive action, which is powerful enough in its appeal to the educated classes but can only form a nebulous inspiration to a mob..... Mr. Gandhi whose sense of honour is so fine-drawn as to seem even quixotic to the ordinary man, has perceived that it may become necessary, if the demonstrations cannot be restrained, to restrict or even to abandon the movement. For our part, we have no hesitation in counselling the more drastic course. It was a mistake to have begun passive resistance; it is worse to continue it..... The murder of Europeans in Amritsar and Ahmedabad is an act of wanton mob savagery which must make the most reckless leader pause before he plays with fire. Let us hope that the tragedy of Amritsar, Delhi and Ahmedabad, unredeemed as it appears, will teach Europeans and Indians alike to seek the grace of forgiveness and walk in the path of peace and goodwill towards all. We have a strong feeling and could justify it by examples if necessary, that just as judicial sentences in India are severe and the treatment of political offenders harsh beyond the standard of England, so in the handling of Indian crowds the last remedy of firing is too easily resorted to, custodians of order seldom exhibiting that degree of self-possession and fortitude which policemen and soldiers in England have never failed to exhibit in similar situations. In point of fact, an infuriated Indian mob is nothing half so dangerous or destructive as an infuriated London mob. If an impartial commission be appointed to enquire into the circumstances that preceded the order to fire during the recent incidents, it may do the great good of setting up a high standard of personal injury that magistrates and the police should have undergone before sacrificing the lives of citizens."

Servant of India (10), 17th Apl.

23. The firing on 30th March gave an impetus to the *Satyagraha* movement on 6th April. The arrest of Mr. Gandhi made the whole country greatly agitated. We have no doubt that Indians are as sorry as Mr. Gandhi was on hearing of the outrages after his release. *Badmashes* have taken advantage of the times and misled ignorant people. Such people should be avoided. *Satyagraha* is not new to India. Mrs. Besant has shown herself to be fickle-minded and she has shed crocodile tears over Mr. Gandhi's arrest but every one knows what value to attach to them. Almost all the Anglo-Indian papers are against *Satyagraha* and they are making malicious charges against Mr. Gandhi and the movement. The movement owes its existence to the Rowlatt Act. Just as it is the duty of the people to behave peacefully it is the duty of Government to remove the cause of discontent. The anti-

Indu Prakash (44), 14th, 16th and 17th Apl.

Rowlatt feelings had nothing to do with the disturbances directly. They are due to the instant effects of popular wrath aggravated by local incidents. The police and the military have taken steps against the disturbances but it is advisable that Government should remove the root cause of the movement and repeal the Rowlatt Act. [Elsewhere the paper writes :—The *Satyagrahis* should remain aloof from and oppose those who are likely to commit outrages. Government should co-operate with the leaders who are trying their best to stop outrages. In its issue of the 16th instant, the paper decries the attempt of the *Times of India* to connect the outrages with Bolshevism and says that the Rowlatt Act was the cause of the Indian discontent. Every Indian alive to national interests, it continues, will help Government in the work of visiting the rioters with due punishment. It condemns the view of Lord Ronaldshay that Mr. Gandhi encouraged anarchy. It hopes that Government will not sit quiet holding outside agency like Bolshevism responsible for the disturbances and that Government will consider the question from the point of view of the people after the rioters have been punished. Commenting upon the Government of India's press communique, the paper writes in its issue of the 17th instant that *Satyagrahis* like Government do not want people to be coerced to adopt *Satyagraha* and that the leaders of *Satyagraha* have not advised the people to use coercion. It is not against severe measures being adopted to suppress riots, but it is afraid that the good intentions of Government are set aside at times and that some of the officials misuse the powers given to them.]

Deshi Mitra (66), 17th Apl.; *Praja Pokar* (75), 16th Apl.

24. Government have insulted public opinion in India by the passing of the Rowlatt Act and have proved that the Imperial Legislative Council is a mere sham. The soul force of Mr. Gandhi has created a miraculous effect on the minds of the people of India and those who have joined the banner of *Satyagraha* have become so bold that they have not the slightest fear to resort to civil disobedience. We feel confident tbat nothing but good would have come out of Mr. Gandhi's proposed visit to Delhi, but they stopped him and gave rise to needless excitement. It is, therefore, the officials that are responsible for the regrettable incidents at Amritsar, Lahore and Ahmedabad. It is now the duty of the Indian people to help to restore peace and order as requested by Mr. Gandhi so that he may not have to undergo further penance. The *Praja Pokar* also holds Government responsible for the disturbances and hopes the Home Rulers and the *Satyagrahis* will follow the advice of Mr. Gandhi given in Bombay.

New Times (9), 12th Apl.

25. "The developing situation is one which needs careful study and interpretation..... We believe that a Religious Nationalism is being evolved through the changes and experiences of Indian politics at the present hour; we believe that the future belongs to Religious Nationalism; and India will be an eternal irritation to England if the Government launch a campaign of coercion against the new religious impulse and attitude which are the strength of the *Satyagraha* faith."

Home Ruler (6), 12th Apl.

26. "If anything could teach the bureaucracy the utter futility of force and harshness the contrast of the observation of the *Satyagraha* day between, say, Delhi and Karáchi would, but it would be inconsistent with the character of the bureaucracy to learn any lesson, whatever be the tragedies enacted. Everywhere it was clearly demonstrated that the people reposed implicit confidence in their leaders; and wherever the official had the good sense to take those leaders in confidence, everything passed off peacefully. The fact is that though the bureaucrats are the rulers in the technical sense of the term, their authority is only legal and formal. It is the chosen leaders of the people who are their real rulers and a simple understanding of this plain fact would save the bureaucrats and the people a great deal of vexation and trouble."

27. "What are the constituent elements in the situation to-day? The anarchist or, to be more accurate, the anti-British elements in India are of a varied nature. The strongest of them is that which is perturbed by what to it was the unexpected result of the war. It is to stamp out these that the Rowlatt Bills were proposed. The use of powers such as were given to the Executive by these Bills has succeeded eminently in the case of anarchist forces in Bengal. The preparations of the Government to use them similarly against other similar elements in Indian society have struck terror into the hearts of those who had faith in and sympathies for these war-born forces of disorder. Mr. Gandhi, a man sound at heart but not a far-sighted statesman, has been deceived into the belief that those who are crying out *Gandhiki Jai* are his *real* followers. In fact, they are simply exploiting him. If the Government capitulates, it will mean a great many things for which Mr. Gandhi cannot have any sympathy. Can the Government accept the advice of the Moderates who say that the legislation should be dropped to pacify the present agitation? We believe that such action on the part of Government would be fatal to the interests of peace and order. The agitation for which Mr. Gandhi is responsible would be soon checked without such a false step and the soreness of heart now visible would disappear from this section of the population if a liberal measure of reforms is introduced within a short time. For the rest, the only remedy consistent with safety would be not only to check rioting when it takes place but to check all attempts to incite or justify it..... Liberal reforms constitutional as well as fiscal, progress along the lines of mass education and development of Indian industries and the stern repression of movements which are decisively, even if under a veil, hostile to Government—that must be the straight policy of Government. Any yielding to the violence of mobs or the threats and forebodings of the Moderates would only make matters worse."

Deccan Ryot (5), 17th Apl.

28. Commenting on the recent disturbances and riots in Láhore, Amritsar, Ahmedabad and other places, the *Muslim Herald* writes that these times are full of riot and bloodshed. The beginning was made by Government when they passed the Rowlatt Act by an official majority against the united will of the Indian members of the Council. Some of these members have resigned because they say that when their support and protest count for nothing it is futile on their part to remain in the Council. Horrible rumours are afloat regarding this Act and no effort has been made to acquaint the general public with its aims and objects. Mahatma Gandhi's followers are increasing day by day and are found in every nook and corner of India. Their activities are growing by degrees and they are now breaking laws in broad daylight; and thus the books and pamphlets which were proscribed by Government are being circulated openly. One result of the passing of the Act is that processions and meetings have been organised in every part of India as an expression of protest against it. This fire of opposition has already spread widely and is still spreading. Government are simply acting on the principle "wait and see" and are not stirring at all. On the one hand, the inhabitants of India are fully determined to get the Act cancelled, while, on the other, Government are of opinion that they would not allow their prestige to suffer in the least. In this fight of the Home Rulers against Government it is the poor who suffer most and it is they who fall victims to the bullets whenever there is any firing. Mahatma Gandhi has now begun to exhort his followers after the disturbances have taken place that they should refrain from violence. This does not mean that they are to give up their agitation against the Rowlatt Act. What it means is that their resistance should be *passive*. But how can the ignorant masses observe such a subtle difference? We wish to point out to Government that the times are very delicate and that neither are the rulers secure nor are the subjects in a peaceful condition. If Government are prepared to annul the Act, the whole discontentment will at once disappear. To do so will not be a new thing for Government. The Partition of Bengal was also considered unalterable, but it was at last withdrawn. But the present times are

Muslim Herald (141), 18th Apl.

full of much greater dangers. At that time only the Hindus were in the field while to-day the Musalmans have joined hands with the Hindus. And the whole responsibility for such an action on the part of Musalmans lies on Government who have themselves allowed the Muhammadans to fall into the clutches of the Hindus by their neglect. [The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* opines that the Rowlatt Act has created a feeling of consternation among the Indians. Dealing with the Bombay affairs it observes that the 11th of April (Friday) was a memorable day as it was characterised by a spirit of union and harmony between the Hindus and the Moslems. It concludes by paying a tribute of praise to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay for ordering the police not to fire on the mob.]

Political Bhomiyo (74), 18th Apl.

29. Commenting on the Ahmedabad disturbances the *Political Bhomiyo* declares that most of the people who were reluctant to go on strike on hearing Mr. Gandhi's 'arrest' were forcibly compelled to suspend business by the rioters. It further writes:—From the acts of the rioters and the discrimination used by them in prosecuting their destructive campaign, it can be inferred that they must have been advised and directed by some educated man. Moreover, from the fact that a teacher in one of the local English schools had attacked an English Officer with a sword, it also can be inferred that the educated class must have taken part in the riots in large numbers. Many rioters were armed with deadly weapons and so these riots cannot but be considered as of a very serious nature. The officers, however, have all along exhibited much patience and self-restraint and have tried their utmost to restore peace and order even at the risk of their lives. It is gratifying to note that the whole Islámic population of this place, except a few ignorant exceptions has kept itself aloof from these riots.

Comments on the decision of Mr. Gandhi to break the Press laws.
Gujaráti (20), 13th Apl.

30. The bureaucracy in India has been so much elated by the successes gained in the war that it has lost sight of the fact that the people in India are watching as to whether it is prepared to rule this country in accordance with the principles enunciated by the statesmen of England during the period of the war. The mistakes of the bureaucracy are due to its having been used to the exercise of uncontrolled authority during the continuance of the war and its present desire to continue to exercise the powers enjoyed by it. The partition of Bengal was repealed in spite of its having been pronounced to be a settled fact by Lord Morley. Why should not then the Black Act be repealed? Why should a law be brought into force when it is unanimously opposed by public opinion in this country? His Excellency Lord Chelmsford seems to be guided solely by the opinion of Sir William Vincent and Sir George Lowndes and does not seem to have a grain of independence of opinion or judgment. It is now nearly a fortnight that the fracas at Delhi took place, but it is surprising that Government have not yet deemed it proper to appoint a committee to conduct an independent inquiry into the matter. The plant of Hindu-Moslem *entente* has grown out of the bloodshed that took place at Delhi. The country as a whole protests against the operation of the Press Act. Mr. Gandhi has now come forward to break that Act. Three-fourths of the books and pamphlets proscribed under the said Act are such as would be considered unobjectionable by reasonable men. Some are insignificant rags and they have been given undue importance by the attention shown to them by Government. Agitation against the Press Act is being carried on because the officials are indiscriminating in the use of the Act and people cannot seek redress by going to the law courts. The present situation has arisen owing to Government having used a sledge hammer to kill a fly. Mr. Gandhi has been advocating the violation of the provisions of the Press Act. But there is nothing new in that. We have discussed the question very frequently since the passing of the Act. We would have had nothing to say against the Act if it had been put into operation against objectionable literature, but the bureaucrats by their folly have given the people an opportunity to prove the futility of the Act. Such opportunities

can be minimised if the officials, in a liberal spirit, withdraw the prohibition placed against really unobjectionable publications. If Government do not now put the provisions of the Act into operation their (former) prohibition against the books and newspapers that are now being openly published by the passive resisters of itself becomes null and void. Perhaps Government do not want to take any steps in the matter as they are afraid that needless commotion would be caused by their action. It is reported that the leave granted to the Advocate-General has been cancelled. Perhaps Government are afraid that the Indian gentleman who is to officiate for him will not prove competent or that he will not give proper legal advice in these critical times. If Government refrain from taking steps against Mr. Gandhi and others who are defying the Press Act, their action would be tantamount to restoring the freedom of the Press.

Comments on the "arrest" of Mr. Gandhi.
Home Ruler (6), 12th Apl.

31. "The arrest of Mahatma Gandhi was expected every moment and so it has not caused any great surprise. But the result has been that the *Satyagrahis* have steeled their hearts to do their duty while they cannot help reflecting that it is only under a foreign and anti-national government that the greatest and most beloved of our leaders should be subjected to such an indignity..... The message which Mahatma Gandhi has left behind for his countrymen will live in history as the characteristic contribution of a great Indian to the forces of righteousness striving for mastery in the world..... Among Indian provincial Governments the Punjáb and Delhi administrations are specially notorious for revelling in the exercise of brute force; and it is quite in the fitness of things that while the tragedy at Delhi should have been enacted by the former, the latter should have the distinction of arrestiug Mahatma Gandhi. This last O'Dwyerism fittingly crowns the notorious regime of Sir Michael O'Dwyer who seems determined to surpass himself in the few days that remain to him to play the tyrant. It is such acts as these and the reaction they rouse which go to promote the cause of nationalism."

Comments on the retnrn of Mr. Gandhi to Bombay from the Punjáb.
Sánj Vartamán (33), 12th and 14th Apl.; *Hindusthán* (24), 12th Apl.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 14th Apl.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (82), 13th Apl.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 14th Apl.; *Arya Prakásh* (17), 13th Apl.

32. The *Sánj Vartamán* gives a glowing description of the demonstration held in Bombay on the so-called arrest and release of Mr. Gandhi which it considers to be a positive proof of his popularity, and, while congratulating the people and the authorities on keeping their heads cool, blames those who threw stones at the tram cars with a view to compelling the people who used them to walk on foot. It exhorts every follower of *Satyagraha* to act up to the advice given by Mr. Gandhi on the seashore of Bombay on his return. In a subsequent issue the paper ascribes the disorderly scenes at Ahmedabad to the excitement caused by Mr. Gandhi's arrest and the uncertainty of his whereabouts and urges upon the Government of India the necessity of withdrawing the orders passed against him by the Punjáb and Delhi administrations with a view to pacifying the minds of the people. [The *Hindusthán* blames the Government of Bombay for not having issued a timely communique about the whereabouts of Mr. Gandhi and believes that if the people had known that he was to be brought back to Bombay they would not have worked themselves into such excitement. It also urges the necessity of removing from their office the Chief Commissioner of Delhi and the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* considers it a high compliment paid to this Presidency that Mr. Gandhi is allowed freedom to move wherever he likes by the Government of Bombay. It wishes that the Governments of other provinces would show similar confidence in the people. It warmly praises the courage befitting a soldier shown by His Excellency in resolutely setting his face against all alarmist advice and refusing to resort to repressive measures. The *Shri Venkateshwar* asks Government to realise the strong feeling existing in the country against the

Rowlatt legislation and mark the magic effects of the arrest and release of Mr. Gandhi on the people and to respect public opinion by repealing the Rowlatt Act. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* deplores the sad incidents that took place at various places in the Presidency and urges upon Mr. Gandhi the need of keeping his propaganda of passive resistance in abeyance. It also asks Government to conciliate public opinion by calling a conference of popular leaders and the officials with a view to removing the provisions of the Rowlatt Act which are objected to by the people. It expresses disappointment at the reply given in Parliament to a question regarding the Rowlatt Act and expresses fear that people would thereby be egged on to continue their agitation till their object is gained as was done in the case of the partition of Bengal. The *Arya Prakásh* expresses sympathy with the *Satyagraha* movement organised by Mr. Gandhi and writes:—What does the firing of bullets in Delhi, Láhore, Amritsar, Ahmedabad and at last in Bombay (*sic*) signify? This is the result of not taking the necessary steps to pacify the people and adopting harsh measures.]

33. We wish the whereabouts of Mr. Gandhi had been announced after his arrest. Various rumours were set afloat and the people's minds were agitated. Had the necessary information been published, there would have been no occasion for the friction between the people and the police at various places. It is to be regretted that fire was opened on the crowd at Láhore and Amritsar and that even Europeans have suffered thereby. At Ahmedabad also the crowd was fired upon and the sad incident of Government offices being set fire to has occurred. There was some friction between the police and the people on Friday last in Bombay and it is the public opinion that the police had unnecessarily afforded cause for the excitement of the people. Had the police left the people alone their excitement would have cooled down. However, the action of the people in retaliating upon the police cannot be said to be justifiable. His Excellency Lord Chelmsford has done nothing to allay the prevailing excitement and so people have begun to form a very low opinion of him. It was foolish of him to have got the Rowlatt Act passed and to have given his consent to it, but it was a piece of still bigger folly on his part to have acted upon the advice of the Governments of the Punjáb and Delhi and ordered Mr. Gandhi to be brought back to Bombay. Would Mr. Gandhi who is preaching the doctrine of suffering and non-retaliation ever have exhorted the people of Delhi to create a disturbance? People should follow in the footsteps of Mr. Gandhi and they will see that passive resistance will enable them to realise their political aspirations. Passive resistance will be fruitful if it is pursued with firmness, unity and devotion and if the *swadeshi* vow is added to it. There is no salvation without suffering. The officials who administer this country are not anxious to allay the fire burning in the hearts of the people—nay rather they are anxious to add fuel to it. It seems probable that the officials themselves will cause the whirlwind that will rise before the setting of the sun of bureaucracy. The officials would stand to gain if they realise the situation even now; otherwise it will be too late to mend matters. [The *Broach Samáchár* expresses sympathy with the *Satyagraha* movement started by Mr. Gandhi and declares that the demonstrations held in Broach and elsewhere on the *Satyagraha* Sunday goes to show that every Indian is displeased with the Rowlatt legislation. It exhorts its readers to act up to the advice given by Mr. Gandhi in the matter of using *swadeshi* goods and preserving unity between the Hindus and Muhammadans. It wants the people to realise that the present relations between the Hindus, Muhammadans and the authorities are like those of the two cats and the monkey in the fable. The *Sindhu Samáchár* asks Government to realise the depth of feeling with which people are taking to passive resistance and to see their way to repeal the Rowlatt Act. It declares that even the prostitutes resorted to passive resistance in Hyderabad (Sind) on the *Satyagraha* day. It expresses fear that there will be more mischief if Government do not give in.]

Gujaráti (20), 13th Apl.; *Broach Samáchár* (62), 13th Apl.; *Sindhu Samáchár* (84), 5th Apl.

34. "While the people were in such anxious uncertainty, news came of the prohibition of Mr. Gandhi from entering Delhi or the Punjab and of his being required to reside in the Bombay Presidency under the Defence of India Act. Now this action on the part of the Government was entirely unexpected; it is equally unjustifiable, and no sort of justification has yet been attempted. If the Government, regarding its laws with the same rigidity as Nature's laws, had visited the *Satyagrahis* who broke them with the instantaneous punishment allowed under the law, the Government would have been at least within its right, though it would have been bad policy to exercise the right. But in applying the Defence of India Act to Mr. Gandhi, the Government has certainly exceeded in a most flagrant manner the authority vested in it by that law, while politically this step is no less disastrous. Such a gross misuse of an Act intended to be employed against those who had dealings with the enemy would only confirm the doubts cast upon the assurances given by the Government as to the limitation of the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act to offences connected with anarchy and revolution. The motive of such strange measures on the part of Government is not easy to understand, unless it be that it hopes in this way to restrict the passive resistance movement to the Bombay Presidency. If this is really intended as a flank attack on the passive resistance movement, we will only say that besides being gravely impolitic, it is a thoroughly unconstitutional procedure and not quite straightforward." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—"Does Government realise what an influential ally it has in Mr. Gandhi for peace and order? If it does, why did it prevent his entry into the disturbed areas? Nothing would have tended to restore calm at Láhore and Amritsar so much as the presence of Mr. Gandhi there, and to put an embargo upon such a man under the Defence of India Act as if there was danger lest he should stir up trouble is not only unjust and unwise, but also positively prejudicial to the preservation of peace, for which the Government is so solicitous. Again, it should be remembered that in the present instance the outbreak of disorder had no connection with the passive resistance movement. The *Satyagrahis* used all their influence on the side of peace and order." *Young India* also makes similar remarks.]

Mr. Gandhi's "arrest" the real cause of the disturbances in the Punjáb and Gujarát.

Servant of India (10), 17th April; *Young India* (16), 16th April.

35. The bar on Mahatma Gandhi's entry into the Provinces of Delhi and the Punjáb has created a most anxious situation. Indians are naturally very anxious to secure the repeal of the Rowlatt law as it is opposed to the universally recognised principles of the administration of justice. This anxiety is manifesting itself in various ways. When the Rowlatt Bill was passed into law in defiance of popular opinion the non-official members warned Government that the enactment would cause an uprecedented stir in the country. Government was aware of Mr. Gandhi's decision before they passed the Rowlatt Bill but they arrogantly declared that they would not be intimidated by such threats and persisted in their resolve of carrying the Bill through. In view of the unbending attitude of Government, and the equally determined attitude of Mahatma Gandhi, it was inevitable that people should be exposed to considerable sufferings and that Government also should be faced with an exceptionally difficult situation. We do not understand why instead of openly opposing the *Satyagraha* movement Government should put into operation the Defence of India Act to prevent it from spreading into other provinces. We may or may not approve of the *Satyagraha* movement but it is perfectly constitutional. It is improper in our opinion to attack it in the flank by resorting to a purely war measure such as the Defence of India Act. It is satisfactory to note that at least for the present Government are not going to interfere with Mr. Gandhi's activities in the Bombay Presidency. This satisfaction, however, is largely neutralised by the newly

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 12th Apl.; *Sudhákar* (124), 13th Apl.; *Rájakáran* (116), 13th Apl.; *Prakásh* (115), 16th Apl.; *Bhárat Máta* (97), 15th Apl.; *Rástra Hittaishi* (117), 9th Apl.

imposed prohibition against his entering other provinces. In a sense, Government would have been within their rights if they had nipped the *Satyagraha* movement in the bud by punishing those who broke the law. Although such a course would have been highly impolitic it would at least have been recognised that Government had a clear right to punish those who broke the law. But they have exceeded their legitimate powers in employing a war measure to deal with the *Satyagraha* movement when the war was already over. Their readiness, however, to allow the *Satyagrahis* to carry on their agitation in the Bombay Presidency without interference is really most commendable. The laws which Mahatma Gandhi and the *Satyagrahis* have decided to disobey are of an unimportant character and their breach will not lead to any catastrophe. Government would be well advised to ignore such offences as far as possible. Nothing but good will ensue if Government will show by their conduct that they do not harbour any vindictive motives. This will help to convince the people that Government will not at least abuse the provisions of the Rowlatt Act and the confidence thus engendered will have the effect of keeping the agitation within bounds. [The *Sudhákar* says that the recent happenings must have convinced Government about the genuineness of the popular discontent. It condemns the application of the Defence of India Act to Mr. Gandhi's movements and asks Government to repeal the Rowlatt law and not to fall a victim to false ideas of prestige. The *Rájakáran*, while admitting that many people are still doubtful about the movement, says that everyone need not necessarily sign the *Satyagraha* pledge but he can do something to promote the movement. The *Prakásh* writes:—The bureaucracy has saddled the poor people of this country with the Rowlatt law to serve its own selfish ends and the arguments advanced by it in support of the measure are hypocritical. The bureaucracy is loath to lose the powers conferred upon it by the Defence of India Act and is, therefore, unable to foresee the evil results following the enactment of tyrannical laws. Apparently the British nation has abandoned its liberalism at the present time. The *Bhárat Máta* says that Mr. Gandhi would have been able to pacify the people of Delhi and the Punjáb and Government made a terrible mistake in not allowing him to proceed there. The *Rástra Hittaishi* writes:—The people are wholly helpless. *Satyagraha* is the only remedy open to them to oppose an act of injustice. It will teach them self-control and self-sacrifice and without these it is futile to expect to get rid of the Rowlatt law. Elsewhere the paper says that people must know the names of the members of the committee which is entrusted with the task of selecting laws for disobedience. At another place the paper congratulates Messrs. Jinnah and Malaviya on resigning their seats in the Imperial Legislative Council.]

36. On the 6th of April last, there was no item of breaking the laws in the programme. But on the previous Sunday there were high words regarding the closing of shops in Delhi and seven or eight persons were killed on account of firing by soldiers and the blood of the patriots was sprinkled on the soil of Delhi. In this way, at the very commencement of the movement of self-sacrifice malignant feelings were awakened at Delhi by the action of the military and the beginning of the movement thus wore a hideous aspect. Mr. Gandhi was arrested on his way to Delhi and he gladly allowed himself to be arrested, but the last week was one of great tumult on account of the dark deed of his arrest. What surprise is there that the people of India felt it to be blackest tyranny when the *Times of India* held the deed to be a dark one? If this dark deed set in motion the series of outrages, in what way can the *Satyagraha* movement be blamed? Outrages which were very regrettable and reprehensible were committed in Amritsar, Láhore and Ahmedabad by maddened people. In this outburst four European bank officials were done to death, and it was a most sinful deed. The arrest of Mr. Gandhi may have partly led to the Amritsar outrage but the Punjabis were greatly angered also by the sudden arrest of Dr. Kichlew and Mr. Satyapal. Sir Michael O'Dwyer's regime in the Punjáb, and the helpless position created by the barbed wire cage of the Rowlatt Act from which the Punjabis saw no escape even after the term of Sir Michael, led to the outrages. The

Kesari (109), 15th Apl.

Bombay disturbances did not assume a more dangerous character than that of minor affrays because Sir George Lloyd had issued strict orders to the police to behave mildly towards the people and not to fire on them and because Police Officials and the Magistrates did not give offence to the people. Mr. Gandhi told the people after his release in Bombay plainly that all sorts of outrages were injurious to the *Satyagraha* movement and that if people did not determine to give up all such hostile actions he would have to declare passive resistance against themselves. The officials showed not only their malignance in arresting the Mahatma who takes his stand firmly on truth and who even in this tumult looks with friendly feelings towards them, but also their want of statesmanship. We cannot but condemn with Mr. Gandhi the outrages committed at Amritsar and other places and we are confident that the whole of India also will condemn the reprehensible deeds. Mahatma Gandhi alone is able to conduct the pure *Satyagraha* movement, putting a stop to the outrages, in an orderly and auspicious manner. We hope that India will not hesitate to note Mr. Gandhi's action and follow him. [Elsewhere it remarks :—Mr. Gandhi is a devotee of peace and Bombay has recently seen that he is more useful in quelling disturbances than military forces. It was a great blunder to have prevented him from going to Delhi, in the first place. Nobody who knows Mr. Gandhi's saintly character will blame him for the outrages. It is but in accordance with the traditions of the Anglo-Indian press that they have not hesitated to take advantage of the Punjáb outrages. The Montagu concessions were not proposed to be given at the recommendation of these papers; and because these crows have pecked at the wounds taking advantage of the times, they will not be taken away. The real remedy to stop the *Satyagraha* movement is to withdraw the Rowlatt Act. The lesson to be learnt from the disturbances is that people are against the Act from the bottom of their hearts. What ground is there to say that the Hindu and Muhammadan leaders, who during the Great War repeatedly told the people that the real interest of the people lay in remaining within the Empire, now want to sever the connection? No one's devotion to the Empire is lessened and there is no doubt that the political salvation of India will take place through England. To protest against the Rowlatt Act is not to lessen the devotion to England. To bring in the Bolsheviks, racial hatred and other matters is to make a futile attempt to cover the blunder. No reasonable Indian is in favour of the Rowlatt Act. In the Rowlatt report it is nowhere said that such powers would be necessary after the Great War. And who told Government to apply the Act to the whole country when the Rowlatt recommendations were made in connection with the Punjáb and Bengal? What is the meaning of officials in India hugging repression while responsible statesmen in Britain have upheld the principle of democracy all over the world? We have no objection to Government publishing speeches in the Council in the vernaculars. But non-official speeches also should be published along with official speeches in full.]

37. "Martial Law was proclaimed in some parts of the city and the result was as deplorable as the incidents of the 10th and 11th. It was not uncommon for British soldiers to shoot even innocent passers-by. Hardly any discrimination was exercised. The pnblic were in the first place not fully informed of the Martial Law. No warning was given at the time of shooting and it was a tragic sight to see some innocent man being shot down. This conduct of British soldiers struck terror into the hearts of the public and it was not unusual to hear people saying that the two murders committed by the mob, of Europeans, on the previous days were cruelly and deliberately avenged. We do not agree with this view. We cannot take such an uncharitable view of local officers who had on previous days shown remarkable coolness, patience and equanimity. We attribute the sad incidents of shooting of innocents to the ignorance of the British soldiers of Indian conditions. British soldiers, unacquainted with Indian life and Indian conditions cannot make out mischievous hooligans from innocent citizens. Reports are afloat that some persons who had gone

Terrors of martial law at Ahmedabad.
Gujaráti Punch (22), 13th Apl., Eng. cols.

out to buy vegetables, had been shot down. Some persons passing on the Richey Road are also said to have been shot down, though there was not the semblance of any mischief or hooliganism at the time or place where shooting is said to have taken place. We deplore this as much as we deplore the tragic incidents connected with the death of two Europeans. We condemn the conduct of the crowds responsible for the deaths of two *innocent* Europeans in unmistakable terms; indignation and horror naturally seize our mind when we contemplate the sad and disgraceful events. The fair name of Ahmedabad is stained with the brush of sin and wickedness, but we expected that British soldiers will rise higher and do nothing that would stain the fair name of Britain. We are sorry to state that this expectation is not realised. Our people are ignorant of what is Martial law and what it conveys. They believe that none is shot down in British rule so long as he is innocent, but alas! Under Martial law some innocent persons have been shot down. Dame Rumour has it that the Rule of shooting in the event of a crowd of ten or more collecting together in a space was not strictly or scrupulously observed..... People were awe-struck and terror-stricken. They felt that the life of an Indian was considered by British soldiers as the subject matter of fun and sport and it was therefore that people did not even venture to go out to cremate their dead."

Appeal to Government to appoint a commission to inquire into the disturbances in Gujarát.

Hindusthán (24), 16th Apl.

38. The *Hindusthán* asks Government to supply to the public all the news regarding the disturbances in other parts of the country as for want of any authentic news from Government the public eagerly swallow any distorted and exaggerated facts that they hear from unreliable sources, which ultimately prove to be a danger to the public peace. It urges the necessity of appointing a mixed commission of officials and non-officials to enquire into the causes of the disturbances in Gujarát and insists on having Mr. Gandhi as one of people's representatives in the commission. Public opinion, it continues, is divided as to the necessity of using military force in the various centres of disturbances especially in Ahmedabad and so the Bombay Government should immediately publish a statement of true facts in this connection.

A fresh stroke of statesmanship on the part of Government is needed to allay the present disturbances.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 16th Apl., Eng. cols.

39. "When an agitation is universal and continuous, it is mere perverseness to despise it as a sham and a humbug. A wise Government when confronted by such an agitation will at once set about revising its own notes and reviewing the whole situation. When such a situation arises there must be something rotten in the state of Denmark. The remedy in such a case would not lie in attempting to repress the agitation and silencing the voice of the people. The remedy lies in removing the cause of the discontent..... The killing of men of both sides is bound to aggravate these feelings. Who knows how soon in the wake of the ugly incidents at Lahore, Amritsar, Delhi and Ahmedabad, a situation resembling that of 1857 may not arise? The time is gone by for mere academic arguments, for obstinacy, and for adherence to the idol of prestige. A great stroke of statesmanship is imperatively and immediately demanded."

What the future historian will write about His Excellency Lord Chelmsford.

Shubhodaya (91), 11th Apl.

40. Lord Chelmsford could not have felt great sorrow since the birth of a son in the form of a demon (the Rowlatt Act). Like the Kazi who set on fire his beard by holding it to the light Lord Chelmsford being fired by a vicious idea has burnt his reputation. He cannot but feel like a poignant arrow in what rank of rulers the impartial historian would place him hereafter. He must have realised that he has no place by the side of Akbar, Humayun, Sheersbah, Canning and Ripon who followed public opinion. Has he a place by the side of Aurangzeb, Mohammad Taghalak and others? Ask the historian who does not care for anybody. We cannot say

what verdict he will give after weighing and examining Lord Chelmsford. Only a poet can describe how this anxiety must be weighing upon Lord Chelmsford. His condition is therefore to be described as piteous.

Comments on Mr. Gandhi's resolve to suspend the *Satyagraha* campaign.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 20th Apl.

*41. "Mr. Gandhi, with that fearless recognition of truth which is the mark of the true *Satyagrahi*, has suspended the movement for, as he frankly admits, he finds that he underrated the forces of evil when he embarked upon a mass movement.... We applaud this wise decision though we regret that the considerations, which have impelled Mr. Gandhi to it, did not occur to him at the outset. Our difficulty from the first has been that in *Satyagraha* against the Rowlatt Act, it was impossible to differentiate, so as to make the distinction clear to the masses, between its aim which is one we all approve of, and its method which we all detest. Its aim, the putting down of anarchical and revolutionary crime, is one which is as dear to Mr. Gandhi's heart as to that of any one else. It is its method, that of doing away with the ordinary judicial safeguards for the protection of the innocent, which has aroused opposition. Unless we find a means of clearly distinguishing between the two, the opposition to the method or plan of the Act would be confounded by the ignorant masses, as we fear it has been, with opposition to the aim of the Act and, consequently, it may be mistaken for sympathy with anarchical crime. The idea of resisting other Acts for the mischief of the present one is open to a very similar objection..... We hope that, though *Satyagraha* is suspended, there will be no relaxation in the effort to get the Rowlatt Act disallowed. Sir George Lloyd was right when he said that all constitutional means of getting the Act disallowed have not been exhausted. We suggest that a deputation of representatives from all parts of the country should wait on His Excellency the Viceroy, and it should, while expressing its strong condemnation of and deep regret at the recent outbreaks of lawlessness, and its determination to support Government, beg him to advise His Majesty to disallow the Act in view of the strong feeling among the Indian leaders against it. After all, as His Excellency well knows, revolution and repression are not new things in the world. Where experts in repression like the Sultan of Turkey and the Tsar of Russia ignominiously failed, an amateur in the art like the Government of India can hardly hope to succeed. Let us, therefore, be done with repressive measures, and let us whole-heartedly embrace the policy of broad-basing the administration on the affections of the Indian people, which is the only policy consistent with British tradition and calculated to breed contentment and a sense of security among us, and the only policy which can bind India by the silken ties of love and loyalty to the British Empire."

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 20th Apl.; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 21st Apl.

*42. Many thoughtful people hoped that in view of the anarchic crimes committed at various places in the name of the *Satyagraha* movement, Mahatma Gandhi would put a stop to it, and they will therefore be glad to learn that he has suspended it at least temporarily. All will agree with the important points put forward by him in his manifesto. Government did certainly commit a grave mistake when they prohibited Mr. Gandhi from entering Delhi and thus compelled him to disobey that order. If the public had not been excited by this short-sighted step on the part of Government, the outrages at Ahmedabad and Viramgam at least would have been avoided. As soon as Mr. Gandhi saw that his movement had been indirectly the cause of encouraging crime and enmity to Europeans, he at once put a stop to it. But he has plainly stated that his opposition to the Rowlatt legislation remains. There are many who can initiate powerful movements, but there are very few among them who have the courage to stop them as soon as they assume a harmful character. Mr. Gandhi deserves to be heartily congratulated for showing such uncommon courage. [After referring to the riots at Delhi, Ahmedabad and in the Punjáb, the *Indu Prakásh* goes on:—Government have now resorted to such repressive measures as were not enforced even during the time of the war. They might be thinking that these measures would prove

beneficial, but public opinion does not side with this view. It is true that some people were guilty of cruel outrages in their exasperation at the news of Mr. Gandhi's arrest, but no one dreamt that their lawlessness would be suppressed by resort to merciless means like martial law. *Satyagraha* having come to be disparaged by connecting it with Bolshevism, Mr. Gandhi has hauled down his flag and stopped his movement. Seeing that attempts were being made to stain the movement with bloodshed, he has withdrawn it. Many have not liked Mr. Gandhi's retreat and accuse him of vacillation, but the retreat has been effected for the moment in order to resume the advance again with double or treble velocity. He is not afraid of Government, but of bloodshed. He has restrained the movement only to convince Government and the people of its purity.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 22nd Apl., Eng. cols.

***43.** "The political and personal honesty of Mr. Gandhi, in the movements which he has recently inaugurrated, is to be seen clearly from nothing so much as from the manner in which he has thought fit to modify and suspend them as necessitated by circumstances..... It is necessary at the present moment, for all those who wish to make the future of the country safe, to assist Government in restoring order. There will be time for the play of our ideals and aspirations when that is secured. We believe, therefore, that the decision to suspend the *Satyagraha* movement for the present, which Mr. Gandhi has announced, is as wise as it is necessary. In taking this courageous resolve, Mr. Gandhi has proved himself to be a true patriot, who has at heart the interest of his countrymen more than anything else."

Hindusthán (24), 19th Apl.; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 19th Apl.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 19th Apl.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (27), 20th Apl.

44. Mr. Gandhi has taken a wise step in suspending his movement of of civil disobedience of laws in view of the present situation. No one understands *Satyagraha* so well as Mr. Gandhi and the bitter experience gained by him will lead to the movement being permanently stopped. We shall not be surprised if the agitation against the Rowlatt Act dies down owing to Mr. Gandhi's decision to suspend his movement. There will be another wave of political agitation in the country if the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Bill does not deal liberally with the people, the energies of the people will be diverted towards the question of political reforms, and the Rowlatt Act will continue to hang over the heads of the people. We do not know how Mr. Gandhi means to continue his agitation against the Act after suspending *Satyagraha*. Have Government realised their mistake? They have not yet removed the orders issued against Mr. Gandhi. It is the popular belief that peace will be restored in Delhi on Mr. Gandhi's going there. People feel that Mr. Gandhi would have been justified in suspending his movement after even a partial acknowledgment of their mistakes on the part of Government. The Rowlatt Act is at the root of the present unrest and Government should take the wise step of repealing it. The occurrences in the Punjáb have spread consternation among the people. The Government of India should, therefore, enlighten the public on the real situation there and declare how far the Government of the Punjáb were justified in their action. [The *Sánj Vartamán* expresses the opinion that the excesses at Ahmedabad, Viramgaum and various places in the Punjáb have no connection with the *Satyagraha* movement. The paper condemns the repressive policy of the Punjáb Government and compliments the Bombay Government and His Excellency Sir George Lloyd on the calmness and patience displayed by them in meeting the situation in this Presidency and abstaining from deportations and internments. It adds that the Punjáb is badly in need of a Governor of the type of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd. No one, it continues, had ever dreamt that aeroplanes would have been utilised for the purpose of throwing bombs on unarmed crowds of people. It refers to the indignation roused in England when the Germans bombed unfortified places and adds that the Punjáb Government do not seem to have considered how the public feeling would be roused by the throwing of bombs on unarmed masses of men. It appeals for a change in the present policy in the Punjáb and advises the authorities to

seek the help of public leaders like Mr. Gandhi for restoring quiet. It declares that the decision of Mr. Gandhi to suspend the *Satyagraha* movement for the present is a very far-sighted one and that it will show Government that although the *Satyagrahis* want to break laws, still they are real friends of law. It points out that there is quiet in Bombay; hence it does not see the necessity of the display of military force in the shape of pickets and machine-guns. Such display, in its opinion, gives rise to false rumours and disturbs the minds of the people. It hopes such a display will not be made in future. It concludes by heartily welcoming Mr. Gandhi's decision and hopes that the people will adhere to it faithfully. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* expresses gratification at Mr. Gandhi's 'far-sighted' decision to suspend *Satyagraha* and joins him in asking the people to co-operate with the authorities in restoring order. It expresses the hope that there will be a hearty response to the fund started by Mr. Gandhi for helping the families of those who have suffered in the disturbances and particularly the families of Europeans. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—We hope God will vouchsafe good sense to Mr. Gandhi and his friends and that they will not commit the serious mistake of merely suspending their illegitimate movement which they have started in their folly and that they will give up the movement altogether.]

45. "The Government of Sir Michael O'Dwyer are excelling themselves. Lala Dunichand, Lala Harkishen Lal and Pundit Chaudhari have been summarily deported from Láhore. We know enough of the present Punjáb Government and we do not feel surprised. The public are aware of the status and political credit of the people who have been deported, and they can only conclude that Sir Michael O'Dwyer is rioting in the shadow of the Government of India communique, fully assured of their countenance and support. All this is, however, not a very happy symptom of the temper in which Government are disposed to exercise power under the various Bourbon statutes that have dragged out in the name of good government. We are aware of the personal independence of the men who have been victimised by the Punjáb Government and cannot help feeling distressed at the utter cynicism with which the rights of people to unmolested life are being suppressed under the cover of laws. The practice of random outlawry exemplified in these Prussian feats, will hardly help Government to restore peace. Probably Government want to restore order and in the process terrorise the people for teaching them a lesson; but it is not a lesson to the credit of the British Government."

Comments on the deportation of Punjabi leaders.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th Apl.

46. The usual experience is that when the popular leaders are at their places they are of great use in pacifying the people. The deportation of men like Lala Dunichand is likely to further exasperate the public. These leaders can possibly have no connection with the riots. It is therefore difficult to understand what end the Lieutenant Governor had in view in deporting them. It is certainly to be deplored that His Honour should have suddenly pounced upon these men at a time when the Government of India is dwelling upon the necessity of the leaders' co-operation with Government in the matter of preserving the peace.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 18th April.

47. "The Punjáb Government have served an order on the publishers of Indian-edited newspapers to abstain from referring to the disturbances at Láhore and Amritsar. The embargo does not apply to non-Indian papers, so that we have reports and comments served by the *Civil and Military Gazette* and the Associated Press. The discriminative order is calculated to produce pro-Government versions of the trouble and, judging from the reports issued by these agencies, there has been considerable havoc in both the cities. If the Indian press had not been gagged, we should have had more of the truth, but the characteristic stroke of Sir Michael O'Dwyer has silenced

Comments on the orders of the Punjáb Government to Indian editors of newspapers.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th Apl.

all dissonant notes..... We do not know if any spirit of retaliation caused the military to restore order with a remorseless hand. It is on the whole well that we prepare ourselves for serious news..... The casualties suffered by the civil population in Amritsar and Láhore are without doubt vastly greater than the losses of the Delhi mela. The feeling of suspense is, we think, more excruciating than the knowledge of facts, and we would ask the Government to permit the dissemination of news, so that the worst can be known. In the meanwhile, Sir Michael O'Dwyer has been rioting in virulent speeches against 'agitators'. At the best of times, his word never made of peace. On Thursday evening—the disturbances took place on the very night—his Honour delivered a most extraordinary harangue to the 'representatives' of the martial races of the Punjáb. If it was his intention to steel up a band on the eve of a pitched battle, his speech would have stood as a model of exhilirating utterance..... It is all right for the Lieutenant-Governor to anathematise agitators and thirst for a square fight with crowds. But what would be the effect of such incitements on his listeners as they were summoned to battle against men, who, according to him, had no 'martial spirit themselves and no appreciation for the valour and loyalty of those who had been safeguarding their hearths and homes'? We say that it was as terrible as it was grossly caluminous of the Lieutenant-Governor to have, in his speech, pointed to the opponents of the Black Act as a crew of crowdly rebels who had insulted the 'martial races', and who, by implication, did not deserve quarter. No one with a serious sense of responsibility could have indulged in wild denunciations and incitements in the face of a most critical situation, but it is the unfortunate fact that Sir Michael O'Dwyer characteristically negotiated the trouble in this militant temper. We are in this respect fortunate that in Bombay we have a Governor like Sir George Lloyd who from the beginning displayed conspicuous restraint and statesmanship in dealing with the situation. On Friday, less level-headed guidance than Sir George Lloyd's would have brought about grave disasters, but we are glad—and the public appreciate it—that his influence restrained the Police and the Military, who were on good behaviour. In his Láhore speech, Sir Michael O'Dwyer spoke of defiance of law in Bombay and if we had a man of his type in this city, there would have been danger of a tremendous descent of fire and sword at any moment..... The agitation against the Black Act will remain and in the meanwhile let us know if the police and military have been guiltless in the shedding of blood. *Satyagrahis* are asked to desist—desist from what? These calamities, which they know are not caused by them and which they are certain could have been mitigated by a larger infusion of their spirit, cannot make them extinct, as their cause will hold on till victory. It is hardly fair for them to be shown the sickening sight of blood and be blamed, when they know that they are pledged to opposition to the Black Act and are pledged to self-suffering. The sting of O'Dwyer atrocities consists in the accusation of the innocent and the assumption of the infallible good of repression. It is for the Government to realise the significance of the gruesome tragedies that have followed the Black Act. To minimise and scoff at the deep spirit of resentment in the community is the way of madness. We deplore the terrible character of these incidents. We are sick of their horror. The lesson is misread if, however, the people are asked to abstain from agitation and avert bloodshed, since there is, it may be unconsciously, an evasion of the ultimate responsibility of disaster. It is within the power of Government to save the situation, without the slightest damage to their prestige or authority."

48. Commenting on the presence of Hindus in Moslem Mosques at Delhi after the recent affray there the *Home Ruler* remarks:—"Nothing can better illustrate the remarkable times in which we are living and the tremendous effect which the shocking behaviour of the authorities has made on the populace. Nothing can sever this glorious union of Hindus and Muslims baptised in blood; and if the bureacracy were not absolutely hardened and callous, even they would not fail to understand the signs of the times so boldly written that he who runs may read them. Out of evil cometh good and the close union of all the different communities in face of the repressive legisla-

Comments on the presence of Hindus at Moselm Mosques in Delhi.

Home Ruler (6), 12th Apl.

tion is the one good result of it. We trust the bureaucracy is delighted with the good it is unconsciously doing, but if it had any atom of good sense it would immediately recognize the inevitable repealing of the Rowlatt Act instead of waiting till its hands are absolutely forced and it had no other alternative but to yield."

Disturbances in the Punjáb.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 15th Apl.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 17th Apl.

49. The Punjáb Government have committed a grave blunder in deporting the two leaders of Amritsar. The terrible disturbances that followed this deportation cast a slur on the *Satyagraha* movement and upset the very purpose of *Satyagraha*. The *Times of India* suspects the presence of Bolshevism at the back of the disturbances at Láhore, Amritsar and Ahmedabad, but we do not think its suspicion in this connection is justified. The need, however, of instituting an independent and impartial inquiry into the origin and causes of these disturbances is quite obvious. The Punjáb Government have gagged the public and the Press by prohibiting the former from holding any meetings and the latter from publishing any news regarding the local state of affairs. It is the duty of Government to maintain peace and order but it is as much their duty to take steps to pacify the public. The situation is indeed grave; but it is expedient to adopt a policy similar to that adopted by Lord Canning in 1858 when the situation was even graver than the present one. We do not approve of the Anglo-Indian attitude of instigating the Government to take drastic steps against the people in general, though we have no objection to any action being taken against the individual criminals who may be really guilty of violence and crime. At the same time the Punjáb Government should withdraw their orders against the leaders of Amritsar as well as Mr. Gandhi. It will have a magic effect on the excited minds of the public. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes in a similar strain and strongly deprecates the action of the Punjáb Government. It urges on Government the necessity of taking the public into confidence by suspending the policy of deportation, of throwing bombs from aeroplanes and of using machine guns. The paper desires that Government should send Mr. Gandhi to the Punjáb to advise the people.]

Comments on the resignation of some of the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

Kesari (109), 15th Apl.

50. Commenting upon the resignations of some non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council the *Kesari* says:—Will the Viceroy and the Secretary of State reconsider their action and realise that public opinion has something in it? Even the *Times of India* is disappointed of public opinion becoming favourable to the Act. Why should Government led away by the idea of maintaining their empty prestige insist upon retaining the measure? Instead of maintaining the peace of the country by the use of the machine guns is it not the sign of real manliness to repeal the law and make the people contented and maintain peace?

Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th Apl.

51. "The letter which Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque has written to the Viceroy, resigning his seat in the Imperial Legislative Council, must bring home to the Government of India the intensity of the feeling aroused in the country by the tragic events of Delhi—a feeling which has been aggravated by the knowledge of similar occurrences in other parts of the country. The first duty of every civilized Government, if it is anxious to justify its existence, is to discover the mood of the people and to adjust its actions accordingly. What is wrong with the present method of administration in this country, is that it does not even pretend to be carried on with the consent of the people."

Interpellation in Parliament regarding protests against the Rowlatt Act.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th Apl.

52. "In reply to a question Mr. Montagu said last week that while he had received several cables from individuals and associations praying the Crown to disallow the Rowlatt Act, no cable was received by him purporting to come from the Moderates as such. It is unnecessary to enquire into the motive of the question. The fact, as presented by Mr. Montagu

in the commons, bears an ugly enough appearance and will doubtless be exploited by the enemies of the country as revealing serious divisions of counsels, where none really exist. In the face of this ominous fact the duty of the Moderates is clear. Either they are against the Rowlatt Act, or they are not. Their opposition to the Rowlatt Bill, when before the Imperial Council, was not less uncompromising and vigorous than that of the rest of their countrymen and, in the event of the Bill passing into law, they predicted an agitation such as India had never experienced—an agitation in which they promised they would fully participate. Is it not time they acted up to their professions?"

Comments on the statements made in Parliament by Dr. Fisher with regard to the Rowlatt legislation.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th Apl.

53. "The statements regarding the Rowlatt legislation that Dr. Fisher has been obliged to make in the Commons, on behalf of Mr. Montagu, have been singularly unfortunate. His latest pronouncement, that is, so far as the Indian people who are most concerned are made aware, was made on the 7th instant and though cabled from London on the same date was made available for publication only yesterday. The public has a right to know who is responsible for this unconscionable delay. Fortunately, the delay is, in a way, providential. For, remembering what has happened during the last week, who could deny that the knowledge of what seemed to be the final decision of the Secretary of State would have aggravated an already serious situation to the most alarming degree. For, the statement is as disappointing as it could be..... It is an amazing doctrine that the Secretary of State, who is the final arbiter, should feel himself bound to accept the views of the Government of India without examining the merits of the question and, what is still more flagrant, disregarding the unanimous voice of the people most concerned. When Dr. Fisher made his announcement, the Secretary of State was presumably aware of the character of the non-official opposition in the Council and in the country. Since then the intensity and universality of the feeling against the legislation has manifested itself in a manner which no civilized Government and, we hope the Government of India also, dare ignore except to their own cost. We trust the Government of India have kept the Secretary of State fully acquainted with the present development of the situation and the feeling of opposition to the Act which is behind it. We also earnestly trust that they have themselves reconsidered their decision, repented of their hasty action and have advised the Secretary of State accordingly. At any rate, the Secretary of State, with his present knowledge, must recognise the wisdom of reconsidering his own decision."

The Rowlatt Act and Moderate party.
Hindusthán (24), 18th Apl.; *Shri Sayáji Vijaya* (76), 17th Apl.

54. Commenting on Mr. Fisher's statement in Parliament, that Mr. Montagu has not received any cable from the Moderate party, asking the Crown to signify their disallowance of the Rowlatt Act, the *Hindusthán* names some of the Moderate leaders who have shown their opposition to it and observes that even the Parsi community, which usually keeps itself aloof from any movement against Government, has expressed its opposition to the Rowlatt Bills in unmistakable terms. In view of the statement under comment, it expects the Moderate party to do its duty by reiterating its views in the matter and requests Government to make the British public acquainted with the real state of affairs in India. [The *Shri Sayáji Vijaya* also asks His Majesty the King-Emperor to satisfy the discontented people of this country by signifying his disallowance to the Rowlatt Act.]

Responsibility of Anglo-Indian journals for the anti-British feeling in India.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 20th Apl.

***55.** "We state it here as our deliberate conviction that the anti-English feeling of which we have had these recent ugly manifestations, is alien to the instincts of the Indian people, and that it is largely the outcome of the unbridled license arrogated to themselves by a section of the English press in India..... We are unable to suggest any means whereby the tone of English journals in India can be raised to an uniform level of goodwill and respect for Indian feelings and sentiments. But we regard such an improvement as an essential factor in allaying the anti-English feeling in the country. At any rate, Government can make it unmistakably clear that they regard English journals which make it a point

to be too offensive to Indians with disapproval. Meanwhile, we very deeply regret the loss of life among Europeans and would like to express our sincere sympathy with the families of those who were done to death by the mob." [The paper next recapitulates the agitation against the Rowlatt Act and the events connected with its passing and adds:—] "Why do we recapitulate these things? Not certainly in a spirit of recrimination. We do so because it is being said that the outbreaks are the result of external instigation. There may be external instigation or not: we do not know and we cannot say. If there was, the action of Government helped the endeavours of the instigators."

***56.** "The Rowlatt Act, it has been urged in criticism of the movement for its repeal, does not come into force until and unless the Government of India proclaims the country or any part of it under one of the first three parts of the Act. This is true, but there is an important exception. The 39th section of the Act provides that, on the expiration of the Defence of India Act, every person in respect of whom an order, under the rules made under that Act, was in force immediately before the expiration of that Act, and who has in the opinion of the Local Government been concerned in any scheduled offence, 'shall be deemed to be a person resident in an area in which a notification under section 21 is in force and the provisions of part II shall apply to every such person accordingly', and every person who is at such expiration in confinement in accordance with the provisions of Regulation III of 1818, shall be deemed to be a person resident in an area in which a notification under section 33 is in force, and the provisions of part III shall apply to every such person accordingly. There is a similar provision as regards persons against whom an order is in force under the Ingress into India Ordinance of 1914 as continued in force by the Emergency Legislation Continuance Act. In regard to all these persons, the Rowlatt Act, which has been just passed, will automatically take the place of the Acts under which their movements are restricted, the moment these latter cease to have force. So far as they are concerned, the Act does not require a Government of India notification to be brought into force. It may be said, these men are revolutionary criminals, and no sympathy should be wasted on them. But the point to remember is that their revolutionary crimes have not been proved before a Court of Law. In the special conditions of the War, Government proposed, and non-official opinion supported their proposals, to adopt certain summary methods as sufficient substitutes for a regular judicial procedure. We are sure that Government would not have been able to secure the unanimous non-official support which they obtained for their proposals, if they had proposed that persons incarcerated under these methods will be continued in their incarceration without being brought to trial even after the cessation of war conditions. These men are entitled to be released unconditionally on the expiry of the Acts. They will then be in exactly the position of every other subject of His Majesty, and if they are to be put under further restraint, this should be done by regular process of law. The Rowlatt Act has deprived these men of their rights—the Legislature has usurped the functions of the judiciary. It is likely that few persons will remain interned at the expiry of the war emergency Acts, but the orders as to security made under the Defence of India Act are continued in force as if made under the Rowlatt Act. We had to be satisfied with strong suspicion as proof of guilt in a time of war which was a time of danger to the State, but surely, it is not right to force us to be content with the same unsatisfactory standard of proof in a time of peace against even these persons."

The position of internees under the Rowlatt Act.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 20th Apl.

57. "The decision of the Government of India just announced, refusing the release of Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali, will create a feeling of profound and bitter disappointment throughout the country—a feeling that, we have not the least doubt, will be shared, alike by Hindus and Moslems. We shall have more to say on the matter shortly. For the moment we can only emphasise that no decision of the Government of India could be more calculated to aggravate the

Comments on the decision of the Government of India not to release Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th Apl.

present situation than their refusal to release the brothers. Government have hitherto completely failed to justify their order of internment against the latter, and what they failed to do in spite of the excuse of the war they cannot succeed in doing now, when the war is over and the peace treaty is soon to be signed. The decision of the Government has obviously been based on the report of the Committee, of which Mr. Raoof was a member, though, in view of the well known facts of the case, it is hardly likely that any committee of fair-minded persons would refuse its assent to the release of the brothers. At all events, the public is entitled to know the recommendations of the Committee in this matter and the grounds which have led the Government to adhere to their obstinate and unstatesmanlike attitude."

58. Pundit Ramchandraji Upadhya contributes a poem to the Hindi *Chitramaya Jagat* which, among other things, says :— We have forgotten the art of archery; we are unprotected and at the mercy of robbers and dacoits; we know no longer how various articles are made; we cannot keep our secrets. Victory to the arrow; victory to self-protection; victory to machinery; victory to secret counsel! Alas! We have become such cowards that we are afraid even of monkeys, and in spite of our not being educated, we strive to pass for *Pundits*. Alas! We remain in a state of disappointment and die in a short time. We never resort to action but merely indulge in empty talk. Victory to the brave, the patient and the old and those who have accomplished their objects! We have no attachment for patriotism or religion, neither have we an iota of the strength of self-dependence. We die of starvation and do not enjoy happiness, even in dream. We are tied down by strong bonds and do not enjoy freedom (even) for a second. Victory to religion, strength, enjoyment and freedom.

A poem on the fallen condition of Indians.
Chitramaya Jagat (80) (Hindi) for January 1919.

59. Commenting on the proposal to adopt the *Swadeshi* and Boycott movement, now under the consideration of the Bombay Piece-goods Association the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes :—It will do no good to India to make room for the goods of other countries by boycotting the British goods. Until the output of Indian cloth is sufficient to meet the entire demand of the country, the *Swadeshi* movement cannot be effectively resorted to. Moreover, it is a question whether the consumers at large can afford to adopt this movement. We welcome the proposal of adopting the *swadeshi* movement but we cannot understand why the Boycott should be restricted to British goods alone. All the same, the idea of holding an All-India Conference of the merchants dealing in piece-goods is commendable. [The *Stock Exchange News* too views with disfavour the Boycott movement and declares that it is fraught with many evil results in actual practice.]

Swadeshi and Boycott.
Jám-e-Jamshed (26), 15th Apl.; *Stock Exchange News* (35), 14th Apl.

60. "Mr. Gandhi has done well to distinguish between *Swadeshi* and 'boycott.' The principle of boycott involves an ill-feeling to the foreigner, a bitterness, an antagonism which the *Satyagraha* faith rightly rejects as prejudicial to the purpose of national life; hate is always an exhausting emotion, and cannot organise the life of an individual or a nation. *Swadeshi* is inspired by the idea that home industries and arts must be encouraged, supported, revived in the highest interests of the people; *Swadeshi* springs from true patriotism. At the present hour, therefore, the duty, it seems to us, is laid on every one to take and observe faithfully the *Swadeshi* vow."

New Times (9), 12th Apl.

61. In a long article on the food situation *Young India* writes :—"It is inconceivable that any movement however well-conceived and well-directed it may be would have spread throughout the country in the manner in which the movement against the Black Act has spread had it not been assisted by solid and tangible grievances arising out of the food problem and affecting the entire population, literate and illiterate, politically-minded and those who have eschewed

Alleged failure of food control.
Young India (16), 16th Apl.

politics in the past, everyone except fringes of rich people at the top..... While profiteering is as rampant as ever, it has been sanctioned by the privileges and licenses issued in the name of the Government. It is an irony of fate that not only should the efforts of the Government in this direction be marked with signal failure but well substantiated complaints should arise as to curruption and favouratism and the condoning of anti-social practices involving the fattening of a few persons at the expenses of the community. When the history comes to be written of the large fortunes made in the war, none will loom larger than those made in dealings in food grains with the connivance and knowledge of those to whom the task of controlling food movements had been entrusted by the Government..... There was a time when the man in the street was prone to invest Government with omnipotence and omniscience and the pretensions of the Indian Civil Service were indeed a reflex of the estimate in which the *sircar* was held by the common folk. This belief in the wisdom and justice of governmental action stands shattered to-day..... The ignorance of some of these controllers of the elementary notions of that particular business or for the matter of that bnsiness of any kind has been all much too thoroughly disclosed to the public to excite any confidence or belief in them for a very long time to come."

62. The *Kesari* complains that not only Ratnágiri but other places also have a good deal to say against the Food Controller. It says that even three *seers* of rice cannot be had in Poona per rupee and that the difficulty of getting a supply of kerosene oil continues. It wants to know who is responsible for the inadequate supply of this necessary article. It says that the Controller alone knows how the Currimbhoy Company will be able to supply retail dealers in Bombay when several companies formerly could not do the work. It blames Government for keeping silence regarding the matter and for not publishing the census of foodstuffs. It calls upon Government to publish the figures of imports of Rangoon rice into Bombay and the supply given to the Bombay city and other districts and wants to know if there is anything necessitating Government secrecy in the matter.

Complaint against the Food Controller.
Kesari (109), 15th Apl.

63. "It is but rarely that the people's troubles touch the bureaucrats on the Olympian heights; but when they do, more often than not the remedy is worse than the disease. The control of foodstuffs is an instance in point. It has all along been the public opinion that the control has been an interminable bungle which has now reached its culmination. We are informed on excellent authority that the price of the best wheat in the Punjáb is less than five rupees per maund; the freight will be less than a rupee, and the distributing charges considerably less than four annas. So at the very worst we ought to be able to get, in the ordinary course of things, a maund of the best quality of wheat at six rupees and four annas a maund. The benefits of control may be judged from the fact that the price of wheat (of very poor quality) now here is seven rupees and 12 annas a maund, *i.e.*, we are paying one rupee and eight annas per maund for the luxury of controlled foodstuffs! ..... It is to be hoped that the authorities will have the good sense to recognize plain facts and abolish control forthwith."

Failure of the control system and appeal to Government to abolish it.
Home Ruler (6), 12th Apl.

64. It is worth noticing that even some of the Nationalists have begun to speak out that Mr. Tilak should not take the trouble to appeal against the verdict in his case and that it would have been better if the money alread spent by him had been applied to some other objects. Those who have the real interest of the country at heart will support this view. In the opinion of "Ditcher", the well-known outspoken writer of the Calcutta *Capital*, the Rowlat Act was the inevitable outcome of the Tilak case, and that had the case not been instituted, Government would not have thought it necessary to enact it. There is much truth in what the

Alleged effects of Mr. Tilak's suit against Sir Valentine Chirol.
Dnyán Prakásh (41), 18th Apl.

writer says. It does not appear that those who have instituted this case have done any further service to the country than saddling it with a most undesirable law and making thorny the path of Indian deputations to England.

An attack on Brahmin Kulkarnis.
Deccan Ryot (5), 17th Apl.

65. In the course of a long article on the step taken by the Kolhápur Durbar to deprive Kulkarnis of their *watans*, the *Deccan Ryot* writes:—"In the proportion in which the influence of the Kulkarnis will be diminished in the Deccan, the power of Brahman politicians would be curtailed. The Kulkarni is the stronghold of the Brahmanical influence in the village economy of the Deccan. Undermine his strength, and the fabric of Brahman power will come down like a house of cards. Higher up, new classes corresponding to the Kulkarnis have sprung up recently. But that is not the point at present. Had not the Kulkarni been an extremist Brahman, oppressive in his dealings with the villager, servile before his officer, invariably untrue to his masters, an adept in laying out deep-rooted plots to ruin the victims of his greed and intrigues, the Kulkarni watan in Kolhápur as well as in British India would have been buried as deep as hell without a single whisper of protest being raised against the attempts made so feebly among us. The Maharaja of Kolhápur deserves praise for his boldness in carrying out the reform which the Government of Bombay is vainly labouring to effect for all these years. We have our differences with the Maharaja of whose policy we have the least wish or reason to be indiscriminate supporters. We are, however, glad that he has shown commendable courage and wisdom in abolishing an institution which deserves nothing but condemnation and a decent and deep burial."

Suggested amendment in the proposed rules under the Arms Act.
Din Mitra (102), 9th Apr.

66. The *Din Mitra* complains that the proposed regulations governing the possession of arms though welcome in other respects will not help the smaller agriculturists in defending their crops from the ravages of wild beasts. The paper therefore suggests that the definition in this respect should be so changed as to include an agriculturist who cultivates at least five acres of land instead of one who pays not less than Rs. 1,000 as land assessment, as proposed.

Comments on a recent Press Note regarding construction of wells.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th Apl.

67. "A striking illustration of efficient bureaucratic administration is contained in the following Press Note, just issued: 'With a view to encourage the construction of wells which may have the effect of reducing water-logging under canals, Government decided in February 1916 that the provisions of Section 48 of the Bombay Irrigation Act, under which land deriving benefit by percolation from a canal is liable to a water rate, should not be enforced in respect of land watered by wells sunk at a distance of more than 100 feet from any canal, provided that such wells are fed by natural percolation only and not by a surface channel or a constructed underground channel or pipe. These orders were published in a Press Note, but as they do not appear to have obtained wide publicity Government desire to bring them again to the notice of the public.' The orders issued in 1916 had considerable importance for agriculturists in irrigated areas and one would have imagined an efficient administration would have taken immediate steps to see that they were brought to their notice. But, apparently, the business of the Secretariat begins and ends with issuing orders without caring to see if they are caried out."

The Chief Justiceship of the Bombay High Court.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th Apl.

68. "The appointment of a successor to Sir Basil Scott will excite considerable public interest. For the High Courts in India fulfil a function peculiarly their own and not infrequently have they stood as the protectors of the citizens' liberties against an irresponsible and bureaucratic executive. And with the daily accession of arbitrary and unheard-of powers to the executive, the ability and, above all, the independence of the High Court judiciary and its

Head is a matter of vital public concern. The weakness of the Bench of the local High Court has moreover often been the subject of public comment and even official concern and the Bombay Government have, in the appointment of the new Chief Justice, a great opportunity of imparting much needed vigour to the Bench. The selection of a distinguished Indian for the post, which was bruited at one time, has apparently been rejected as too revolutionary a pill for our Anglo-Indian friends to swallow. But we hope that the Government will not at any rate miss this occasion to bring out as Chief Justice an able member of the English Bar, trained in the free atmosphere of England and instinct with generous English traditions..... Nor would be out of place to advert to the antiquated practice of recruiting the Bench so largely from the members of the Civil Service which has undoubtedly made for the deterioration of the Bench in recent years. The remarkable wealth of legal talent now available at the Bars of the High Court has rendered this pratice an anomaly and an anachronism requiring speedy and radical correction. An equally deleterious practice which has of late found increasing favour in Bombay, is the consistent ignoring of the leading element in the Bar in making appointments and of making selections for the Bench from mere "back-numbers" at the Bar, High Court officials and judges of inferior courts. ..... And in view of the numerous able men at the Bar available for these posts, it is unthinkable that the Government should resort to the lower judiciary and administrative officials for filling appointments meant for men who have practised at the Bar..... Indeed, it would be no exaggeration to say that for every Civilian or second rate English barrister appointed to the Bench there are half a dozen abler and first-rate Indians availabls for these posts. It has ceased to be a question of merely a few more posts for Indians. It is now essentially a question of efficiency and public confidence in the highest judiciary. The whole question of the constitution of the High Court Benches and of the Civilian element in it calls for immediate consideration, for it is time that the pernicious practice of providing highly-paid berths for second rate Englishmen when scores of better-equipped Indians are available and the consequent lowering of the tone of the Bench were ended."

The Chairmanship of the Jail Commission.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th Apl.

69. "After ending his brief tenure at the Government House, Madras, Sir Alexander Cardew becomes the Chairman of the Jail Commission. The self-regarding devices of the I. C. S. are as thorough as they are deliberate. The announcement of the Government's intention to appoint a Jail Commission was made some weeks ago, but the announcement of the personnel was delayed until a convenient date when some high dignitary relinquished his post. Having tasted the sweets of satrapy—albeit for a few days—Sir Alexander Cardew has apparently found himself unequal to the necessity of playing a secondary role in Madras. A place has, therefore, to be found for him. And he becomes Chairman of the Jail Commission! Thus we have the familiar spectacle of the place being found for the man rather the man for the place..... All this mutual serviceableness may be very gratifying to the beneficiaries, but, in the interest of efficiency and honesty, there must be some measure in this distribution of patronage. Having made the blunder of nominating Sir Alexander Cardew as Chairman of the Jail Commission, we trust Government—if they are anxious to see real reform introduced in the prison system—will redress the balance and strengthen the Commission by inviting the services of one expert from America as well as from England and by appointing more than two non-official Indian members."

The situation in Sind.
New Times (9), 15th Apl.

70. "The Sindhi and the Gujarati are mild and genial people; they have a natural repugnance to riot or disturbance; and we know how much they appreciated the cool-headedness shown by Mr. Martin on the *Satyagraha* Day. So much depends on the attitude and policy of the local government at the present moment, that we venture to offer our suggestions and advice, in the hope that nothing will be done to disturb the delicately balanced situation in Sind..... We would ask the local government to realise, in the first place, the *danger of exaggerating the*

symptoms of the situation. We cannot congratulate Mr. Martin on the Proclamation and Notification issued by him on the 12th instant; we cannot think they were necessary..... It does seem to us that the 'Proclamation' and 'Notification' have both heightened the seriousness of the situation; the military are so conspicuous at this moment that the city is naturally agitated. We would ask the local government, in the second place, to take no wrong steps such as the Punjáb and Delhi Governments have taken..... We earnestly ask the local government not to exchange traditions of English statesmanship for un-British principles of the Punjáb and Delhi Governments. ..... .It will be a bad blunder if the Government adopt a grim attitude to the situation in Sind. We write these words as we find that rumours of internments and arrests are abroad at this hour. The local government will do the worst thing if, at this anxious hour, it listens to panic-stricken counsels or ignorant Anglo-Indian criticism..... May we, in this connection, point out that the local Anglo-Indian daily should be advised not to indulge in the hot epithets it often pours on the national movement and some of its workers?"

Complaint that the Military authorities at Karáchi temporarily interned their Indian staffs on *Satyagraha* day.
Home Ruler (6), 12th Apl.

71. "The bureaucracy has never been famous for being level-headed and it seems that the fever of *Satyagraha* has set it going at an uncontrollable rate. We have been credibly informed that on the National Protest day the Military authorities took upon themselves to intern their staff temporarily lest they might join the *Satyagraha* demonstrations. As this internment took place at more than one military hospital it is a fair presumption that general orders must have been issued. Usually the clerks leave at a little after two, but on Sunday last they were ordered to remain in office till five o'clock..... Any way it is extremely unjust that a man should be dismissed and lose salary for a week for not submitting to the sudden internment orders of the Military authorities."

Comments on the farewell entertainment to Mr. H. S. Lawrence organised by the Sind Muhammadans.
Home Ruler (6), 12th Apl.

72. After pointing out how easy it was for officials in former times to obtain certificates of merit in the shape of addresses, etc., the *Home Ruler* remarks:—"Since then, however, public opinion has been awakened, and the result is that now the panegyrics are signed only by the special devotees at the bureaucratic shrine. A local specimen is the farewell tamasha organized by some Muhammadans in honour of Mr. Lawrence's retirement. The latter is, indeed, such a happy event and such an excellent riddance for the Province that we would not mind a dozen such tamashas. But unfortunately these obliging friends of Mr. Lawrence have chosen to speak in the name of the whole Muhammadan community which strongly repudiates the idea of an entertainment to Mr. Lawrence in its name. It is to be hoped that our Muhammadan friends will boldly come out and resent the usurpation of their name."

A postal complaint.
Din Mitra (102), 9th Apl.

73. A correspondent signing himself 'A non-Brahmin' complains in the *Din Mitra* that since it was decided to hold a meeting of the Satyashodhak Samaj at Kále in the Sátára District, the Brahmins of the place have been subjecting the non-Brahmins to various acts of petty annoyance. The writer alleges that the Brahmin Post Master of the place tampers with the correspondence of the people and that the complaints made to the higher Post Office authorities against him have not had any result.

The Peace Conference.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 15th Apl.; *Baroda Vartmán* (61), 14th Apl.

74. The sittings of the Peace Conference have been prolonged beyond expectations. President Wilson is in a hurry to return to America as the public opinion there is growing against his participating any further in the workings of the Peace Conference if his original fourteen terms are not adhered to by the Allies. The representatives of the Allied nations are also in a difficult situation. Their

peoples press them to have the most favourable terms from the enemy. These circumstances have created an anxious situation even for the Allies; for they fear the spread of Bolshevism in their own countries, in case they fail to satisfy them by exacting the most favourable terms from the enemy. [The *Baroda Vartamán*, too, writes in the same pessimistic tone as to the successful conclusion of the workings of the Peace Conference.]

75. "Say some now that the protection of weaker nations against the stronger ones does not fall in the category of either the Peace Conference or the League of Nations but it falls in the category of the Home politics. Since the weaker nations cannot by this way appeal to outside but to their own masters, where is the guarantee that their grievances will be truly redressed and where was then the necessity to establish there some such League of Nations? It will be quite fitting to call it the League of stronger nations or the League of masters. Verily we advance a step yet further to make them still more slavish who are so already and the most they can appeal to is to appeal to the good sense and the instincts of their masters and they should leave the decisions of their questions absolutely to them. How far then the world has been made safe from future invasions considering all nations in the world as equal and not merely the league of those that join it ranging against those that do not join it, or cannot be allowed to do so on some pretexts?"

The League of Nations is only a step further to make the enslaved nations still more slavish.

Sind Advocate (11), 3rd Apl.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 25th April 1919.

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District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. When Mr. Gandhi began his *Satyagraha* movement he was not aware that he stood in so close a proximity to incendiarism and so he had to suspend his own movement. In the opinion of the *Times of India*, the organised character of the riots at Ahmedabad, Lahore, and Amritsar was due to the spread of Bolshevism in India backed up with money and the launching of Mr. Gandhi's *Satyagraha* movement only afforded Bolshevism the opportunity it was waiting for. There is no doubt that the whole of India will assist Government in putting down the Bolshevist pest, as nobody favours it here. Bolshevist principles cannot take root in the sacred and religious atmosphere of India. Piety and *Satyagraha* are the only remedy against Bolshevism. Take them away and Bolshevism is sure to break out. If cunning Bolshevists under the guise of *Satyagrahis* began to commit disturbances, is it not necessary to repeal the Rowlatt Act itself in the first instance, as it is the passing of that measure that has created the scope for the activities of these pretenders? Why falsely charge the *Satyagraha* movement with the responsibility for the disturbances? No reasonable man approves of the Act. Then what is the use of widely distributing its translations? Let Government do so if they like. We are sure that the more the people read the Act, the more will they be convinced of its evil character. Government have declared the existence of rebellion in Lahore and Amritsar, and as it is the duty of the ruling power to re-establish order there by every means in its powers, this is not the time to criticize the steps taken by it in the discharge of its duty. But we would be guilty of disloyalty to the King-Emperor if we approved of actions which try to hide lack of statesmanship by resorting to strong measures. The Rowlatt Act was enacted only through the influence exercised over the Government of India by short-sighted and obstinate politicians like Sir Michael O'Dwyer. They have proved their utter incapacity as advisers of the Government of India by urging the passing of the Act when they knew that the minds of the people had already been rendered restless by various circumstances. No one wishes to come in the way of Government adopting measures to put down the disturbances, but it would be improper to call in the aid of measures like the Press Act, the Regulation of 1818, and the Prohibition of Meetings Act, to assist the military authorities. The presence of the military too will be rendered unnecessary if the Rowlatt Act is withdrawn.

How the present situation can be met.
Kesari (109), 22nd Apl.

2. The non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council warned Government of popular agitation against the Rowlatt Bill if it came to be passed into law. What did the Government of India do to check the agitation? Nothing. They were carried away by the idea of the impotence of public opinion. Was it not wrong on the part of Government to have passed the Bill? But now Government want to throw the responsibility of the disturbances on popular leaders. Should the people quietly submit to every measure passed by Government by means of the official majority? The officials want to carry everything before them. Government have not only accused the popular leaders and the newspapers of creating the disturbances but they have also accused them of spreading false reports about the provisions and scope of the Act. May we know why the non-official members opposed the Bill? Were they ignorant of its provisions or were they actuated by malice? Should not Government have attached some weight to the representations of the Bombay Presidency Association and other public bodies in the country? It is to be regretted that the officials of the Government of India did not foresee the evil results of the disregard of public opinion. What wrong was there in the people's expressing their disapproval of the Act within legitimate bounds? Why should Provincial

Gujaráti (20), 20th Apl.; *Hindusthán* (24), 22nd Apl.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (82), 20th and 24th Apl.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 24th Apl.; *Gujaráti Punch* (22), 20th Apl.; *Káthiáwár Samáchár* (71), 26th Apl.

Government officials have needlessly interfered with the activities of the people? Why should they have dissuaded the people from joining any movement? Why should rifles, bayonets and machine-guns have been so frequently used? Everyone is aware of the occurrences of the 30th March. But why did not Government adopt the policy of equal justice to all? Why has not a Committee been appointed to inquire into the affair? Government should not have interfered with Mr. Gandhi's movements. How is it that the Commissioner of Delhi now admits that the general strike was due to the arrest of Mr. Gandhi? The question of the Khalifate and the probable fate of Turkey is believed to have contributed to popular unrest in the Punjáb and the province of Delhi. Dr. Ansari's speech was forfeited and popular leaders were deported. These are the real causes of the disturbances, but the officials needlessly blame the followers of the *Satyagraha* movement. People are ready to co-operate with Government in fighting against the misuse of legitimate agitation that leads to breach of the peace. But there should be no delay on the part of Government in giving justice to the people. Government should appoint a committee consisting of officials and non-officials to enquire into the disturbances. [The *Hindusthán* writes:—Government should appoint a Commission to enquire into the disturbances. They should appoint a cool-headed man as the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb and withdraw martial law from that province. They should also remove the restrictions against Mr. Gandhi and allow the newspapers of Láhore to publish accounts of the disturbances. The *Shri Venkateshwar* deplores the sad incidents and exhorts the people to keep their heads cool and not to be carried away by passion and to help Government in restoring peace and order. In a subsequent issue the paper ascribes the disturbances to a tragic series of blunders on the part of Government and the people alike and declares that it is not Bolshevism but economic distress and pestilences that made people easily excitable and asks Government to adopt a policy of mercy and conciliation. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also asks Government to remove the restrictions against Mr. Gandhi and to adopt a conciliatory policy wherein justice should be tempered with mercy. The *Gujaráti Punch* challenges Mr. Gandhi's statement that educated men were at the back of the disturbances at Ahmedabad and Viramgaum. It believes that the common people receive lessons in incendiarism, etc., from the sensational stories exhibited by cinematographs and declares that it would refuse to entertain any suggestion that there was any conspiracy. It presses for a public enquiry into the disturbances. The *Káthiáwar Samáchár* considers the Rowlatt Act as the sole cause of exciting popular agitation. In view of the deplorable results it asks people to suspend their agitation and requests Government to repeal the Act with a view to conciliating public opinion.]

3. "Force, ordinances and any kind of repressive measures simply bang, bar and bolt the door of peace and do even something worse. They drive all agitation—legitimate or otherwise—underground, from whence with gathered force it is apt to burst with dire consequences. All India mourns the loss of precious lives. We can ill-spare any single one of them, be it of an European or an Indian. We are all sick of this bloodshed and ruin. The turning of a new leaf is urgently wanted. Will not the Government of India make a new beginning by the inauguration of a policy of confidence and conciliation, and jettisoning, once and for all the policy of force? The effect on the country will be magical and the events of the last few days will only be remembered as a hideous nightmare, which in its turn will be soon forgotten."

Sánj Vartamán (33), 21st Apl., Eng. cols.

***4.** "The present situation in Gujarat, where also a state of open rebellion is proclaimed to exist, and in the Punjáb is obscured by paucity of true information. Martial Law, ordinances, application of the Seditious Meetings Act, etc., are in full swing, and arrests and trials by courts martial are heard everywhere. Brutal flogging is resorted to for such simple offences, if they can be so called, as the 'tearing down of notices,' and 'being out after the notified hours'. This speaks a

Comments on the disturbances in the Punjáb.
Mahrátta (8), 27th Apl.

reign of red terror. O'Dwyerism has flung away all discretion to the winds. Almost all the leaders, whether Moderates or Nationalists, in Láhore, are under arrest, and the people are rendered completely helpless. Strong and severe measures, we know, are necessary sometimes, but the present instances given by Government do not warrant their application. We abhor excess of severity on the part of the authorities as much as hooliganism on the part of the people."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Apl.

5. "So far as its application in political conduct goes, *Satyagraha* synthetises the principle of peace and personal suffering, and the present duty of the *Satyagrahi* lies in consistently endeavouring to help in the restoration of peace and the subjugation, by means available to him, of lawless violence. ..... The movement has been utilised and corrupted by unscrupulous elements, and it is well that all should co-operate in defeating the pernicious aims of those who have sought to time the outbreak of violence with the appearance of *Satyagraha*. As Mr. Gandhi has remarked *Satyagraha* has neither been the cause nor the occasion of the upheaval, and the most inveterate critics of the movement cannot honestly deny that *Satyagrahis* have, at personal risks, been endeavouring to disable the hand of violence..... We would remind Government that the horror and detestation of the community at these casual and easily suppressible outbreaks will not extinguish the opposition of the people to the Black Act. They have learnt some things about the havoc of defying public opinion and the assumption by the authorities of powers dangerous to private safety, and it is vain to think that the lid has been forced down on the agitation against the Black Act. The moral title which the Act has for unquestioned obedience has been thoroughly discussed and if the basis of law in civilised countries is the consent of the people, no one can, after the demonstrations against it in the country and the opposition in the Council, urge for it anything like valid authority. It can subsist on militarist threat, either open or subdued. Not less obnoxious than the law itself—if a decree of virtual outlawry against 'supects' may be honoured with the name of law—is the fact of its being thrust on the people despite universal protest..... Now that the movement in favour of civil disobedience is suspended, public anxiety regarding the application of dead statutes, not to speak of fresh additions, is bound to remain intense. We hope that it will not be reckoned against us, if our feelings do not permit us to hail them with unmixed joy! The situation in the Punjáb is anxious; but public anxiety is not due to any fear that the Government will hesitate to use their powers but to the apprehension that the Local Government are liable to err on the side of excess..... The rigour and inhumanity of the Martial Law, as enforced by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, can be realised from the telegram which tells of persons arrested for disobeying orders issued under the Martial Law, being whipped in the public streets. That this Teutonic barbarity should be practised under the auspices of Sir Michael O'Dwyer is not surprising. What is amazing is that it should be practised in a British territory. It is to the credit of the Government of Sir George Lloyd that during the disquiet in the city, which, with all the allegations of excess, was natural after Mr. Gandhi's arrest and the mystery made at first of his destination, they refrained from plunging themselves into vindications with the rifle of the 'majesty' of the law..... The Government of India will, however, be guilty of the most serious blunder if they imagine that they can best deal with the situation by coercing and intimidating the people. Their engine of repression may be brought into operation simultaneously and with crushing vehemence. But they will defeat their purpose, if that purpose is to stifle and crush the legitimate unrest against the cumulative evils of the present system of Government generally and the bitter opposition to the Rowlatt Act in particular. The bulk of the people throughout the country are with them; they will co-operate with them fully and whole-heartedly—and of this universal sentiment and readiness no more striking proof could be given than that afforded by the suspension of the *Satyagraha* movement—so long as their sole concern is to combat violence and so long as the measures employed for the purpose are not in excess of the strict requirements of the situation. In short, while Government will receive

the fullest possible co-operation in fighting violence, every patriotic Indian will feel it incumbent on him to protest against methods of terrorisation. We earnestly entreat Government to lay the lesson of the tragic happenings in the Punjáb to heart. And what is that lesson? It is that, whatever be the causes and the character of the present upheaval—and we repeat we have not full and authentic information in regard to either—the root cause is to be found in the O'Dwyerism which has flourished unfettered and uncontrolled in that province, throughout the last four or five years. The Government of India can lay that lesson to heart only if they realise that the true key to the situation is conciliation."

6. "The Government must realise the psychology of the apparent quiescence of the people over the Act at a moment when they are stupefied by the disturbances in the country and the conduct of terrorisation pursued by the authorities in some provinces. To say that a people, reduced to a state of suspense and alarm, are being persuaded into assent by the illumination of Government circulars may be all right for official complacency, but the Government must strive to realise that silence induced by panic cannot sensibly be mistaken for or misconstrued into growing appreciation..... Do they imagine that they are gaining much or anything at all by refusing publicity to the events in the Punjáb? Appalling events are going on in Lahore, Amritsar, Gujranwala and others places and it is now becoming clear as noon-day that Government, in meeting the trouble, which is evidently not a spontaneous outburst, are exercising horrid and detestable powers of torture and terrorisation. Tracts have been bombed by aeroplanes; crowds have been machine-gunned; large numbers of people, sixty of them (being prominent leaders) in Lahore and eighty-six in Amritsar, have been arrested; not a few have been deported; and people are being whipped in the streets—and it is inhuman drivel for people who do not feel about some of these atrocities to censure others for suggesting that Government have been inclined, in some cases, to use 'excess of force'. The phrase is ridiculous to be used for an arraignment, when the brutality of flogging men in the streets is being perpetrated and tactics not far from what Mr. Churchill once called 'baby-killing', is, according to report, being followed. And Karl Peters is not in the Punjab. The Government of India have a great responsibility in this matter. The first duty of a Government is, we are told, the maintenance of law and order. The observance of the principle of justice is not a secondary duty for a civilised Government. Will the Government of India take a more active and interfering interest in the methods of Sir Michael O'Dwyer? Where force is required for the suppression of rioters, they are entitled to use it according to the necessities of the case, but the Punjab is ringing with the beat of the Nasmyth hammer. The veil has to be lifted. There is hardly any independent paper to publish a true version of the occurrences. The flood of alarm and repression has washed off the *Tribune* and the *Punjabi*. No paper, unless it be prepared to be in collusion with Government for the version of facts, dare publish any account, because some casual inaccuracy is enough, under the confiscatory laws, to bring it to extinction. This sort of thing cannot go on for ever. How long do Government think that they can keep this sort of secrecy? The Punjab Government has come out with a communique which on account of its language stands as a worthless document for the knowledge of facts. We are told: 'The people are realising their folly; their present submissiveness is due to the fear of the consequences of disobedience under Martial Law. The feature of the attitude of the educated classes is their sullenness.' 'Prominent leaders' have been arrested under one or other of the many laws of terrorisation brought out for the purpose. 'Investigations in Kasur', the communique says, 'are proceeding satisfactorily and many arrests have been made.' Possibly they are satisfactory—but how many have been flogged in the process, one may well wonder. The *Civil and Military Gazette*, as the approved organ of Government, imitates the Government communique and says that 'a lambardar was truculent and insolent and was *forthwith punished strongly and effectively*'. What was this transaction which was 'strong and effective?' Count Fosco

Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd Apl.

never spoke of the 'murder' of fellow-creatures; his elegance led him to talk of 'making certain persons to disappear' and 'assisting in the dissolution of nature'. Let us have less of this kind of barbarous civility of expression and more of the description of the facts. The stroke against the Indian-edited newspapers and the introduction of fresh confiscatory rules in the Defence Act have completed the campaign against publicity. It is time Government published plain and authentic reports from day to day without the glorification of achievements and cynical periphrasis about their own conduct. In this connection we would protest against the decision of the Government of India to retain Sir Michael O'Dwyer beyond the term of his office in Láhore. He should have been sent about his business long ago, but he has been given the *carte blanche* at a most unfortunate crisis. Sir Edward Maclagan is no stranger in India and it is absolutely dangerous that Sir Michael O'Dwyer should be made to wait and assist him to his feet. There must be an end to the O'Dwyer atrocities and the beginning of a policy of conciliation and firmness tempered with justice, if not mercy. The demand for an inquiry into the occurrences at Delhi, Calcutta, the Punjáb and Bombay has been formally passed by the All-India Congress Committee for being embodied in a statement which will be prepared by the Committee touching the Black Act and its tragic sequel. Every man, whether Indian or British, who has the credit of British justice and humanity at heart, will associate himself with the demand. We cannot rightly afford to ignore the causes or the course of these disturbances and say, after the orgies of cruelty, and it is not too much to say homicidal mania, witnessed in India, that 'all is well that ends well' and close up the business. It will be a shame if it happens so. There will be many counsellors of reaction and firmness to Oriental peoples, suggesting that the story might be left where it ends. Justice must be done, though the heavens fall. We hope that there will be an impartial inquiry, and that it will not be interpreted as another demand of the pestilential agitator. In the meanwhile, we earnestly appeal to the Government of India, and to Lord Chelmsford in particular, not to remain as a passive spectator of the doings of the Government of the Pundjáb, but begin to relax the sternness of the O'Dwyer regime, and open a policy of justice and humanity for ending a situation which undoubtedly was largely originated by the hand of relentlessness and of provocation which has been oppressing the Punjáb during the last six years."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 25th Apl.

7. The *Bombay Chronicle*, while replying to criticism of its articles on the Punjab disturbances by the *Times of India*, writes :—"So far as Government are engaged in the suppression of disorder they have the support of every right-minded Indian, but we do not think it is the duty of public journals in India to shut their eyes and leave everything to Government. It is their bounden duty to see that excess of severity is not employed; for, as Lord Morley said, excess of severity is not the path to order..... And how has Martial Law been enforced in the Punjab? The definition of Martial Law, as given by the Commander of Láhore, seems to exclude all public criticism, but Government should understand that they are in the last resort responsible for everything conducted in their name..... We invite attention to the following message of the Associated Press to the *Leader*, dated Láhore, April 17th..... 'Up to this time ten orders have been passed under Martial Law, the first order directing people to open their shops by 2 P.M. to-day (Thursday); in default the shops will be opened by force and property will be confiscated and owners will be liable to be fined, imprisoned and whipped.' It is remarkable that the same message from Láhore as delivered in Calcutta and Bombay read: '..... Owners will be *punished*.' The susceptibilities of the local censors must have had something to do with the substitution of the compendious word 'punished' in the place of 'fined, imprisoned and whipped.' This sort of physical violence to owners, who cannot exactly be called either 'náughty' or 'boys,' we ventured to call horrid and detestable. We are amazed at the effrontery of the *Times of India* in its attempt airily to dismiss it as a piece of fatherly correction to 'naughty boys,' and, what is worse, to invoke Government action against us for suggesting that a regime which permitted these acts must be terrorising the population..... We

want facts about the Punjab, from the Punjab officials as well non-officials. This is not all. One of the rules under the Martial Law announced by the Commander of Láhore contains the following: 'At present the city of Láhore enjoys the advantage of electric lights and a water-supply; but the continuance of these supplies will depend on the good behaviour of the inhabitants and their prompt obedience to my orders.' We do not blame the Commander. It is the Civil authorities who are responsible. Did they try to retain command in their own hands and employ the military only when necessary? Was military rule absolutely indispensable? Even if so, are all these orders advisable? Our contemporary astutely says nothing about deportations and arrests on a scale never yet before witnessed. And deportations of whom? Of acknowledged leaders who would have been of incalculable help in calming the situation and controlling the people, apparently, as some of them were waiting for an interview with the Government. As to the use of bombs from aeroplanes and machine-gunning, our contemporary comforts itself with the idea that swift and decisive action was required. We do not want the imaginings of the *Times of India*. We want a plain unvarnished tale of what happened at Gujranwalla necessitating aeroplane bombing. If Government can convince the people that necessities did exist for a resort to bomb-throwing, they should do so without delay. Disorder must be quelled and force must be employed. The *Times of India* need not preach to us the necessity of employing force against force. But there is something like a sense of proportion which should not be wholly lost sight of. The complaint is not against the use of force but against excessive severity which is beyond the needs of justice and which is likely to have an irritant effect on the situation..... But, after all, we have less to do with the *Times of India* than with Government. It is for the latter to assume control and free the Punjab from Martial Law as early as possible. Sir Michael O'Dwyer has already over-stayed his time, and a change in the Punjab Government seems to be urgently called for. The Punjáb has oft-times been called the sword-arm of India. Not to speak of the mutiny days when it was the Punjáb that helped the British loyally and steadfastly, it was the Punjáb again that was foremost in giving willingly its sons to fight the battles of freedom in the four corners of the world. What ails the Punjab? Whatever the *Times of India* and others of its ilk may say, it behoves Government to adopt a conciliatory policy and bring things back to the normal in that hapless Province. There were many who derided Canning as Clemency Canning, but it is the policy of Canning that ultimately stood the test."

8. "The Punjáb Government has passed a series of orders which have filled the whole country with grave alarm. While, on the one hand, the news of fresh disturbances which is vouchsafed to the outside world is so meagre, that regarding the coercive measures taken by Government is so ample that the circumstance creates a most undesirable impression on the public mind..... In the case of the Ahmedabad riots, the public are fully satisfied that the Bombay Government took no measures that were not warranted by the circumstances of the case, and that no intimidation was used with the object of cowing down the people. The withdrawal of the martial law the moment it was thought it had done its work has inspired the people with a confidence that Sir George Lloyd's Government will not take action which will err on the side of cruelty. Does the Punjáb Government's action induce a like confidence? Far from it. If that Government's communiques fully relate all the outrages that have taken place—and there is no reason to suppose that it will keep back any—the public will feel convinced that, however deplorable the occurrences may be, they are certainly not so serious as to justify a fraction of the severity to which the Punjáb Government has evidently nerved itself. ..... The gagging of the Indian press and the deportation and arrest of several leaders of public opinion, against whom there cannot be a scintilla of evidence of complicity in the crimes committed, are acts which will only inflame public opinion to an extraordinary degree. Who can ever believe that the editor of the *Tribune*, who is one of the most level-headed men in the country and who is conducting the paper

Servant of India (10), 24th Apl.

on lines that others may well set themselves to emulate, has the remotest connection with the disorders except it be that he used his efforts to prevent them? What again could be the possible offence of Messrs. Manoharlal and Dunichand and others? If their temporary absence from the scene of trouble will lead to a restoration of order, these men will not grudge the Government the luxury of depriving them of their liberty for a season. But to suggest that their freedom was prejudicial to the preservation of peace is to cast a stigma on the loyalty of the best affected among us. It is just because we are convinced that the removal at this critical time of men who could exercise very great influence on the side of peace and order and who would never use it any other way may put an intolerable strain on the patience of the people and lead to results contrary to what the Government expect, that we are so much concerned at the turn things are taking in the Punjáb. The Government of India and the Punjáb Government have taken too alarmist a view of the present position, and if they do not wish to terriorise the people into submission, it is highly necessary that they should take steps to convince the public that the severity of the measures adopted by them was called for by the circumstances. The curfew gun, the order to the students of the D. A. V. College to answer the roll-call four times a day and other equally strong measures are things which seemed beyond the capacity of even a Sir Michael O'Dwyer. The dropping of bombs from aeroplanes, which is officially acknowledged—what is one to say of it? The brutality of these measures may lead to consequences which one dare not contemplate."

*9. *Indian Social Reformer* (7), 27th Apl.

"Some of the orders, especially those regarding students and shopkeepers, strike us as being ill-judged, but the whipping of persons in the public streets, whether these persons are boys or men, is an act which the Government of India will have to justify at the bar of civilized humanity. We do not trust ourselves to write of this flagrant measure of insult and outrage to Indian citizenship with a due measure of restraint. It is, we fear, an indication of the spirit in which martial law is applied in the Punjáb. When everything else is forgotten, this whipping in the streets of Láhore will continue to embitter the memory of the people not only of that province but of the whole country. The authorities have set a bad example to the mob which has already in some of the cinematographs a plentiful source of brutalities of which, in the opinion of many people, its recent exploits in the Punjáb and Ahmedabad were attempts at reproduction. It is the bitterest of ironies that the Punjáb which gave lavishly of her manhood to the Empire, should be the scene of this revolting excess in the name of martial law. A press commnuique, published since these reflections were in type, states that 12 persons were flogged and that they were all, with the exception of one petty shop-keeper, of the menial or servant class. In our opinion, this explanation but adds to the enormity. It shows that the authorities concerned do not understand that whipping in the public streets is a sin against manhood, irrespective of whether the victims are petty shopkeepers or menials. There is no such class as a menial or servant class in India, unless the communique refers to the depressed..... If the victims referred to are men of the depressed classes, the Depressed Classes Mission should lose no time in sending its strong protest to the Government of India and the Secretary of State against the cool official assumption that the whipping of men of these classes in the public streets is not a thing about which there should be a fuss made."

*10. *Gujaráti* (20), 27th Apl., Eng. cols.

"Stringent measures are being taken at Láhore under Martial Law. Persons arrested for disobeying orders issued under Martial Law are being whipped in the public streets. We congratulate Sir Michael O'Dwyer's civilised Government upon the introduction and enforcement of such an eminently humane and righteous law. Martial Law is a dangerous and brutal remedy even when occasions arise for its enforcement in civilised countries. What an engine of oppression and cruelty it can become when it is enforced against an ignorant mass of people can well be imagined. None others than Europeans or a person in possession of a military permit is at liberty to leave his house between certain hours at night. How in an urgent case of a

wounded or dying person calling for immediate medical assistance a permit is to be obtained at night is not explained. But that is martial law..... Martial laws and all the ancient and modern Regulations, Statutes and Ordinances that may be enforced will fail to restore the moral and political prestige of Government, unless and until an independent inquiry is held and the actual facts in connection with the origin and progress of the riots that have taken place in the Punjáb and the mode of their suppression are ascertained and laid before the public at large. That alone will succeed in rehabilitating the prestige of Government and no other measure whatsoever." [Elsewhere the paper writes :—"We all deeply deplore the tragic and unjustifiable occurrences at Ahmedabad, Viramgam, Láhore and Amritsar. It is a thousand pities that any such shocking incidents should have ever happened. But it is impossible to reconcile ourselves to the arbitrary and ill-advised fiats that Sir Michael O'Dwyer has been in the habit of issuing from time to time. The order recently issued by his Government forbidding 'Indian-edited papers' from publishing independent reports of the disturbances at Láhore and Amritsar is of this type. The invidious distinction it makes between the Anglo-Indian and Indian press is not only very insulting but very mischievous in its effects. We all know how Anglo-Indian papers are in the habit of publishing one-sided and even untrue versions and there is no reason whatsoever why the Indian press alone should be subjected to any kind of censorship..... The prohibitory order issued by the Punjáb Government practically amounts to this that all non-official sources of information are to be closed and the disinterested officials and their journalistic gramophones are to have their own way without any check or hindrance. We would not have perhaps opposed a prohibitory order exempting the leading Anglo-vernacular and vernacular papers. But to bring the whole native press in the Punjáb under the operation of censorship is nothing but a highly arbitrary measure which cannot but be offensive to the sense of self-respect of the Indian press and harmful to the cause of truth and good government..... The prohibitory order issued by the Punjáb Government shows how the provisions of the Defence of India Act which was intended to be essentially a war measure have been misapplied, not to say abused. A helpless press will of course submit to such an indefensible and unjust order. But it will not conciliate the public mind but produce general distrust and lead to further estrangement between Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the people of the Punjáb..... Sir Michael O'Dwyer is a political and administrative anachronism in these days. But he is 'a strong man' whatever that may mean. That is his highest qualification in the judgment of officialdom and its gramophone press. It is, however, certain that his principles and methods have been fruitful of results which the best well-wishers of the British Government and of the Indian peoples cannot but deeply deplore."]

11. *Young India* (16), 23rd Apl.

"Say what one might, the seriousness of the situation which has arisen in the Punjáb carries with it the condemnation of *Government by force* and the contrast becomes the more damning to Sir Michael O'Dwyer when it is remembered how in Bombay the storm blew over without leaving in its trail a sense of blasting desolation, because at a moment when passions ran high the Governor disregarded the alarmist wails of the Secretariat and to firmness combined tact and goodwill..... The strong hand has fallen heavy on the innocent and guilty alike and the threat has become an awful reality. Men have been deported without rhyme or reason and many a home made desolate. One shudders to think what else may not be in store for the unfortunate people placed under the charge of Sir Michael. And all this in the name of what—a soul-less, machine-like efficiency? We do not complain if certain undesirable measures were put in force as reprisals against sporadic outbursts of lawlessness. But to fling provocations at the people and then put them down is not British rule—at any rate to our thinking. We agree that the maintenance of law and order is a vital concern of all good Government and it is the undoubted duty of every citizen to asist Government—whether indigenous or foreign—constitutionally established—in preserving these essential elements of good government. The question that has got to be asked now is, were the measures that are now

being resorted to in the Punjáb necessary towards the preservation of law and order? In the absence of adequate information which has led the Government of India to leave unbridled authority in the hands of one who has long been known for his autocratic tendencies, our frank reply is 'No'. The conduct of the Government of India in giving *carte blanche* to Sir Michael O'Dwyer is only comparable to Mr. Asquith's curt refusal to show clemency in the treatment of the Irish rebels." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—"The Government of India, though they have abdicated their function of checking the excesses of the Punjáb executive, have, however, still a responsibility which they owe to themselves and the public at large. It is to be keenly regretted that this responsibility was not properly discharged by the Government in so far that they failed to check the atrocious limits to which the authorities went in the Punjáb..... Bombing a thickly populated and undefended city by aeroplanes has to be justified still. It has not yet been shown that the circumstances were so grave or that the danger to the Bristish *Raj* was so imminent that only the bombing of a city in which large number of hapless men, women and children were exposed could avert it. Nor can we reconcile our modern conscience with the employment of machine-guns and armoured trains to mow down an unarmed and undrilled populace, however recalcitrant or provocative its attitude. We have yet to be told that the ordinary and reserve police were incapable of or inadequate for maintaining law and order or that the small garrisons could not have been used to intimidate or overawe the crowds."]

Home Ruler (6), 19th Apl.

12. "So far we have heard only one side because by a wonderful stroke Sir Michael O'Dwyer has ordered the Indian edited press not to write anything whatsoever about the situation in the Punjáb. This unjust and indefensible order obliges us to suspend tour judgment about the events in the Punjáb..... While deeply deploring the death not only of the Europeans but also of the mere people, we fear we cannot extend our sympathy to the Punjab Government which has resolutely chosen to violate even the shadow of just and equal treatment of Europeans and Indians by giving a free hand to the Anglo-Indian press in the province, while repressing with a firm hand even the elementary rights of the Indian press. If Sir Michael O'Dwyer imagines that he will gain popular support by artificially influencing public opinion in this manner he never made a worse mistake. The public heavily discounts all statements emanating from him, and in the long run it is not unlikely that he may be painted even blacker than he is, though that would not be easy."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 21st and 22nd Apl.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (82), 25th and 26th Apl.

13. The services rendered by Indians and their appreciation by Government led some to hope that the Government of India would adopt a policy of trust and confer on Indians high posts in the civil and military services, as was done in the time of Akbar. But their hopes have proved to be mere idle dreams, and Government have shown undue haste in passing measures that show anything but trust in the people and in regarding the unanimous opposition of the people against those measures as an additional cause for their own distrust. We would repeat that the unfortunate incidents of last week were mainly due to the embarrassment of the officials due to such a distrust. His Excellency Sir George Lloyd did not allow his policy to be tainted by distrust and the success of this policy is proved by the authorities in Delhi following in his footsteps and working hand in hand with such popular leaders as Swami Shraddhanand and others. On the other hand martial law has been declared in the Punjáb and many people have been killed and wounded by the free use of such terrible weapons as machine guns and bombs from aeroplanes. These methods have not succeeded in restoring peace and the scope of the martial law is being extended to other districts in the Punjáb. The contradictory results produced in the Punjáb and the Presidency of Bombay will enable us to find out as to which Government has followed a far-sighted policy. [In a subsequent issue the paper repudiates the allegation made in certain quarters that Bolshevism has spread in the Punjáb and other provinces and asks Government to take into

consideration the loyal services rendered by the people of the Punjáb in the past and not to allow themselves to be carried away by the deplorable incidents of last week. The *Shri Venkateshwar* asks Government to institute an inquiry into the affairs of the Punjáb and to desist from taking repressive measures and to adopt a conciliatory policy. In the subsequent issue the paper asks the Government of the Punjáb to follow the policy adopted by the Governor of Bombay and to do away with martial law. It, moreover, tries to impress upon the Government of India the necessity of removing Sir Michael O'Dwyer from his present post.]

14. It is the duty of the Government as it is of the people to see that their acts do not lead to the disturbance of the peace. Mahatma Gandhi did not foresee the evil consequences of the *Satyagraha* movement when he launched it. But as soon as he perceived its evil effects he stopped it. The Moderate leaders even at the risk of incurring popular displeasure pronounced their opinion against the movement at the very beginning. All this shows that the leaders of the people are very anxious for the preservation of the peace. The sad occurrences at Ahmedabad, Amritsar, Láhore, etc., must be painful to all. Perhaps these would have been averted if Government had been more thoughtful before they served a notice on Mahatma Gandhi not to enter the Provinces of Delhi and the Punjáb. Similarly matters would not have come to this pass if the police had not fired upon the crowds at Delhi. Government's position is such that they can show, if they so desire, that the situation is more alarming than it actually is. We are unable to say whether the Government of India used the word 'rebellion' on their own account while describing the present situation or simply relying on the information supplied to them by the Government of the Punjáb. Whatever the origin may be Government have adopted a more alarmist attitude than is warranted by the circumstances. They should at least have remembered, as recently shown by the Honourable Mr. Shastri in his speech, that an agitation of an unarmed populace can in no circumstances be called a rebellion. The British public will not fail to conclude from the military measures adopted by Sir Michael O'Dwyer that India is seething with unrest. Should this belief lead to the whittling down of reforms the agitation that will follow will be far more violent than that produced by the Rowlatt legislation. It is generally believed that the situation in the Punjáb would not have been so acute if Government had been more circumspect. Although the several amendments made in the Rowlatt Bill have rendered it less objectionable, it will never be acceptable to the people so long as the executive possesses the power of pronouncing a man guilty or innocent. Although Mahatma Gandhi has dropped his movement declaring that it is necessary to co-operate with Government at this juncture in restoring order, it does not mean that he has withdrawn his opposition to the Rowlatt Law. The resolution passed by a meeting recently held at Madras that His Majesty the King-Emperor should withhold his assent to this measure clearly shows that the attitude of the people has not undergone any change in regard to it. It will not be wholly wrong to say that the policy of Government on such occasions is determined by the attitude of the European community here. It is well-known that the representatives of this community voted in favour of this measure in the Imperial Legislative Council. They will not hesitate to point to the present situation to prove the necessity of the Rowlatt law. But even supposing that the situation is really as critical as declared by Government, they can make full use of their powers to issue ordinances to meet it. The truth of the contention of the non-official members, that since Government possessed these powers there was no need of the Rowlatt law, is clearly borne out by the fact that Government are now issuing fresh ordinances every day. The exercise of these special powers by the Government of India justifies the demand of the people for the repeal of this needless measure. [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—Whatever our opinion may be about the Rowlatt law the present situation demands that we should co-operate with Government in every possible way in restoring order. But before such co-operation is possible Government must take the leaders of the people into

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 22nd and 24th Apl.; *Rájakáran* (116), 20th Apl.; *Sudhákar* (124), 20th Apl.; *Subodh Patrika* (48), 20th Apl.

their confidence. They should not also make the situation needlessly more acute by announcing their intention of adopting severe measures when milder ones would serve the purpose. Every one will agree that those who are guilty of excesses at Ahmedabad, Viramgám, etc., should be properly punished. But Government should make public their reasons for embarking upon a campaign of repression at a time when the situation has decidedly improved. They may succeed in establishing quiet by threatening to use, if necessary, all their might, but such a course will embitter the minds of the people and will surely lead to evil results. The issue of fresh ordinances every day will not facilitate the task of securing the co-operation of the people. The popular leaders and the Press alone are capable of pacifying the people. But it is a question how the people are to co-operate with Government when their leaders are deported and the press is gagged. On the whole the policy pursued by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd is commendable. Looking to the events in the Punjáb those who are in charge of the administration of this Presidency deserve to be congratulated. The *Rájakáran* draws a contrast between the utterances of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd and Sir Michael O'Dwyer and says that those of the former are conciliatory and statesmanlike. The *Sudhákar* writes:—The rapid spread of Bolshevism in Europe has upset the Anglo-Indians and their jaundiced vision perceives its existence here. If there is any country in the whole world which is most unsuited for the spread of Bolshevism it is India. Bolshevism depends for its success on the strength of the proletariat which, in this country, is steeped in ignorance. As for the educated classes they are not at all likely to encourage it. They are intelligent enough to know that the success of this creed in India is impossible even supposing that it is desirable. The *Subodh Pátrika* writes:—Mr. Gandhi's utterances show that he is really sorry for what has happened. But what is the use of his regret since it was he himself who provided the ignorant masses with the torch with which they set fire to the houses of others ?]

15. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* endorses the telegram sent by the Calcutta Indian Association and the All-India Congress Committee to the effect that a committee consisting of officials and non-officials should be appointed to enquire into the cause of the present unrest and that such measures should be adopted as would help to restore peace and tranquillity in the country. It scouts the suggestion that the present unrest is due to the spread of Bolshevism and holds Government and its policy, and particularly the action of the Punjáb and Delhi authorities in issuing prohibitory orders against Mr. Gandhi, responsible for the disturbances in various parts of India. [The *Sánj Vartamán* also presses for the appointment of a commission of inquiry without any delay and asks Government to issue a *communique* on the happenings in the Punjáb and the measures adopted in that province under martial law. It is of opinion that the unrest is mainly due to the disregard shown by Government to the popular opposition to the Rowlatt Act and adds that the protest of the Bombay Bar against the Act is a conclusive proof of its being an undesirable legislation. The *Shri Venkateshwar* and the *Akhbár-e-Islám* also impress upon Government the necessity of appointing a commission to inquire into the disturbances in the Punjáb and other provinces.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 23rd Apl.; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 23rd Apl.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (82), 19th Apl.; *Akhbár-e-Islam* (59), 24th Apl.

16. "The Viceroy has been requested by responsible bodies to disclose the causes for taking such stern measures in the Punjáb, and if there is a strong case it is the duty of the Government to carry public opinion with it. We were at first told that *Satyagraha* landed the country in the present state of things..... But apparently this plea has been abandoned and the public are now given to understand that the Punjáb trouble is due to enemy agents..... If the Government of India is in possession of information that enemy gold and enemy agents are the cause of the mischief, we feel perfectly sure that they

Alleged need of authoritative justification of the strong measures being taken to deal with the situation in the Punjáb.

New Times (9), 25th Apl.

will have only to give out frankly their information, and the thinking section of the whole country will range themselves on their side. But unfortunately Government has adopted a sphynx-like attitude. We appeal once again to Lord Chelmsford to carry the Indian community with him in the matter of the adoption of repressive measures to put down anarchical crime, if it exists in the Punjáb. There will be a general feeling of resentment at the continuance of Sir Michael's rule in the Punjab. What Punjáb is greatly in need of is a change in the spirit of Government."

17. "The illiterate section of the people in a fit of anger, which is nothing else but temporary madness, indulged in excesses. To say, however, that these excesses were the outcome of a deliberate conspiracy of any kind is a myth pure and simple as a calm consideration of several incidents clearly shows. On the other hand the authorities with a view to restore peace and order had to resort to drastic measures. The combined result of all these acts was the loss of a few human lives, injury to several persons, and immense damage to property. All this viewed from whatever standpoint is, indeed, extremely deplorable, and in saying this we believe we are echoing the opinion of the sensible section of our fellow citizens. Of the latter no one is more sorry than Mahatma Gandhi himself for the excesses indulged in during last week. These are, *prima facie*, indefensible in character, but it must be said that no occasion would have arisen for them, if the Punjáb Government, the authorities of the Delhi Province and the Government of India had not issued the orders against Mahatma Gandhi. They are, therefore, really responsible for the mischief, inasmuch as the orders issued by them served as veritable matches and ignited the powder present in the form of the excited feelings of the public due to the Rowlatt legislation."

Praja Bandhu (30), 20th Apl.; Eng. cols.

18. The lamentable occurrences at Ahmedabad are as derogatory to the people as they are injurious to them. There is nothing objectionable in striking work in order to express grief or sorrow at a particular act. But when such a strike is held out too long, and when people remain disengaged for all that time it is but evident that it would result in serious disturbances—especially when the public feeling is very acute against any acts of Government. The same has happened in Ahmedabad consequent upon Mr. Gandhi's externment and arrest. Some Anglo-Indians and officials suspect Bolshevism to be at the back of the disturbances! Even Mahatma Gandhi assumes some organised and intellgent effort at their back; but according to our humble opinion his assumption is a little premature. We think all this is purely the work of mill-hands. As the destructive campaign was mainly aimed at public properties the *Times of India* infers that some intelligent educated men must have their hands in all these acts. But those who were actually present on the spot can say that private properties were saved from their destructive campaign only by the requests, implorings and persuasions of their respective owners. It is possible that the derailment of the train too was effected by some villains with a view to avail themselves of the prevailing disorder in the district in order to facilitate their work of looting and dacoity. In short, neither Bolshevism nor anarchism is the cause of these disturbances. Moreover, it is idle to suppose that the rioters had armed themselves beforehand. Mr. Gandhi reproached the public for not preventing and suppressing these riots. It is all very well to cultivate this kind of spiritual courage advocated by Mr. Gandhi; but had the Government policy in respect of carrying arms been a little liberal, poor subjects would have been spared the humiliation of requesting and imploring the mill-hands! People have no arms even for the protection of their lives and property, the evil consequence of which is that they were unable to prevent a few mischief-makers from prosecuting their object further.

Causes of the Ahmedabad disturbances.

Praja Bandhu (30), 20th Apl.

19. "The seeds of discontent were there already, due, as we know, largely to strained relations between labour and employers in Ahmedabad, and these were set ablaze during the last few weeks by the passive resistance movement of Mr. Gandhi. No one in his senses can charge

Gujarát Mitra (21), 20th Apl., Eng. and Gujaráti cols.

either Mr. Gandhi, or the men who have been publicly leading the passive resistance movement, with the incitement of the disorders or riots that have taken place. But it was hard to avoid for that reason the inference that the movement did engender for a fact in the ignorant sections a spirit of lawlessness and it neeeded only just a semblance of a pretext for them to launch themselves out on open disorder. [In its Gujarati columns the paper expresses great satisfaction at the suspension of the *Satyagraha* movement.]

20. To kill unarmed persons like Miss Cavell and Captain Fryatt amounts as much to murder as to fire bullets upon an unarmed crowd. It requires a cruel heart to kill an unarmed person by force of arms, and so opening fire on an unarmed crowd is equally objectionable. Mr. Gandhi is of opinion that there must be some educated men behind the disturbances as there was some method in the action of the crowd who created disturbances. But no one should, therefore, jump to the conclusion that there was a conspiracy. The cinematograph films often show scenes of the cutting of telegraph wires, removal of rails, distruction of bridges and incendiarism by means of petrol and kerosene oil. The rumour about the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and Bai Anasuya led their followers to express resentment against Europeans and Government officials. But the question arises as to how the crowd expressed their resentment in a systematic manner and as to whether there was any organisation at the back or whether people acted on mere intuition. Many lives are reported to have been lost during the days the martial law was in force at Ahmedabad. A corpse is reported to have been burnt at the door of the very house in which the person lived. Were any people buried in the streets? We would urge His Excellency Sir George Lloyd to appoint a committee to inquire into the affairs at Ahmedabad and Viramgám. All the accounts published so far presuppose a conspiracy at the back of the occurrences. Now there is need for the publication of the sufferings of the people during the time martial law was in operation at Ahmedabad.

Gujárati (20), 20th Apl.

21. "The outbreaks of violence at the present time are attributed to the passive resistance movement. If that were so all violence should cease with the suspension of *Satyagraha*. As a matter of fact, however, the true causation of the present outburst should be looked for elsewhere. To what cause was the agitation against the partition of Bengal due? There was no *Satyagraha* at that time, no suggestion of civil disobedience of any law..... If the violence of the mob at Ahmedabad and Viramgam was not due to *Satyagraha* still less can the far more serious situation in the Punjáb be attributed to the movement of passive resistance..... We have nothing to say as regards the measures for the restoration of order in the Punjáb. At all costs order must be restored and that as promptly as possible. When that is done a careful and dispassionate enquiry must be made into the real causes of this unprecedented outbreak of violence..... When an enquiry comes to be made the services of the Punjab in 1857 and during the last war must not be forgotten. The real cause for the present serious situation in the Punjáb must be looked for elsewhere than in the Rowlatt Act or the passive resistance movement."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 23rd Apl., Eng. cols.

22. With reference to certain allegations made by the *Gujaráti Punch* in connection with the proclamation of Martial Law at Ahmedabad (*vide* paragraph 37 of Weekly Report No. 16 of 1919) the paper writes:—"With regard to the article headed 'Martial Law' in the issue of the *Gujaráti Punch* for April 13th, we find that there is no justification whatever for the rumours that the British troops shewed undue severity in the discharge of their duties. We are informed by the District Magistrate that these troops only took up their positions late on Saturday afternoon; that the number of rounds fired by them was very small indeed compared with those fired by the Indian troops and that the admissions to hospitals on Saturday evening and Sunday were

Withdrawal of certain allegations against the troops in connection with Martial Law proclaimed at Ahmedabad.

Gujaráti Punch (20), 27th Apl., Eng. cols.

exceedingly few. The statements and implications against the British troops which are contained in the article mentioned above are thus disproved by the facts now brought to our notice and we withdraw them unreservedly with apology to the British officers and men."

Comments on the deportation of Mr. B. G. Horniman.
Sunday Tatler (15), 27th Apl.

***23.** "His Excellency Sir George Lloyd deserves to be congratulated on the resolute and wise step he has at last taken. The Government, no doubt, has been very considerate, if not slow, but it is gratifying that a beginning to check Bolshevism is being made and that by the deportation of one who has been initiating and directing the campaign and giving publicity to the same through the columns of the journal under his editorship."

Comments on Mr. Gandhi's decision to suspend the *Satyagraha* movement.
New Times (9), 22nd Apl.

24. "The letter addressed by Mr. Gandhi to the Secretary of the *Satyagraha* Sabha is timely, sober and dictated entirely by considerations of humanity and difficulties of Government..... The temporary suspension of civil disobedience does not come with any surprise. We consider it to be the wisest course under the circumstances, for it cannot be denied that acts of violence have been committed which set at naught the very principles inculcated by the *Satyagraha* creed."

Servant of India (10), 24th Apl.

25. "We learn with immense relief of Mr. Gandhi's decision to suspend passive resistance for the time being. Of course his view of the efficacy of *Satyagraha* and the objectionable character of the Rowlatt Act remains unchanged. But seeing that there was a great danger of the movement being used to feed violence, he had no alternative but to abandon it temporarily. In announcing his decision, Mr. Gandhi frankly acknowledges that he underrated the forces of evil when he initiated the movement and that the essential principles of it were not properly appreciated by the people..... We hope the *Satyagrahis* will now be as assiduous in helping in arresting disorder as they were in practising civil disobedience."

Comments on the Government of India resolution on the disturbances in connection with the Rowlatt Act.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 27th Apl.

***26.** "We reprint today the Government of India's Resolution on the present situation..... We welcome the publication of this Resolution explaining the views of Government as publicity and discussion are the most potent correctives of misunderstanding. We welcome it also as a proof that the Government of India recognise that they must have public opinion behind them in order to carry on their duties as a Government in this country. The present situation which Government hold has arisen out of the agitation against the Rowlatt Act, is really due to the passing of the Act in the face of the unanimous protest of Indian non-official members and the equally solid opposition of Indians of all shades of opinion throughout the country. Almost every Indian member told Government that the passing of the Bill was sure to have that effect. The Government Resolution says that the opponents of the Bill stated that a campaign of agitation against it would be organized throughout India. This is hardly a fair representation of what was actually said in the council. We quote from the speeches of Messrs. Jinnah and Shastri. ..... These men say that if you pass the Bill you will create an agitation from which it will be impossible for us to keep out. This is represented in the Resolution as stating that a campaign of agitation would be organized throughout India. It is usually a good rule for individuals and for Governments which, in the ultimate analysis, are a number of individuals, to consider, first of all, what is wrong with themselves before proceeding to cast aspersions on others. It is the unanimous opinion of Indian leaders shared, we are glad to be able to say, by some (probably several) thoughtful Englishmen, that Government committed a great blunder in forcing the Bill through as they did. If Government frankly say so and appeal to the country for co-operation, it would, even after all that has happened, rally round them to a man. The Resolution

then refers to the passive resistance (which, by the way, is a very inadequate rendering of the *Satyagraha*) movement, and mentions quite correctly that the dangers of it were pointed out by many public men of moderate views. But these same public men had protested strongly against the passing of the Rowlatt Act, and the very manifestos in which they deprecated *Satyagraha*, opened with a condemnation of that Act and the necessity of getting it vetoed by His Majesty by constitutional agitation. These warnings were unheeded, says the Resolution. We venture to add, by Government no less than by the promoters of *Satyagraha*. We have not been able to join the *Satyagraha* movement for the reasons which we have given in previous articles. But it will be the merest affectation in any practical social reformer, and a journal devoted to social reform, to profess a superstitious horror of disobeying a law which can lay claim to no moral force behind it..... Friday's papers published a telegram from Simla to the effect that there are still extraordinary misconceptions regarding the Rowlatt Act in the Punjáb. Why, still? *Post hoc ergo propter hoc* is how the mass-mind argues. The Rowlatt Act has been followed for the first time in more than half-a-century by Martial Law. Do Government expect the more ignorant section of the masses to understand that it is under the Regulation of 1804, and not under the Rowlatt Act, that they are experiencing the incidents of Martial Law?"

27. "Consequent upon the outbreak of disorder in Gujarát and the Punjáb, the Government of India issued a press *communique* with a view to defining its attitude to the agitation against the Rowlatt Act. The heads of local Governments also made a similar explanation each in his province. We welcome these efforts on the part of Government to convince the people of the urgency or innocuousness of the legislation which it was persuaded to enact in face of the unanimous opposition of the people's representatives in the Council. We are not sanguine enough to believe that the efforts will succeed in their immediate object, but we welcome them as showing a desire on the part of Government to reason with the people and to enlist, if possible, their intelligence on its side. It has since been decided to undertake propagandist work with the object of removing the misapprehensions of the people, and the first pamphlet has been published. On that subject the popular representatives have been so reasonable and considerate and the Government so obdurate and perverse that we cannot imagine that this propagandism will induce the conviction in the public mind that the Rowlatt Act was indispensably necessary to cope with the situation. We can cherish no such delusion, but if there are any wrong ideas prevalent about the Act, it is desirable in the interests of all that they should be speedily removed. The Indian Government's *communique* mentions that the idea is sedulously propagated that the new law gives unfettered authority to interfere with public meetings even of a religious and social nature and empowers the police to clap into gaol anyone who dares criticise any action of Government. Such gross perversions of facts we have never seen perpetrated either in the Press or on the platform, and that being outside the range of our experience we do not know that the anti-Rowlatt Act agitators can be justly held responsible for the alleged existence of such rumours..... Its appeal to all loyal citizens to help in quelling disorder will, we trust, be heartily responded to unless Government by its unnecessarily harsh measures should make it impossible for people to co-operate."

Servant of India (10), 24th Apl.

28. "Ordinances are being hurled by the Governor-General in rapid succession, and the drastic powers conferred by them on the Executive have infinitely widened the scope of authority possessed by officers acting in the name of Local Governments. The latest decree of the Governor-General is the Martial Law (Further Extension) Ordinance which enables a commission appointed under the original ordinance to try 'any person charged with any offence' committed on or after 30th March 1919. As regards punishment a commissiom may pass in

Comments on the Martial Law Extension Ordinance promulgated by His Excellency the Viceroy.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 25th Apl.

respect of any such offence under inquiry any sentence authorised by law. The terms 'any person', 'any offence' and 'any sentence' are so sweeping in their character that it is now in the discretion of the Executive to drag every offender, whether charged with theft or trespass or murder, to an entirely new system of trial and punishment. Originally, the commissions were empowered to try by Martial Law 'persons taken in arms in open hostility to the British Government, or in the act of opposing by force of arms the authority of the same, or in the actual commission of any overt act of rebellion, or in the act of openly aiding and abetting the enemies of the British Government.' The restriction of offences in the first Ordinance is intelligible, as they relate to crimes of armed opposition and other State offences. The present Ordinance takes away the restrictions and lets the Commissioners loose over the entire Penal Code. This is obviously a dangerous concession to the authorities of disturbed areas and it destroys the last vestige of ordinary trial procedure. It never rains but it pours!"

Comments on the New Press Regulation under the Defence of India Act.
Servant of India (10), 24th Apl.

29. "It would appear that just at the time when Mr. Gandhi was contemplating a suspension of passive resistance, the Government of India were arming themselves with additional powers under the Defence of India Act to suppress the movement. They have promulgated a new rule under the Act, forbidding persons in any area to which the rule may by notification be applied to print or publish any newspaper not in circulation at the date of the notification and empowering the local Government to confiscate the press at which such a newspaper may be printed in contravention of the rule. This new rule seems to be directed against the *Satyagrahis* who may publish unregistered newspapers and against the presses where such newspapers may be printed. Evidently, the counsel of leaving the movement alone and letting the *Satyagrahis* go unpunished for a technical offence did not commend itself to the Government, and they had determined to deal severely with those who would practise civil disobedience. But why apply to them what has always been regarded as a war measure, which is now morally dead? For the moment, the passive resistance movement being held up, the question ceases to be of any immediate practical significance, but it shows how readily on ordinary occasions Government makes use of drastic powers intended to be in reserve against emergencies. In the presence of such gross misuse of the Defence Act, the opposition to the enactment of the law which is to take its place can be easily understood."

Appeal to Bombay leaders to express public disapproval of the lawlessness prevailing in parts of the country.
Jám-e-Jamshed (26), 21st Apl.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 22nd and 24th Apl.

30. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* appeals to the Bombay leaders to publish a manifesto expressing disapproval of the acts of violence, murder, arson, etc., committed by rioters in the country as is done by the leaders in other presidencies. It does not countenance the idea of convening a meeting of the citizens of Bombay for the purpose as it feels very diffident as to the success of such a meeting. It at the same time calls upon Government to institute an inquiry into the origin and causes of the disturbances and to lay before the public any information they have regarding the spread of Bolshevism in India as some of the Anglo-Indian papers have traced the origin of the present disturbances to it. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* also asks the Muslim leaders of Bombay to co-operate with Government in maintaining peace and order by weaning the handful of *Satyagrahi* Musalmans from that movement and by expressing their disapproval of the same. In its subsequent issue Mr. Mohmad Ali Alabux, Honourary Secretary of the Dáwudi Bohra community, exhorts the community to remain loyal to the Crown. Referring to this letter the paper declares that the public opinion is now growing against the *Satyagraha* movement and adds:—Everything was quiet till the 6th instant; but when Mahatma Gandhi himself, in contravention of truth, began to commit breaches of the Press Act, the thoughtful and considerate portion of the public began to perceive signs of mischief in his movement.]

31. "Nothing could be a more unfortunate decision and in the present state of feeling in the country it is almost providential that this extremely disappointing decision was delayed. We believe Mr. Montagu has not taken in the strength and the volume of opposition which the Rowlatt Act has roused, and we are convinced that if he were acquainted with the real state of feeling in the country, he would not have dismissed the subject in such a cavalier fashion. ..... It is most unsatesmanlike that any silly notions of prestige should be allowed to come in the way. The fact is that the Government will be showing its real strength and wisdom in frankly acknowledging their mistake and so ending an impossible situation."

Comments on the decision of the Secretary of State not to advise His Majesty to disallow the Rowlatt Act.
Home Ruler (6), 19th Apl.

32. "K. P. S." writes to the *New Times*:—"There have been persistent rumours for some days that insidious efforts are being made in certain quarters to manufacture public opinion in favour of the Rowlatt Act by bringing pressure on the clerical staff to sign declarations in favour of it. This morning I learnt from a very reliable source that a railway employee was asked by his official superiors to affix his signature to such a declaration. I fear he will have to sign, but every one knows what value is to be attached to such declarations. Meantime it is the duty of every one who is being pressed to sign such declarations to expose the pressure that is being exerted. In conclusion, may I inform those amiable gentlemen who are engaged in this pleasant pastime that the feat of influencing Indian public opinion in spite of the deep conviction of Mahatma Gandhi and the unanimous voice of the non-official members in the Indian Legislative Council is impossible of attainment. The Indian public opinion is absolutely unanimous and so let us have done with this silly camouflage."

Complaint that clerks are being compelled to sign declarations in favour of the Rowlatt Act.
New Times (9), 20th Apl.

33. The *Sindhu Samáchár* publishes an article purporting to be taken from the *Hindi Samáchár*. The article says:—One who puts up with oppression is a greater sinner that he who is an oppressor. When the oppressed quietly suffer themselves to be oppressed the oppressor begins to think that what he is doing is not unjust. Such has been the result of the patience and silence of the Indian people. The Indians havs been oppressed in every way during the last sixty years. They were in the first instance disarmed and reduced to a lower level than the one occupied by any nation in the world. The Russians were fighting with their Government and rising in rebellions but even that oppressive government never for a moment thought of disarming its people. Ireland has been ready to fight with England during the last five years but no one thought of disarming Ireland. Had those countries been disarmed they would also have submitted to everything as we do. Indians were never put to such a humiliation as they were by the Arms Act in their whole history as thereby they laid aside their arms for all generations. The Arms Act strengthened the injustice of the administrators and they went a step further and arranged to get all the expenditure incidental to the bringing of India under the British rule and imposed taxes for getting interest on the amount as long as it was not realised. It was the Indian Army that enabled the English to get India into their possession but the expense of getting India under their sway was also exacted from this country. This was the second piece of injustice that the Indians allowed themselves to suffer. Government got emboldened by this and they imposed on the shoulders of India the expenditure incurred by them for the wars waged with Kabul and China for expanding British trade. But Indians suffered themselves to be burdened with these heavy expenses and so it was considered as a a piece of justice by those who imposed the burden. Repressive laws and taxes then followed in its wake. Indians submitted to everything but at last

The injustice under which India is groaning.
Sindhu Samáchár (84), 19th Apl.

Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal and the Indians realised the fact they were really being oppressed. They commenced to protest from that time. There are still extant several measures and taxes which are as vexatious as the partition of Bengal which deserve to be repealed. Among these might be included the public services, the position of Indians outside India, the Press Act, the Defence of India Act, the drain of Indian money and the expenditure of the India Office, etc. To these might be added the recent tax of the war expenditure. But the Rowlatt Bills opened the eyes of India and the people realised that those who suffer injustice are greater sinners than those who practice oppression. Mr. Gandhi is the leader and the soul of the opposition and he has adopted passive resistance as his weapon. Its success means salvation for India and its failure death.

Export of rice to other countries in unnecessarily large quantities.
Kesari (109), 28n Apl.

34. The *Kesari* complains that in spite of the severity of famine in India Government allow the export of rice from Burma to other countries on the plea of meeting the wants of Indians there. The paper says that Government should allow only such quantities of rice to be exported as will suffice to satisfy the needs of Indians living abroad. The paper suggests that Government should totally prohibit the export of rice from Burma to other countries if they find that larger quantities are shipped than are actually needed for the use of Indians there. It is surprised to see that while India is in the throes of famine, nearly six crore maunds of rice, that is, rice sufficient to meet the wants of three crores of people for one year, have been exported from India during the last twelve months. What is worse, it says, is that the export of rice this year is in excess of its export during the last five years.

The difficulty of obtaining Government publications.
Gujarâti (20), 27th Apl., Eng. cols.

35. Referring to His Excellency the Governor's pronouncement, the *Gujarâti* writes:—"His Excellency Sir George Lloyd went on to explain the necessity and provisions of the Rowlatt Act. The Government of India, too, have prepared a pamphlet setting forth briefly the aims and objects and nature of the Act in question. We deprecate as strongly as the authorities any attempt to misrepresent them deliberately. But where there is so grave a difference of opinion regarding their actual character and their potential dangers, it is not altogether fair to talk about malicious falsehoods and malicious misrepresentations. We have little to say regarding the statement of the reasons which have led Government to undertake this legislation. But neither His Excellency's speech nor the official pamphlet does any justice whatsoever to the non-official view of this Act. Apart from that consideration, Government ought not to forget the fact that the earnest appeal made to them to republish the Bill as amended by the Select Committee for further discussion was treated with contempt and the measure was rushed through the Council by holding night sittings upto a late hour. It is admitted that the Act will not come into force for six months more. Then why could not the Bill as amended by the Select Committee have been republished for general information and for further consideration? Nor is that all. Copies of the Bill were not available even in a city like Bombay even to lawyers, much less to the public at large. Even to-day copies of the Act cannot be promptly procured even from the bookshops which are supposed to sell Government publications. Other books can be had in plenty anywhere in Bombay, but Government publications cannot be procured unless one is prepared to wait a fortnight or a month and pay some additional charge in connection with postage. An Act worth eight annas has to be bought for an anna more and that, too, after weary waiting. A subject people are, of course, always stupid and unreasonable. But what difficulties they have to face ought to be appreciated by at least a free and enlightened people like the English. But strangely enough, they utterly fail to realise them. All communiques, correspondence and official publications are in English and not available to the people at large, and it is not a little cruel to talk about malicious falsehoods and misrepresentations."

36. "At a time when the Muslim feeling in the country is running high in connection with the future of the 'Caliphate' and the Holy places, the Government of India to add fuel to the fire have issued a communique refusing the release of the Ali brothers..... It is indeed phenomenal that the release of two innocent internees should have anything to do with the signing of the peace terms. Is it that the Government apprehend lest the Ali brothers if free might succeed in upsetting the terms of the final peace that are to be decided upon by representatives of the greatest nationalities of the west? And if the committee is not in a position to take a comprehensive view of all the factors in the situation, then why in the name of common sense was it even appointed? We can assure the Government of India that these farces have ceased to engage or amuse the public."

Comments on the refusal of Government to release the Ali brothers.
Home Ruler (6), 19th Apl.

37. Government were pressed by both Hindu and Muhammadan associations, and by persons like Messrs. Gandhi and Jinnah and the Raja of Mahmoodabad to release the brothers, but the bureaucracy refused to give up its obstinacy. And now, even though the Committee appointed by Government themselves has recommended their release, the matter has been put off. This clearly shows that Government's statesmanship has begun to ebb. That they should refuse to release the brothers even at the present time, when public opinion is exasperated by various causes, shows utter lack of statesmanship. Why should Government take pleasure in fanning the flames? Or have they some other object in view?

Kesari (109), 22nd Apl.

38. "We referred the other day to the decision of the Government of India refusing to release Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali. The amazing fact about the decision is that it has been taken against the recommendation of the Committee appointed to enquire into the question..... In the face of the categorical statement of the Committee that 'there is no longer occasion to apprehend that any views or activities of theirs can interfere with the relations between Great Britain and Turkey', the Government of India have refused to release the brothers. The grounds assigned for their refusal are that 'the Committee were not in a position to appreciate the political situation in all its bearings, or the difficulties arising out of the fact that the terms of peace have not yet been decided', and that 'there has been no change in the attitude of the brothers'. As to these arguments we need only say this that they afford a fresh illustration of the bankruptcy in statesmanship which has overtaken the Government of India. If the Government of India were convinced that the Committee were not in a position to appreciate the political situation in all its bearings where was the need of enacting the elaborate farce of an enquiry? And where is the relevancy in emphasising that there is no change in the attitude of the brothers when the Committee plainly say that 'there is no longer occasion to apprehend that *any* views or activities of theirs can interfere with the relations between Great Britain and Turkey?' And what was the composition of the Committee? Besides Mr. Lindsay, an official, the other member of the Committee did not command the confidence of the public, because he was known to be prejudiced against the brothers. Apart from the merits of the case, the Government of India may, of course, claim a right to reject the recommendations of a Committee appointed by them. But such a claim comes with ill grace from a Government whose main defence of the Black Act is that it has had the sanction of the Rowlatt Committee which was also appointed by them."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd Apl.

39. In the meeting of the Bombay Piece-goods Association on last Thursday it was argued that the Association had nothing to do with political questions; even the Committee of the Indian Chamber of Commerce has expressed such an opinion at times. We do not understand what the merchants mean by such an argument. It proves their unfitness to have a right to send their representatives to the Legislative Councils for which right they had strongly fought. Development and advancement of commerce and industry chiefly

The meeting of the Bombay Piece-goods Association and question of boycotting British goods.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 26th Apl.; *Jám-e-Jámshed* (26), 26th Apl.

depend upon the good administration of the country. Still, however, if our merchants fail to realise this fact, it is no wonder that we are backward in commerce and industry. In other countries merchants take an active interest in their country's politics. In England there is a movement at present to get certain fertile portions of Indian soil reserved for the benefit of the British mill-industry. It is necessary to adopt *Swadeshi* as a protest against the Rowlatt Act and as a precaution against the movement referred to above. For, the promoters of this movement will argue that if the Indian Government can pass the Rowlatt Act in defiance of the unanimous opinion of the public, they can as well do anything for the benefit of British industry, even though the public opinion in India may be opposed to it. Our merchants therefore are bound to take the *swadeshi* vow, as also to seriously think as to how India can be made self-supporting in respect of commodities imported at present. We wish they would again convene their meeting as early as possible for the consideration and disposal of this question. [*Jám-e-Jámshed* feels doubtful as to the success of the boycott movement and disapproves of the idea of restricting the boycott only to British goods. It, however, looks upon the meeting as a further illustration of the feelings of resentment, disappointment and despair that have been created in the whole country by the disregard of unanimous public opinion shown by Government in carrying through the Rowlatt Bill.]

40. "There is little doubt that the disturbances which have occurred in this country and in Egypt are mere accidents and are more are less the result of the excessive fetish of the bureaucracy for 'prestige' and militarism. To view them in any light other than this is difficult where one happens to be conversant with the facts. Experience has not convinced us that Government communiques invariably canvass for the truth or are very particular about it. They are designed to serve a certain purpose though their authors hardly seem to weigh how far their words carry conviction to the public mind. In view of this and in view of certain facts which have come to our knowledge regarding the occurrences in the Punjáb, Delhi and elsewhere, we are frankly of opinion that the present disturbances, deplorable as they are, are not political or revolutionary to the extent they are sought to be made out. If the authorities responsible for the Government of this country were capable of some tact and sense of humour, there would have hardly been any disturbance at all. At least in Bombay, where the Passive Resistance movement started, it is fairly well-known that there was no untoward incident and the trivial collision between the police and the people which occurred here on one occasion was, as has been amply demonstrated, due to the excessive tendency on the part of some officers of the police to bully the crowds. Otherwise, because the head of the Government chose to keep his head cool, nothing else happened. As for the Ahmedabad incident we daresay there is something more behind the scenes than has been brought out by the usually one-sided correspondents of Anglo-Indian journals, and a searching inquiry by an *independent* committee should reveal why and how events took a serious turn in that part of the Presidency. After all, *mabap* Pratt has not distinguished himself much for sobriety of opinions or tactful dealing with a public conscious of its rights and responsibilities. We trust the Governor will see his way to order an urgent inquiry by men who possess the entire confidence of the people."

The disturbances in Egypt and India are due to militarism.

Young India (16), 23rd Apl.

41. "'Order' has at last been restored in Egypt; the inevitable 'order' in which brickbats are answered by bullets. Unfortunately this 'order' has the unpleasant habit of being of a very temporary nature; and time and again the authorities are obliged to restore it until it finally disappears under a system of national government when there is no such need."

Comments on the restoration of order in Egypt.

Home Ruler (6), 19th Apl.

42. A Karad (Sátára) correspondent writes to the *Prakash*:—So far as this district is concerned, the promoters of the Satyashodhak Samaj movement of Kolhápur had up till now confined themselves to giving lectures in certain places. But during the past few months they have inaugurated a new movement and have been staging a *tamasha* in the Karad Taluka which is calculated to hurt the feelings of the Brahmins,

Alleged attempt of the Satyashodhak Samaj to hurt the feelings of certain communities in the Sátára District.

Prakásh (115), 13th Apl.

the Lingayats and other communities as the songs and gestures made use of by the actors are filthy and disgusting and the Hindu deities are referred to in obscene terms. The representatives of the Samaj attempted to give an exhibition at Karad on the occasion of the Krishnabai festival, but the local officials have prevented them from so doing. As this attempt on the part of the Samaj is likely to be repeated at other places in the district and as it is likely to create ill-feeling between the diffrent communities and to exasperate the people by the insults to the Hindu deities, I request Government to take prompt measures to put an end to this state of things. [The editor of the paper says in a footnote to the above :—In connection with this matter Anandgiri *alias* Hari Boa has been served with a notice under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code by the First Class Magistrate and the District and Deputy Superintendents of Police had gone to Karad to study the situation. The authorities should take proper steps in the matter at an early date.]

Government should regard the *Satyagrahis* as their friends.

Home Ruler (6), 19th Apl.

43. "If we look at the situation from the right point of view, we shall see that the root of the trouble was that the bureaucracy doubted the *bonafides* of *Satyagraha*, with the result that while the influence of *Satyagrahis* was minimised and their policy discredited, that of the rowdy elements arose in proportion. The Government should learn to discriminate between friends and foes. Apart from the fact that the Government regarded the *Satyagrahis* with deep distrust, the situation was further complicated by widespread famine and poverty. It is the height of folly under these conditions to impose drastic repressive legislation and alienate the classes which always work for peace and order..... Agitation against the Rowlatt Act was inevitable. Mahatma Gandhi by his *Satyagraha* endeavoured to guide it along the right lines. That he failed is due to the fact that the bureaucracy is still unable to distingnish between passive and active resistance. Indeed, in the amazing *communique* issued by the Governor-General in Council they are all lumped together and a comprehensive threat with a great show of military force is issued against all resistes. Is it a matter of surprise that shutting down legitimate agitation will lead to an explosion ? Where will *Satyagraha* lead us ? The movement is there with a clearly defined object and it can only end when that object is achieved. The Rowlatt Act must go..... We cannot imagine any administrator who depended for his power on the popular will who would have dared to participate in a measure like the Rowlatt Act. That is what the country wants, an administration carried on in sympathy with the wishes of the people. Until that is secured these sharp differences between public opinion and authorities are unavoidable and inevitable. Meantime *Satyagraha* aims at bridging the gulf."

Mrs. Besant and the *Satyagraha* movement.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 24th Apl.; *Vichársadhan* (new), 19th Apl.

44. We agree with Mrs. Besant that some of our leaders failed to discharge their duty in that they did not openly declare against the *Satyagraha* movement. Her second charge against them, however, is baseless. Mrs. Besant complains that those who were opposed to the *Satyagraha* movement were opposed to the very principle underlying it. This is incorrect. All are agreed that it is right to break a law, on certain occasions, which conflicts with one's conscience. The leaders, however, realised at the very beginning the impossibility of inaugurating the *Satyagraha* movement by breaking the Rowlatt law. Only, this conviction dawned upon Mrs. Besant somewhat late. Those who were against the *Satyagraha* movement opposed it because it entailed the breaking of other laws, which, in their opinion, was not desirable at the present time. Mrs. Besant paid no attention to them but announced her intention of resorting to *Satyagraha* only so far as the Rowlatt law was concerned and when she found out the impracticability of the course she proposed to adopt, she began to condemn the whole movement. [The *Vicharsadhan* says that by her *volte face* in regard to the *Satyagraha* movement Mrs. Besant has forfeited the confidence of the people.]

45. "We are told that the spirit of *Satyagraha* is against all rebellion and anarchy. Mr. Gandhi is a selfless saint. Yet we would be living in the Golden Age if our rag-tag could be led and controlled by saints. Simpleton as he is, the Mahatma has miscalculated. Not all men are endowed with the soul-force which the Mahatma possesses to an eminent degree..... Mr. Gandhi and his true followers have got to realise that all men are not made of their stern stuff. *Satyagraha* in the individual is a sublime moral force; in a nation composed of heterogenous peoples it is a ridiculous and dangerous mockery."

Condemnation of *Satyagraha*.
Kaiser-i-Hind (27), 27th Apl., Eng. cols.

46. In the course of an article on the Home Rule question, Mr. Damodar V. Gokhale, B.A., LL.B., writes:—Mahatma Gandhi intended to be on the deputation proceeding to England on behalf of the National Congress and he entertained high hopes of bringing about a satisfactory solution of the question of Indian *swarájya* there. But how can a man think of making conquests abroad when the house he lives in catches fire? Who will devote a thought to the beauty of a structure when its very foundation begins to give way? What man will think of fresh exploits when his very birth-rights are being trampled under foot before his very eyes? What is the difference between the autocratic rule of the Tsar and that of the bureaucracy which enacts any unpopular laws it likes on the strength of the official vote? When unrestrained power is enjoyed by a single individual it is said to be autocratic and tyrannical. Similarly when such power is exercised by a body of officials who use it without any check the laws enacted by it must also be said to be tyrannical. It is sheer oppression to force on a nation laws that it does not want. Sometimes good comes out of evil. The *Satyagraha* movement has at the very outset accomplished the union of the Hindus and Muhammadans. Upto this time both have shed their blood in many worthy causes but these lacked the sacred character of the heaven-inspired *Satyagraha* movement. The blood of the heroes fallen in this struggle has firmly welded the hearts of the two communities.

The *Satyagraha* movement has brought about union of Hindus and Muhammadans.
Chitramaya Jagat (Marathi), (99), Mar.

47. "An Indian newspaper published in Durban says that some old Passive Resisters, pleased with the news, shed tears simply because their health would not allow them to join in the struggle for the assertion of their countrymen's right; others because the sign of self-government was in sight. One individual is reported to have declared himself prepared to give £1,000 for one hundred passive resisters who would go to India and join in the struggle. The *Swarâj* of Durban assures the *Satyagrahis* that South African Indians are heart and soul with them in the struggle and that they will not lag behind in responding to the motherland's call. If need be, South Africa will send a contingent of her own to fight under Mahatma Gandhi's banner. We need not assure our compatriots in South Africa that Mother India is highly proud of her children there, and their countrymen are deeply thankful for these assurances of sympathy and offers of co-operation."

South African Passive Resisters eager to join *Satyagraha* in India.
Young India (16), 23rd Apl.

48. Referring to the doings of certain British soldiers at Chákan (Poona) reported in paragraph No. 38 of Weekly Report No. 15 of 1919 the *Rashtra Hitaishi* remarks:—We think that the soldiers concerned must be dragged to court. We understand that Mr. Raghunath Joshi, pleader of Junnar (Poona), has taken up this matter in hand. Notices should be served on the Secretary of State and the Collector in the matter and the persons who had to undergo hardship on the occasion should communicate their names to Mr. Joshi and join together as complainants against the soldiers. Members of the Legislative Council also are requested to take up the question.

The alleged highhanded conduct of certain soldiers at Chákan (near Poona).
Rástra Hittaishi (117), 16th Apl.

49. Commenting on the presidential address of Mr. Jamshed Mehta in the Sind Provincial Conference the *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—Some narrow-minded Parsis ask what advantage they would derive from getting Home Rule for India. This question is meaningless; Parsis would be in no case at a disadvantage under Home Rule. Moreover, a Parsi, who calls himself a true Zoroastrian and who faithfully follows the noble teachings of his Prophet, is under an obligation to demand Home Rule and to co-operate with other sister-communities in all the constitutional struggles for Home Rule. Those who advise the Parsi Community to keep aloof from such struggles are its greatest enemies. Whether Parsis join in these struggles or not, India is sure to get Home Rule. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—Some gentlemen had proposed to convene a meeting in the name of the Parsi Community to oppose the Rowlatt Act; but we are glad to say that nothing of the kind has happened. But, it is now their duty to convene a meeting of the Parsis to denounce the acts of violence, murder, arson, etc. If they do so, other sister-communities will soon follow them.]

Parsis and Indian politics.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 22nd Apl.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (27), 20th Apl.

50. In a long discourse on 'Public Health' *Young India* writes:—"Do the Government realise the startling psychological effects of an epidemic which makes people absolutely helpless? Some day perhaps some social psychologist will sit down and note the political consequences arising out of the influenza epidemic. We have heard in the streets of Bombay over and over again people declaring that if 60 lakhs of people could die like rats in a hole in the influenza without any succour, what does it matter if a few lakhs are killed by the shooting of the Government! It must be obvious to those who take a long view of politics that such doctrines are really dangerous arising as they do out of troubled minds, which have felt the death agony of influenza. We would like to point out one aspect here of the reform proposals. It is possible that the Government are waiting for the reforms to be introduced in order that they may saddle the ministers with this stupendous task which the Indian Civil Service have failed to perform in the last generation. It is possible that the Indian Ministers in spite of their efforts may not be able to do much and then they would be made scapegoats for proving the inefficiency of Indians and their capacity for responsible Government."

Mortality from Influenza and from rifle-fire.

Young India (16), 23rd Apl.

51. Commenting on His Excellency the Governor's speech regarding recent disturbances, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* remarks:—The speech had a wholesome effect on the mind of the public. If such speeches continue to be made in future the effect will be very healthy so far as the ignorant masses are concerned. The reward for Indian loyalty and the sacrifice of thousands of lives during the war should have been given to us in the form of wider liberties and not by taking away our former liberties. His Excellency says that the Rowlatt Bill is meant for anarchists only, and that there is a party in India whose business it is to commit dacoities and spread sedition. We also admit that there may be such a party in India. But on what known principle of government is this policy based which legislates generally (to check) wrongs done by the few? The Rowlatt Bill is applicable to all subjects alike. On a mere suspicion the police can send even a most respectable person to prison without recourse to law. Has the whole of India rebelled? Is the country devoid of every vestige of loyalty? Our Governor will never assert that this is so. Are not Government already empowered by laws to deal with anarchists and other similar culprits? If so, where was the necessity of creating unrest among loyal subjects by enacting a new Bill? It is against the dictates of law and justice that a person be put into fetters on mere suspicion and without investigation. Moreover, a warning has been given (by the Government) to the public. But we most respectfully submit that loyal subjects do not require any warning at all. The recent disturbances, we say without any hesitation, are in some cases due to lack of prudence on the part of the police and the military. His Excellency should

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's statement on the political situation.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (140), 27th Apl.; *Praja Bandhu* (30), 20th Apl.

believe that no rebellious spirit prevails among the subjects, although the reckless policy of some of the British statesmen has given rise to agitation and unrest among certain sections of the people. The pretext advanced by Government for the enactment of the Rowlatt Act cannot stand. Its repeal is most advisable. [The *Praja Bandhu* writes:—"The tone of the announcement on the whole is far from objectionable, although it may not be possible to agree with everything said by His Excellency. Nevertheless we welcome the step that is unquestionably taken with an excellent object, and trust the co-operation sought for will be readily forthcoming. We do not think it at all difficult to secure it provided it is sought on right lines."]

Gujaráti Punch (22), 20th Apl., Eng. cols.; *New Times* (9), 22nd Apl.

52. "The public announcement which His Excellency Sir George Lloyd made on Wednesday last was a well-considered and sober one. It was entirely different from the one Sir Michael O'Dwyer chose to make in his province and far more conciliatory than that of Lord Ronaldshay..... But we cannot go with His Excellency when he says that the whole affair of the last week was an organised movement. Unless something further is brought to light, the acts that were done such as destroying the railways, telegraph offices, etc., may as well accord with the desire of the people to play any and every sort of mischief just, as they thought, to spite the Government, as with the result of an organized movement to isolate the disturbed areas. We do not know whether the Government is in possession of information which leads it to the conclusion that there is something more at the back of all this mischief. As long, however, as the public is in the dark on this point it would be loath to accept any theory for the recent mischief except that of mad folly. If, however, the Government will take the public into their confidence and publish the information, so far as it can, that is in their possession, the public would be but too willing to co-operate with the Government in putting a stop to a movement which is a menace to public peace and tranquillity." [The *New Times* remarks:—"Sir George Lloyd's speech to the prominent citizens of Bombay was couched in language that is appealing yet forceful and strong. His Excellency claimed credit for his patience and forbearance but told his audience that he had to maintain peace at any cost. The speech had immediate effect..... We cannot help feeling that the Delhi and Punjáb tragedies would have been avoided with such statesmanship as was exhibited by Sir George at Bombay."]

Comments on the Commissioner in Sind's pronouncement on the present situation.

New Times (9), 23rd Apl.

53. Commenting on the Commissioner in Sind's speech on the present situation at the Khalikdina Hall, the *New Times* remarks:—"The whole speech, in fact, definitely implied that the Government in Sind was aware of the existence of 'arch-plotters' waiting for 'a convenient season'. This is a serious statement, and we must frankly say that it came upon us as a surprise. We know that there was excitement in Karáchi; but there has been nothing like an effort to shed blood or commit revolutionary crime..... Is it not a fact that there was no *Hartal* in Karáchi on the news of Mr. Gandhi's arrest or after that? We know the counsels of some of the prominent Nationalists, Home Rulers and several merchants and others in daily contact with the people and we may assure the Government that it is wrong to think that there are 'enemies of British Rule' in Karáchi or the Province 'who have made it their business to stir up hatred against the British Government and British people'..... The local Government ought to expose in an official announcement the facts and figures it has collected. We are sure the people in Karáchi are unaware of the existence of revolutionary crime or tendencies towards that crime."

Complaint about persecution of Gujaratis in Karáchi by the authorities.

Home Ruler (6), 19th Apl.

54. Describing a conference of leading men of Karáchi called by the Collector to discuss the present situation, the *Home Ruler* remarks:—"It is pleasant to note in contrast to Mr. Chagla's conduct, that the representatives of the Gujeratis whom Mr. Martin sent for spoke up like men and told the Collector what the situation really was. It must be noticed here that in sending out invitations to prominent public men Mr. Martin

studiously avoided all the real leaders of the public, but sent for those who could be depended upon to say ditto to the official views. Even so, Principal Shahani and some others, though neither *satyagrahis* nor Home Rulers, said something to acquaint the Collector with the true sentiments of the people. It is a matter of deep regret that in his interview with the Gujaratis Mr. Martin hinted that unless they adopted views more acceptable to the officials they might be asked to leave British territory. The Gujaratis have as good a right to be here as any other people, and by carrying out his threat into practice Mr. Martin will only aggravate the situation. We are imformed that the Commisioner in Sind has issued an order against Mr. Manishankar Raval, a native of Dhrangadhra State, to remove himself from British territory forthwith. In deference to Mahatma Gandhi's wishes that all orders for the time being should be obeyed, Mr. Manisbankar has left Karáchi. But the Commissioner's order has roused great perturbation and resentment among the public in general and the Gujaratis in particular. A few more of such orders and the authorities may find themselves unable to control the situation for which they will be solely responsible. A large number of those who have taken the vow here belong to the Gujarati community and the authorities can easily realize what will be the result of persecuting them."

Comments on the deportation of one Manishankar Raval from Karáchi.

Hitechhu (69), 20th April.

55. The proper course for the authorities should be to take action against the leaders of the *Satyagraha* movement in the first instance; but in Karáchi it is just the reverse. They have pounced upon an ordinary man, Mr. Manishankar Raval, and have probably removed him to his native place under police custody. We hope that all the *Satyagrahis* will encourage and cheer him up and that all the sympathisers of *Satyagraha* will not fail to sympathise with him in his distress. We also wish that the citizens of Karáchi may understand and realize their duty towards the *Satyagrahis* and their families, who are prepared to suffer terrible miseries and to make great sacrifices for the sacred cause. Mr. Raval's fortitude, courage and self-sacrifice are certainly praiseworthy. Why are the leaders of *Satyagraha* in Karáchi as yet silent in this respect?

The days of repression are over.

Kesari (109), 22nd Apl.

56. Some wicked Anglo-Indians, as if displeased with the comparative quiet of this Presidency, have been egging on the authorities to resort to a policy of repression. These people, however, have not yet been able to achieve their object as the new Governor of Bombay is cool-headed and independent. But it cannot be said with certainty that this Presidency will wholly escape when the storm of repression is raging in all the other provinces. It is strange the authorities should still believe that a policy of repression helps to restore order. The Chief Commissioner of Delhi, however, has profited by his experience. When he found that the use of rifles failed to produce calm he enlisted the co-operation of the popular leaders like Swami Shraddhanand, Dr. Ansari, etc. This official, who a few days back proscribed Dr. Ansari's speech delivered at the meeting of the Moslem League, had to come to terms with him now! The bureaucracy should realise that the days of repression are over and that it must carry on the administration with the co-operation of the people. Some bureaucrats are seized with the mad desire of accomplishing their object by terrorising the people. In Láhore the shopkeepers were threatened that their goods would be confiscated if they failed to open their shops within a prescribed time. Men convicted of offences under the Martial Law were publicly whipped. In short the authorities are now employing all the old and the new weapons of repression against the people. In addition to this fresh ordinances are being issued over the signature of the Viceroy every day. But the most exasperating act of all is the insertion of fresh clauses in the Defence of India Act which is purely a war measure. Both the bureaucracy and the people it rules over are most unfortunate in that it does not yet know whether repression strengthens or weakens the bonds of loyalty and whether it facilitates or makes more difficult the task of governing the people.

57. "Advocates of 'strong' government are pointing out the ugly symptoms that have appeared in the wake of repression as a justification of further repression, and it is the logic of stern measures that they require, in a time of peace, to be sustained by a fabric of increasing coercion. We have remarked that the Black Act can subsist not by the rule of popular consent, but by militarist threat, open or subdued. The exercise of coercion beyond the needs of the community sets it moving as if on an inclined plane, with an automatic increase in velocity. To a person calm enough to view the situation without the spirit of random recrimination, there is a serious fact to notice, and it is that coercion, with all its polished disguises, fails to make for the happiness of the people and curiously enough, deepens the very malady beyond the point of general safety. No wonder then that the distraction of the Black Act has been so grave as practically to eclipse the problem of reform. The presidential address of Mr. Joseph Baptista at the Nineteenth Bombay Provincial Conference at Ahmednagar, however, draws our attention to the fact that we cannot afford, in fighting the Black Act, to overlook the seriousness of political reform, and the occasion for ready action which is approaching. The prospect discussed by Mr. Baptista is depressing and uncertain, depressing on account of the disastrous consequences of the Black Act, uncertain on account of the veiled prelude to the Bill in Parliament. One point Mr. Baptista has made clear..... India has as much right to self-determination as any other country and in the din of false counsel and the defeat of our hopes, the policy of wisdom is to adhere to our right and demand its fulfilment; the way of hesitation and compromise will be morally disorganising to the people and we fear that those who point to us the easier and more politic way are really showing us the longest way out. ..... The agitation against the Black Act has naturally obscured the question of reforms, but the lessons of the agitation the people are not likely to forget. There may be Bolshevism abroad, or there may not be, but there has been a tendency to label all agitation with the figurative title Bolshevism. Mr. Baptista's examination of the present incidents is interesting, if only for the reason that some of the sensational allegations about premeditation and organisation require careful weighing before they can pass muster. Some of the demonstrations of violence are undoubtedly due to the tactlessnesss and provocativeness of Executive authorities, who in judging crowds expect from them a temper of inanimate torpor on the show of force. But as to the alleged force behind, nothing short of an open inquiry will satisfy the people. Sensational allegations will not suffice to justify the conduct of Government, and we hope that in the interests of their own credit they will support their action by the publication of facts and not burke inquiry for the fear that revelations might put them in the wrong. So far as the reforms are concerned the history of the disturbances shows that the Declaration of Rights is a matter of paramount importance, and that in future, acts in the interests of 'peace, order and good government' cannot safely be left without question to the province of the bureaucracy. Such acts must be brought within the sphere of responsibility."

The Rowlatt Act and the future of the Reforms.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 26th Apl.

58. Commenting upon the fears expressed in certain quarters that the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms are likely to be whittled down in Parliament the *Hindusthán* writes:— We have no objection to the Government of India not publishing their opinion on the Reforms, but we would like to urge that if the Government of India were to explain their position as to these reforms the present unrest would be quelled to a great extent. Even the opposition to the Rowlatt Act would be slackened if Government were to make an announcement to the effect that they are not going to be led away by Lord Sydenham and that there would be no whittling down of the proposed reforms. The fears regarding the fate of the reforms are aggravating the present unrest. His Excellency Lord Chelmsford should, therefore, take prompt steps to announce his attitude towards the reforms with a view to conciliating public opinion.

The Government of India should declare what their present attitude is towards the Reform Scheme.
Hindusthán (24), 23rd Apl.

59. "The appointment of Mr. Justice Macleod to succeed Sir Basil Scott as Chief Justice of Bombay comes as a surprise, we imagine, to the majority of people, and, to many, as a surprise of a not very agreeable character. That Mr. Justice Macleod was in the running for the Chief Justiceship was known, but he was regarded by most people as the least likely candidate. We would have preferred, and we believe that is the opinion of the public at large, that the Government had gone outside the existing personnel of the Bombay High Court for the new Chief Justice. The High Court is badly in need of new blood and of a personality big enough and adequately equipped with the right kind of qualities to revive and carry on the traditions of Sir Lawrence Jenkins and some of his great predecessors. Mr. Norman Macleod, as a Judge of the High Court, has established a reputation for great legal ability and acumen, especially in commercial cases. We see he is commended by a contemporary for his patience and courtesy. But he has not been without his blemishes in either respect. As a judge he knows how to be patient and courteous. But he has also his own way of exhibiting impatience, and many a practising lawyer of the Bombay High Court has had to suffer under it He has also shown a tendency occassionally to take an extravagant view of a case and to allow himself to go to unjudicial lengths in the expression of his views about it."

The Chief Justiceship of the Bombay High Court.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 25th Apl.

60. "The announcement of the appointment of the Honourable Mr. Justice N. C. Macleod as the Chief Justice of the High Court of Judicature at Bombay will give general satisfaction. Mr. Macleod has been a notable success as a judge, especially of late, when he seems to have developed that great and indispensable judicial quality, patience, in which he seemed to be somewhat deficient at the beginning of his career. He has owed his success to an exceptionally quick and strong grasp of facts, especially of commercial transactions. His work on the bench is characterised by thoroughness and marvellous despatch. His judgments have always been remarkably sound, and though not remarkable for legal learning, are characterised by sound common sense, and a solid grasp of business methods and fundamental principles of justice." [The *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—The appointment of Mr. Justice Macleod as Chief Justice will not fail to give satisfaction to the Bar and the public alike. We do not think any judge on the Bench of the Bombay High Court can equal him in proficiency in Commercial law.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 24th Apl., Eng. col.; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 24th Apl.

61. "We understand that Government are providing for a flow of Europeans into this country to serve in the Indian Public Works and State Railway Departments. An annexure to a Special India Army Order contains the following announcement:—'The Secretary of State for India with the advice of a Selection Committee will, if sufficient candidates present themselves, make 75 appointments of assistant engineers in 1919 to the Indian Public Works and State Railway Departments. These appointments will be *reserved for European candidates who have served in His Majesty's forces during the war or who have been prevented for adequate reasons from so serving.* The commencing salary will be Rs. 4,560 (which at current rate £342) a year for candidates under 24 and Rs. 5,040, Rs. 5,520, Rs. 6,000 and Rs. 6,480 for candidates under 25, 26, 27 and 28 respectively, candidates being allowed to count service as though they had been in their 24th year on appointment. Salaries rise by a time-scale to Rs. 15,000 after 19 years' service with higher rates ranging from Rs. 18,000 to Rs. 33,000 in the administrative posts. The appointments are pensionable. Leave is admissible on the highest scale granted in the Indian Services.' This is a very liberal offer of jobs, but tax-payers will be happy if some information is vouchsafed regarding the principle of it. If war-services be the rule of award and not merely efficiency, why should it exclude an Indian applicant? Why should Indians, 'who

Protest against finding employment for Europeans who have served in the War, in the Railways and Public Works Department.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 26th Apl.

have been prevented for adequate reasons' from serving in the Army, be rejected in India? Those who rejoice in this act of magnanimity may not grow sad by the thought that the expenditure will be entirely borne by India in a proposition of colour bar against her people. Further, we do not recall any allocation mentioned or the idea broached at the time of the Budget. The public will be interested to know if similar offers have been made by other departments. In maintaining the British character of these appointments—rather in infusing that character by seventy-five fresh doses,—it is only fair that they should be made in the full light of publicity and at least with a hint in the Imperial Council. But the master of the house is, of course, the holder of the purse!"

Comments on a resolution moved in the Bombay Leglislative Council regarding an inquiry into the working of the Co-operative Department.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Apl.

62. Commenting on a resolution moved at the last sitting of the Bombay Legislative Council by the Honourable Mr. Garud asking for an inquiry into the working of the Co-operative Department, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"The remarks by the Honourable Mr. Carmichael in accepting this resolution gave no indication of the scope or methods of the inquiry. We sincerely hope that the inquiry will not be restricted to examining the requirements of the Department for additional controlling officers, nor that it will be conducted by a committee nominated by the Department. No investigation can be deemed complete, unless, accepting the goal of the movement as absolute self-management so far as internal affairs are concerned, it defines precisely the manner in which this ideal is to be attained..... Any proposals that are put forward for enhancing the status of the Registrar, for creating the posts of Joint Registrars and for increasing the number of Assistant Registrars should be examined from this standpoint. The Committee on Co-operation have recommended that the post of Registrar should be held by an officer of the grade of a senior Collector. As things are, this, in the first place, rules out the possibility of an Indian holding the post, except once in a generation. Similarly with regard to the proposal to appoint to the department one controlling officer for every 1,000 societies. If the Registrar's functions are confined to those assigned to him under the Act and if he transfers to non-official organization some of the numerous incidental duties that are now committed to his charge, it will be found that one controlling officer is all that is needed, and that the division of a province into two charges will be inadvisable from the point of view of efficiency of administration, unity of policy, and ultimate evolution of an independent co-operative organisation. In any case, if the interests of the proper administration of the statutory functions demand the delegation of power by the Registrars to some other officials, following the example of the Madras Presidency, ample powers may be conferred on the Assistant Registrars, whose numbers may be increased by one or two, as the movement expands. This agency besides being cheaper than that of Joint Registrars would better conduce to unity of policy, and would be more amenable to non-official influence. In this connection, it would be desirable to suggest that incumbents for the Registrar's post instead of being brought in from the Civil Service might be recruited from among the Assistant Registrars who have had experience of co-operative work in the Presidency."

Comments on the forfeiture of the security of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

Home Ruler (6), 19th Apl.; *Servant of India* (10), 24th Apl.

63. Commenting on the forfeiture of the security of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* the *Home Ruler* remarks:—"We are not definitely informed of the nature of the offensive articles but we presume they pertain to the *Patrika's* plain talk on the recent occurrences and its unsavoury warning to the Government and its officials of what would happen if they embarked on a policy of wholesale repression and unnecessary provocation. During the last few weeks as many as five Indian newspapers have either forfeited their security or have been ordered to deposit one. How well does this reflect on the big talk of the British people of free press, free speech and what not! We regret these acts only strengthen our conviction from day to day that the one object of the bureaucracy is to systematically stifle the Indian press

through all the means at their command." [The *Servant of India* writes:—"Two offending articles are mentioned as having, in the Government's opinion, 'a tendency directly or indirectly, by inference or suggestion, implication or otherwise to bring into hatred and contempt the Government', etc. The formula is so wide reaching that Government can never have any difficulty in setting the law in motion against any paper which at all undertakes the function of criticism."]

64. "The Japanese Government have put forth an amendment to the covenant of the League of Nations proposing that those that have been admitted in the league and are its members should enjoy the same freedom in any colony as those in them (*sic*). So far we are able to conclude from this that the Japanese Government do not want to have easy access in any colony, they desire that all difference of colour should remain no more..... There is however a great disinclination on the part of the British colonies that this question be solved by the League of Nations, since the decision is expected to affect them adversely. If the question whether it should form the programme of the League of Nations or whether it should be decided by the Government that have sway over the colony in which free admission is sought, the result is surely to be against the desire of the Japanese representatives, since it is the only Asiatic power and coloured nation in the League of Nations. Can therefore not the League be rightly termed the League of White Nations rather than the League of Nations since by the latter it is meant that those that are slaves before should remain as slaves rather than get their grievances redressed at the hands of those that have been admitted into the League of Nations? How can then the interests of the small nations, or those that are not treated equally be safeguarded by this League of Nations?"

The League of Nations should properly be called the League of White Nations.

Sind Advocate (11), 17th Apl.

65. The information published by a French journal to the effect that our navy is ready to execute its plans if Germany refuses to sign the terms of peace is significant. A question naturally arises as to whether Germany would accept the peace terms. We do not know anything about the internal condition of Germany but we know this much that the state of Russia is horrible. Bolshevism is rampant in Russia and as long as there is no peace in that country it would be difficult to have peace in Europe. Russia wants Germany and Austria to begin hostilities anew. There are a few people in Germany who like to do the same and it is to be seen which party prevails. Peace is near at hand but we do not think that Germany will sign the peace all at once. President Wilson is reported to have been displeased with the proceedings of the Peace Conference and people look with supicion on the ultimate success of the League of Nations. The army in Russia is disorganised and even if Russia tries to enlist the co-operation of Germany in starting hostilities these two nations will have to suffer a worse fate than they have met with upto now. The Allies on the other hand are unwilling to continue the war for an hour longer than is necessary. Germany will not be given the status it desires in the League of Nations and so there is no likelihood of the European atmosphere remaining undisturbed for a long time. The terms of peace have not been framed on liberal lines as full advantage seems to have been taken of the fallen condition of the enemy countries. They will continue to cherish fellings of animosity and think of taking revenge. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* refers to the fears expressed by Lord Curzon about the danger of the spread of Bolshevism and the necessity of caution in the matter of doing away with compulsory military training and declares that the Imperial Government is quite justified in thinking that the time is not yet ripe to do away with conscription in view of the threatening situation. The paper hopes that Great Britain will have the courage and foresight to trust its dependencies and make them self-supporting and self-reliant with a view to strengthening the Empire.]

The political outlook in Europe.

Hindusthán (24), 24th Apl.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 21st Apl.

66. Commenting on the 19th session of the Bombay Provincial Conference, the *Hindusthán* writes:—It is really unfortunate that there is no 'united voice' in India at present as desired by Mr. Tilak in his message to the Conference. The President of the Conference has rightly advocated the adoption of the boycott movement as a means for getting the Rowlatt Act withdrawn. We have already pointed out that the boycott is a perfectly legitimate movement. The *swadeshi*, however, as advocated by Mahatma Gandhi is more innocent and more far-reaching in its effects than mere boycott. [The *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—We lend our full support to the appeal made by Mr. Baptista to the Moderates for co-operation and wish that they may take the wise step of joining with other leaders in securing real reforms for this country. Without unity, we cannot produce a deep and abiding effect on the minds of the British public. We must clearly demonstrate to them that those who ask for *swaráj* are not the enemies of the British *ráj* and that they do want to remain under the British flag.]

The Bombay Provincial Conference at Ahmednagar.

Hindusthán (24), 25th Apl.; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 25th Apl.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 2nd May 1919.

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*Reported in advance.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 3rd May 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. The people should shew to Government that the latter may deport Mr. Horniman, but the people will not at all slacken their constitutional struggle against the Rowlatt Bills or their efforts for *Swarajya*, and that on the contrary such incidents will incite the people to carry on their struggle with greater spirit. Government have committed a grave blunder in deporting Mr. Horniman and we enter a most emphatic protest against this step of theirs. We trust the public of the Presidency will maintain their calm. [In the next issue the paper declares that it felt deeply wounded on hearing the news of the orders regarding the deportation of Mr. Horniman and the placing of the *Bombay Chronicle* under censorship. It had felt perfectly assured that such an event would not have taken place in the *régime* of Sir George Lloyd, who had shown such patience, calmness and high statesmanship during the critical situations that had occurred during his short tenure of office. These acts are a great blow to the confidence created in the public mind that constitutional agitators had nothing to fear and that the liberty of the press was secure under His Excellency's *régime*. The step is a very hasty one on the part of Sir George Lloyd. The Bombay Government have committed a serious blunder and the Government of India have erred gravely in consenting to such a wrong measure. It is our most earnest appeal to Government not to repeat such a blunder or to be guilty of more serious ones. But out of evil cometh good. In his own country Mr. Horniman will enjoy all liberty, and there he will be in a much better position to carry on the political struggle on behalf of this country. The paper is thankful to Government for not inflicting any punishment on Mr. Horniman and for facilitating his going to England without his having to take the trouble of securing passports, etc. Mr. Horniman's presence in England as a deported Englishman will show the liberty loving people of that country what grave blunders the Government in India are committing. The present times are very critical and the responsibilities of Government are serious, but the remedies for them are not deportations, imprisonment and repression. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* condemns Mr. Horniman's extremist politics and expresses the hope that other writers and speakers in India will learn a wholesome lesson from his fate. The *Hindusthán* dwells on the services of Mr. Horniman to India and declares that every Indian will be grieved at his deportation. The notice issued to the Indian Newspapers Company, it adds, does not produce any proof of the allegations made against the company, and so it may be said that Government are moved by 'panic and wrath'. If Government possess any evidence of the allegations against the *Chronicle* and its directors, they should publish it to convince the people that Government have not been hasty and high-handed. In this matter the people have to be thankful to the *Times of India* which instigated Government to stop the *Bombay Chronicle*. Government officials will now be able to do their work without any fear of criticism. There is, however, no cause for the Indians to despair. In England Mr. Horniman will be able to co-operate with the Congress Deputation and convince the people of England of the existence of unjust laws in India. Indians should, therefore, be thankful to Government for sending him to England at their own expense.

Comments on the deportation of Mr. Horniman and the placing of the *Bombay Chronicle* under censorship.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 26th and 28th Apl.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 28th Apl.; *Hindusthán* (24), 28th Apl.

2. "Whatever justification there may be in the orders of the Government of Bombay against the *Bombay Chronicle* and Mr. Horniman, there will be sincere regret felt at their disappearance from Indian politics and journalism. The *Bombay Chronicle* has played a great part in the public life of India in general, and this presidency in particular..... Much of the liberalism and progress observable in the administration of this presidency during recent years, is to be attributed to its fearless and vigorous advocacy of the people's rights, and the whole political consciousness, during recent years, of our presidency, is due largely to its spirited and stimulating columns. The cessation—we hope it will only be a very temporary suspension—of this

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 29th Apl., Eng. cols.

great paper, at such a crisis in the history of the Indian people, is a great loss from the national standpoint; and it is also the most serious blow dealt to the public cause..... The recent developments have raised a distinct and distressing issue in this country. The question now is no longer the adequacy or inadequacy of the proposed reforms, or even the necessity and justification or otherwise of the Rowlatt legislation, but the maintenance of order and authority. At least, Government seem to think so. Rightly or wrongly Government feel their authority challenged. In such a state of feeling, they cannot be expected to brook any criticism of their movements and measures, especially of that outspoken and somewhat intemperate type which Mr. Horniman made fashionable. The question between the people and the bureaucracy now is, not who is right and who is wrong, but who is strong..... .... The order against Mr. Horniman and the *Bombay Chronicle* has made the issue now clear. The popular leaders, and popular organs like the *Bombay Chronicle*, have claimed, with all the force of logic at their command, the right of the people of India to have a determining and finally decisive voice in the administration of their country. The Government here are not prepared to concede that claim. The appeal then lies to the British people, who are the ultimate fountain-head of all authority in India under the present constitution. We, therefore, repeat that the enforced translation of Mr. Horniman from the local to the imperial sphere of operations, is calculated to do good to the cause. That must be our consolation in the present difficult and disquieting times. That is the only consideration on which we could reconcile ourselves to so deadly and drastic a blow at the liberty of the press."

*3. The *London Times* and the Anglo-Indians may try to make people believe that there is freedom of the Press in India. But the people of India believe that the Press is deprived of its freedom, the *Chronicle* gagged, securities forfeited and fresh securities demanded, in order to conceal the unbridled acts of the bureaucracy. The universal public opinion is that the *Chronicle* must not cease publication. The policy of huff is not beneficial in public life. People know that in India they have to fight against the all-powerful bureaucracy, and in doing so feminine *Satyagraha* will not do. Why should efforts be made to continue the paper by corresponding with officials, giving guarantees and getting the censorship removed? Of what use are such guarantees if after giving them the officials keep it in their hands to decide whether a lapse has occurred or not? As long as the officials in power do not remove the censorship, it is better to publish the paper under censorship with thick black borders in order to thoroughly impress on the minds of the people that in India there is no freedom of the Press. There is not the least cause for shame in issuing a paper under censorship; there is no disgrace in it. What cause for shame is there if the powerful put on the foreheads of the weak the stamp of the latter's weakness or their own strength? If there be any shame it is for the powerful to be ashamed that they use an elephant's weight to crush an ant. If the editor of the *Chronicle* was guilty of such a crime that he could not be allowed to remain any longer in British India, and if he published in no less than four issues of his paper such matter as to justify the forfeiture of its security and the pre-censoring of its articles, why have not the supreme Government dragged him to Court and why have they taken a step which keeps the public under a wrong impression? We are very sorry to say that the people have never admitted that the execution of the Press Act is justifiable; and it was therefore that Mr. Gandhi thought it proper to commence his *Satyagraha* by breaking this Act. The only ground for satisfaction is that the Bombay Government have no sympathy with and have not consented to the repressive measures taken in this Presidency, but have compulsorily executed the orders of the Simla Government. Mr. Horniman's name was a terror to the bureaucracy and the selfish Anglo-Indian merchants. People believe that he is sure to serve India's cause in England. But his monetary circumstances are not good. The people have started a fund to help him, and he is really deserving of help. His last message is this :—" Let them accuse you, let them imprison you, let them condemn you, let them hang you,

Gujarâti (20), 4th May, *Gujarâti* (20), 4th May, Eng. cols.

—but still publish your opinions. It is not only your right, it is your duty". [In its English columns the paper writes:—"On reading between the lines one or two leading articles that appeared in the *Times of India* a few days ago, the public were not altogethr unprepared for such a thunderbolt. The rumours afloat in this city for several days past have turned out to be true and the Bombay Presidency is now deprived, with a stroke of the pen, of an independent daily organ of public opinion..... One could have understood these orders *before* the disturbances occurred or when the *Satyagraha* movement was started, advertised and supported by the *Chronicle*. They seem now to be without any adequate justification. It is, indeed, deplorable that His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, so fresh from the free atmosphere of British politics, should have deemed it necessary to inaugurate his *regime* by a resort to measures so entirely out of harmony with the traditions of the British constiution and British institutions."]

Kesari (109), 29th Apl.

4. Dr. Deshmukh who had performed the operation on Mr. Horniman had left the previous day for Nágpur asking the patient to be confined to bed for a few days more. The Bombay Government in consultation with their doctors decided that there was no objection to remove Mr. Horniman to England. The *Chronicle* has been thus gagged, by the misuse of the new powers given to the Bombay Government under the Defence of India Act. Mr. Horniman has served the Bombay Presidency well for the last four years through the *Chronicle* and undoubtedly he made the various movements like *Swarájya*, Congress, *Satyagraha* and others popular by writing reasoned and independent articles. Officials have rewarded his services with deportation and Government have also committed the sin of stopping the *Chronicle* under the guise of pre-censorship. It is well known that Mr. Horniman's advice was useful equally with Mr. Gandhi's word in maintaining order in Bombay while disorder was prevalent in Ahmedabad and the Punjab. Government however persuaded themselves into the false idea that there were some rogues in the *Satyagraha* movement encouraging disorders under the cover of Mr. Gandhi's saintly character and thus decided to punish the Editor of the *Chronicle* and the paper. We are surprised how these things recommended themselves to the present Governor. It is the misfortune of officials and ourselves that the former should persist in giving movements in India an Irish character inspite of Irish history's verdict that the consequences of such repression never turn out to be favourable.

Jám-e-Jamshed (26), 30th Apl.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 1st May.

5. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* says that the cessation of the *Bombay Chronicle* has left a blank in the life of Bombay. It praises the paper for its fearless independence and doubts if the blank created by Mr. Horniman's deportation will be easily filled up. It was Mr. Horniman who created a public opinion and educated it; and he put the *Bombay Chronicle* in such a position that it was looked upon by one and all with affection and respect. But the paper adds that in view of the Extremist policy adopted by Mr. Horniman after the death of Sir P. M. Mehta, the catastrophe which overtook him was not unexpected. It declines to discuss the justice or otherwise of the step taken by Government, but prays them to remove as soon as possible the censorphip under which the paper is placed. At the same time it urges the directorate to see that the paper is placed in proper hands. It suggests that temporarily it may be put under the editorship of Mr. Gandhi. In the end, the paper declares that in the present state of affairs Mr. Horniman will give priceless help to the Indian deputations that have left for England. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* also wishes that the paper should be placed in the hands of somebody who will maintain its fearless policy and will at the same time keep within proper limits. It regrets that the directorate and shareholders show signs of disunion which bode ill for the future of the paper.]

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 29th Apl.

6. It would have been better if Government had stated their reasons for proceeding against Mr. Horniman and the *Bombay Chronicle*. The *Chronicle* was the only English daily paper in the Bombay Presidency

managed by Indians. The fate that has overtaken it and its editor will painfully surprise all. We are unable to guess the reasons which led to Mr. Horniman's abrupt deportation. As recently declared by the Honourable Mr. Shastri, deportation without inquiry is always reprehensible. Besides, Mr. Horniman was bed-ridden for several days past. Sir George Lloyd adhered to his declared policy, during the recent disturbances, of not taking stringent measures unless absolutely necessary and, therefore, we believe the present orders must not have emanated from him. Whether the orders were issued at the instance of the Government of India or not, everyone is sure to deplore them.

Muslim Herald (141), 2nd May.

7. There is no doubt that Mr. Horniman was a clever and expert editor, and his writings had great influence. Most of the Government departments—if not all—were careful to think about their actions beforehand lest they should commit a mistake which might incur Mr. Horniman's wrath. Now those people who are prone to make mistakes have got some freedom. He had become somewhat popular with the public because of his advocacy of their cause. He used to criticize other men's foibles and mistakes but of his own drawbacks he was quite unmindful. And it was that his language was intemperate. His writings had greatly influenced not only the agitators of Bombay but those of the whole of India; and there is no doubt that his paper had led many raw youths towards disaffection against Government. On most occasions his words were true, but his deep utterances were poisonous. The only expedient open to Government was to apply a remedy to this poisonous sting. This wise action on the part of Government has produced a calm atmosphere; but we cannot divine as to what is passing in the minds of the people. It is not possible that any attempt will now be made to commit any mad acts, and the fiery words which were formerly uttered at various meetings will be suppressed.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 4th May.

***8.** "It was generally believed that these orders had been passed and enforced by the Government of India in disregard of the opposition of the Government of Bombay, but there is no reason to go behind the wording of the orders which distinctly aver that they are issued by the latter Government. The only grounds for the erroneous belief exonerating the local Government, so far as we can see, are, two. The first is the impression conveyed by the words of the Governor, in his speech at the Royal College of Science on the 16th April, that he had no intention of interfering with free criticism..... The second ground is the fact that things had very nearly settled down to their normal state in the Presidency and Mr. Gandhi was carrying on *Satyagraha against* disobedience to the orders of Government and the Police. If is only fair to add that, having decided to put an end to Mr. Horniman's public activities, the Government of Bombay chose the method which involved the least restriction on his personal freedom consistent with that decision. Probably, Mr. Horniman himself might have decided that some rest in England after his strenuous years of journalistic life in Bombay was necessary to enable him to get quickly over the effects of his recent ailment..... Government have unintentionally done a good turn to the group in Indian politics to which Mr. Horniman belongs by providing it with so accomplished a spokesman in addition to those whom it has selected to present the case against repression and to plead the cause of constitutional reform before the British public. When all is said, however, the summary deportation of an Englishman apparently for no other offence than that he espoused the Indian cause, not always wisely, perhaps, but there cannot be the least doubt, whole-heartedly and thoroughly, is a measure which no Indian publicist can view with equanimity. An English journalist may with perfect impunity rail against the Founder of a great religion professed by millions of Indians; another can traduce with equal impunity a dead Indian leader held in universal reverence by all classes of Indians; and yet others can make it their principal occupation in this country to carry on a campaign of hatred and calumny against educated Indians. But if an Englishman or woman who has taken the Indian side, allow themselves to be carried away even a little by their zeal

for the cause they have espoused, deportation and internment are their portion. Not only that but, as Mr. Andrews' experience shows, even to be friendly to Indian aspirations, is to invite the attentions of the Criminal Intelligence Department. We had our differences with Mr. Horniman. We had occasion to condemn severely only a few months ago his gross misrepresentation of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, one of the noblest of men devoted to the service of his motherland. We like journalistic terrorism as little as administrative terrorism. On one occasion at least we had to protest against what seemed to be an attempt on the part of the *Chronicle* to intimidate us. Mr. Horniman's policy in the *Chronicle* was largely responsible for the estrangement between the experienced Moderate leaders, and the inexperienced, but intensely zealous and patriotic, younger workers in Bombay politics. But Mr. Horniman did not carry public differences into private life..... He is undoubtedly a great journalist and a large-hearted Englishman who sincerely felt and worked for the people in utter disdain of personal consequences. He had faults, it is said, but let him who is sinless cast the first stone. We earnestly trust that he will be back again to carry on his great work among us with renewed health and strength and, may we add, in a manner to unite and hold together the younger and more ardent, and the older and more experienced, of Indian workers and leaders?"

Indian Social Reformer (7), 4th May.

*9. "We have often differed from the *Bombay Chronicle*. We have at the same time felt that it filled an important place in the public life of the city and country. A large and important section of Indian opinion is practically deprived of its organ by the suspension of the *Bombay Chronicle*. The absence of underground movements in this Presidency during recent years, is not a little due to the existence of an outspoken journal like the *Bombay Chronicle*. Government and public men alike cannot but feel it a serious difficulty in gauging the trend of public feeling now that the *Chronicle* has ceased to appear. Whatever we may think of its occasional, and even frequent, indulgence in violent language—which, as Disraeli once said, is not strong language—there can be no two opinions as to the intrepidity which characterised the conduct of the *Chronicle*. More than once it was instrumental in exposing transactions which but for it would have remained undisclosed. If our contemporary sometimes resorted to what may be called terrorist methods, it may plead with at least as much plausibility as the authors of the Rowlatt Act or the administrator of Martial Law in Láhore that no honest citizen had need to be afraid of its censure. The public in a very short time learns to allow for the extravagances and mannerisms of a newspaper. The Bombay public had long learnt to assess at its true value the exaggerated invectives of the *Chronicle* in its pugnacious moods. It is but right to say that during the last few months the *Chronicle* had followed a policy which was noticeably free from many of the objectionable features which it had developed during the latter half of last year. We can hardly think that the punishments piled upon the *Chronicle* have a retrospective reference, but we must say that we are utterly unable to correlate them with the gratifying improvement in its tone which was unmistakably clear during the last two or three months. The Press Act, so far as we know, does not provide for a censorship and the imposition of it is under the Defence of India Act. We are asked sometimes to drop the protest against the Rowlatt Act because it is declared in the preamble that it will apply only to anarchical and revolutionary crimes. But was the Defence of India Act intended to apply to matters so absolutely unconnected with the war or anything remotely relating to the war as the articles for which the *Chronicle* has been penalised?"

Shri Sayáji Vijaya (121), 1st May; *Deshodaya* (67), 29th Apl.; *Deshi Mitra* (66), 1st May; *Wafádár* (36), 2nd May.

10. The *Shri Sayáji Vijaya* considers it a very hasty and inconsiderate step on the part of the Government of Bombay to have deported Mr. Horniman under the Defence of India Act. It, however, takes consolation in the fact that Mr. Horniman will be able to serve India by his presence in England. It asks the people to be cool and collected and to help Government in

preserving peace and order in the country in accordance with the advice given to them by Mr. Gandhi. [The *Deshodaya* dwells upon the services rendered by Mr. Horniman to this country and deplores the step taken by the Government of Bombay in his connection. The *Deshi Mitra* also disapproves of the action of the Bombay Government but at the same time thanks them for sending Mr. Horniman to England where he will be able to serve India. The *Wafddar* considers the present situation of unrest as being due to a series of mistakes on the part of Government and blames them for what it considers as the policy of repression they have recently adopted. It also blames His Excellency Sir George Lloyd for deporting Mr. Horniman. It asks Government to bear in mind that the present unrest is mostly due to economic distress aggravated by their own policy.]

*11. We are all aware of the magnitude of Mr. Horniman's services to India. Several Englishmen of his type have helped before this to engender faith in British justice. Messrs. Hume, Bradlaugh, Yule, Sir Henry Cotton and others strove with might and main to promote the welfare of this country and latterly Mr. Horniman had proved himself to be a worthy follower of those noble-minded Englishmen. Constitutional agitation being a European plant would not have thrived so well in this country if the Indian nation had not had the help of capable Englishmen to nurse it. But these people do not always escape the consequences of the displeasure of their own countrymen who rule here. A glance at the political history of this country during British rule does not fail to reveal the pathetic story of the sufferings of Hume, Cotton and others. In the early days of British rule also some Englishmen who conducted newspapers here and championed the cause of Indians were deported for fearlessly exposing the faults of the rulers. In view of these happenings Mr. Horniman's deportation need not cause surprise to anyone. Signs were visible for a long time of some such calamity befalling either himself or his co-workers. In Bombay up to this time no one had earned the honour of being deported and it was generally expected that this Presidency would escape the experience of the Punjab as our new Governor is level-headed, far-sighted and just. These expectations have been realised to a considerable extent. Mr. Horniman's deportation will not fail to impose a heavy handicap on all over political movements. It cannot, however, completely arrest our progress, on the contrary it will give it an additional impetus. Such calamities lay the foundation of the future greatness of India. Although we may not approve of the doings of our rulers we must put our faith in England's sense of justice. People must not allow wicked thoughts to sway their minds at this critical time. [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—The stoppage of the *Bombay Chronicle* has brought about a great change in the public life of Bombay. The feelings of the city in respect to Mr. Horniman are those of a family which suddenly loses an intimate and sincere friend. Mr. Horniman's deportation and the consequent stoppage of the *Chronicle* has deprived Government also of the means of acquainting themselves with both the sides of a question. The *Rashtra Hitaishi* writes:—Our Governor is known for his coolness of judgment, and yet a weighty newspaper like the *Bombay Chronicle* has been overtaken by the present calamity. People are, therefore, beginning to fear the introduction of repressive measures in this Presidency also.]

Indu Prakdsh (41), 28th April and 1st May; *Rastra Hitaishi* (117), 30th Apl.

12. "One has only to try to equate the mob violence and rioting for the past few weeks and the coercive action of Government during the time, of which the end is not yet in sight, to realise the excesses in the use of force on the part of the Government. The authorities are of course acting in the belief that there is a revolutionary movement in India designed to overturn the Government by armed rising, and if this belief were well-founded, the measures actually taken would be considered none too strong, though even then one cannot help feeling that no Government with any pretensions to

Servant of India (10), 1st May.

civilisation and humanity will stain its character by some of the barbarities for which the Punjab Government is reported to have been responsible. But is there any evidence to prove that a rebellion is on foot, or anything nearly approaching it? We do not pretend to any information outside what has been vouchsafed to the public by the Government, and we are loth to believe that, if there was any serious danger to the State by way of armed resistance, the Government would refrain from taking the people's leaders into confidence and enlisting their co-operation. In the absence of any such attempt, the public have a right to conclude that there is nothing further for the Government to communicate than it has done, and that on the side of the people there have been no more serious excesses than those of which mention has been made in newspapers or Government *communiqués*..... Our quarrel with the Government is not that its action is too violent in putting down a revolt; but that in an alarmist fashion it is calling up visions of rebellion and setting itself to subdue it when in fact it has to cope with a situation of a different order and much less alarming tenor. If the Government had really to encounter rebellion there would be no question that the whole body of intellectuals in India would support all measures, however severe, which the Government might think it necessary to adopt..... Latterly there have been strong agitations for reforms; on occasions they may have exceeded proper bounds; but with all such temporary aberrations, the loyalty of Indians, the politically-minded Indians and agitators, has remained unshaken. After the experience during war time one would think it would be a work of supererogation to dwell upon it. And even if there should be Bolshevik agents about we doubt not that their machinations would fail utterly in seducing the allegiance of Indians. When the heart of India is so sound, it behoves the Government to tell the public why and how all of a sudden a bid is made here for independence before it commences to take what that they can only regard as indiscriminate punitive action against leaders of public opinion, as if they were engaged in engineering rebellion or some such terrible thing. To the list of arrested persons additions are fast being made in the Punjáb; and Lala Dharamdas Suri and Mr. Rattan Chand have suffered the same fate. It is impossible to believe, unless human nature has completely changed in the Punjáb latterly, that Mr. Suri's freedom could at all be a peril to the State. There is an element of irony in the arrest of Mr. Rattan Chand. Only last week he wrote asking how public life in his province could be purged of some of the undesirable elements which seemed unfortunately to be associated with it. Again, we just hear of the arrest of Mr. Durgadas Advani. If the Government has any regard for public opinion, it must adduce clear proof of any offences of which such distinguished leaders could possibly be guilty. No one will presume any guilt against them merely because the Government has chosen to strike them down. The deportation of Mr. Horniman also stands on the same footing. It would be sheer affectation for us to say that we were always at one with him in his politics; our differences with him were often very sharp; but that is irrelevent to the present issue. There can be no justification for the deportation of any one without trial, except when it is absolutely inevitable for the safety of the State. The Bombay Government which showed a commendable restraint and moderation on the outbreak of disorder, would preserve, it was hoped, its balance of mind and would refrain from such an unwarrantable invasion of popular liberties. Bombay has been quiet, and Mr. Horniman was unable from illness to attend to his usual duties during these troublous times. The action taken against him in these circumstances will thus give rise to an impression in the public mind that the Government has now embarked upon a campaign of naked repression. If the Government desires to remove this impression, it is absolutely essential that popular leaders should be taken into confidence and facts placed before them which would convince them that no excessive force was being used. Nothing would conduce to this result so much as to terminate Sir Michael O'Dwyer's headship of the Punjáb. His *regime* has happily run out its period, and the Government should embrace this opportunity to bring a fresh mind to bear on the situation. Again, a long-sighted view must be taken of the present unrest. Whatever the proximate causes of the disturbances—and they must

be closely inquired into—it is clear that the public mind is exceedingly uneasy, and a substantial factor of the uneasiness consists in the unsatisfied political aspirations of Indians. The remarkable utterance of Mr. Natarajan the other day in Bombay should be a warning to those officials who wish to see a contented India. Even if the reforms came in their integrity, he said, they would hereafter cease to inspire people. We know for a fact that in many thoughtful minds the reforms have considerably receded since the recent happenings, and without a doubt there is a risk of their falling quite flat and lifeless with the general public. At such a time statesmanship consists not in whittling down but in extending the reforms, and thus restoring public confidence. Should, however, our hard-shell Sydenhamites prevail and reforms be indefinitely hung up or an unsubstantial measure passed, discontent would follow on the results of which the mind shudders to reflect."

Comments on the declaration of *hartal* on Sunday the 11th May as a protest against the deportation of Mr. Horniman.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 7th May; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 6th May.

*13. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* exhorts those who join the *hartal* on next Sunday to behave in such a way as to maintain the *izzat* of Mr. Gandhi, the Bombay public and also the Bombay Government. The *izzat* of His Excellency, says the paper, must be looked upon as the *izzat* of the public, and the latter must so behave that no pretext might be afforded to those Anglo-Indian officials and publicists, who approve of the strong measures of Sir M. O'Dwyer, to say that the Bombay public went wrong because the authorities gave them a loose rein. The *hartal* is a very old expedient for attracting the attention of rulers to public grievances, and even the old despotic rulers never interfered with *hartals*. [The *Sánj Vartamán* says that a *hartal* is not to be undertaken without grave and sufficient cause, and in the present case the deportation of Mr. Horniman and the action against the *Bombay Chronicle* affords such a cause. This *hartal* is not organised by Mr. Gandhi —it owes its origin to the united desire of the general mass of the public.]

Mr. Gandhi and the *Satyagraha* movement.

Jágaruk (45), 26th Apl.; *Rájakáran* (116), 27th Apl.

14. When Mahatma Gandhi launched his *Satyagraha* movement thoughtful men warned him that it would lead to disastrous results. He held that the number of disloyal persons was very small and that, therefore, it was undesirable to force a stringent measure like the Rowlatt Law on the country. But the result of the *Satyagraha* movement must have revealed to him the widespread ramifications of the activities of these men. What does he propose to do now to save the country from the ruinous activities of these people and to uphold the principles he has so often enunciated? True, he is now earnestly appealing to the people to assist the Government at a critical time like this. It does not appear likely, however, that this appeal will meet with a more satisfactory response than the first one when he exhorted the people to desist from violence and to rely only on soul-force. In such circumstances are Government to keep quiet relying on Mr. Gandhi or are they to employ all their resources to restore quiet? But Mr. Gandhi aims at depriving Government of this very power. [The *Rájakáran* asks the people to follow Mr. Gandhi's advice to promote the cause of *swadeshi* if they find the *Satyagraha* movement to be impracticable. It declares that the wealthy merchants of Bombay and the millions of Indians will do a great service to the country if they adhere to *swadeshi*.]

The Honourable Mr. Sastri's views on the *Satyagraha* movement.

Servant of India (10), 1st May.

15. "Elsewhere we publish the report of a speech made by Mr. Sastri at Poona; it fairly represents the views uttered by him on the occasion. The report of his speech in Bombay, however, published in the *Times of India*, is an unfortunate version and may create a misleading impression of the sentiments expressed by him. Mr. Sastri did not hold the *Satyagraha* movement responsible for the violence that has occurred, but he strongly condemned the action taken by the Local Governments as much too harsh."

16. Commenting on the All-India Congress Committee's telegram to the Premier, the *Sánj Vartamán* expresses a hope that the Cabinet will give their patient consideration to the demands included therein and will thereby give satisfaction to the Indian people. It writes:—Besides the Rowlatt Act, there are other causes of discontent among the people. The Committee's statement in this connection is not only courageous but impartial. Government have adopted the repressive policy at present. It is necessary to have an immediate change in this policy. [In its subsequent issue, while replying to the *Times of India's* comments on the above telegram, it writes:—One of the many causes of the present discontent is the undeserved attacks of the Anglo-Indian journals on Indians. The *Times of India* declares that the failure of the control-system is due to the corruption of the Indian subordinates, but we ask whether Government have punished these subordinates by exposing their corrupt ways. The telegram does represent the true opinion of the Indian public whatever the *Times of India* may say against it. If men, born and educated in India, who have sacrificed their whole life for the good of the country, cannot represent the true Indian opinion, who else, we ask, can do it? Does the *Times of India* do it? We are sorry to note that even the *Times of India* is affected by the disease of Anglo-Indianism. The *Hindusthán*, while writing in the same strain, adds:—It was the duty of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and others to inform the British public and the British Government of the true cause of the present discontent, and they have duly discharged it. Our contemporary, the *Times of India*, connives at the abnormally high prices on account of the control system in the country and deplores the profiteering habits of the Indian merchants and the corruption of the subordinate Indian staff in Railways! Does the 'truthful' *Times of India* feel shame in frankly confessing the fact that Government, who introduced the control system, are mainly responsible for the abnormally high prices? Does the *Times of India* speak the truth in saying that the Indian staff alone take bribes? The public would have better appreciated the *Times of India's* love of truth if it had paused to ascertain how far the *Capital's* information—that there was friction between Mr. Cadell, Controller of Prices, and His Excellency the Governor and that he was all of a sudden obliged to take leave and proceed to England—was true. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* fully approves of the contents of the telegram and while regretting the want of unity among the political leaders of India, declares that in future no non-Indian should be accorded a position higher than that of a mere adviser in all Indian movements and agitations. It writes:—The Bombay Government in every way deserve the praises accorded to their policy in the Committee's telegram. It is argued in defence of the repressive policy of the Punjáb and Delhi Governments that repressive measures were resorted to even in the case of Ireland. But what was its effect, we ask, on the Irish people? The feelings of the major portion of them were greatly embittered against the British. We again reiterate our former suggestion that the real means of pacifying the Punjáb is to take the aid of our wise Governor Sir George Lloyd. The *Bombay Samáchár* hopes the British Government and public will pay proper attention to the telegram and holds the externment order against Mr. Gandhi partially responsible for the disturbances. It requests Government to take Mr. Gandhi into their confidence by revoking the orders against him. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* lends its full support to the telegram and asks for the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the reasons why repressive measures were resorted to. It regrets to note that the Government of Lord Chemlsford is patting on the back the 'O'Dwyerism' of the Punjáb Government. It urges Government to adopt a conciliatory policy instead of a repressive one. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* writes:—The Muhammadans are not so anxious about the withdrawal of the Rowlatt Act as they are about the question of the Khaliphate. We hope this question will be so settled as to

Comments on the All-India Congress Committee's telegram to the Premier on the present political situation in India.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 29th and 30th Apl.; *Hindusthán* (24), 30th Apl.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 30th Apl.; *Bombay Samáchár* (62), 1st May; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 1st May; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 1st May; **Indian Social Reformer* (7), 4th May.

give entire satisfaction to the Musalmans. The *Indian Social Reformer* writes :—"The All India-Congress Committee and the Moderate Conference Committee have passed resolutions and sent long messages to the Secretary of State and the Viceroy asking for an independent and open enquiry into the causes of the recent outbreaks, and the early introduction of reforms. We heartily support these requests."]

17. The *Sánj Vartamán* is gratified at the similarity of the suggestions made by the Committee of the All-India Moderate Conference to the representation of the All-India Congress Committee and while congratulating the Moderates on the courage with which they have put the case of the country before Government, it expresses a hope that Government will adopt their suggestions especially in respect of appointing a commission of inquiry and withdrawing martial law from the Punjáb and thus help to restore peace and order in the country. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* declares that the Moderates have voiced the real opinion of the country and asks Government to pay heed to their suggestions in the manner they deserve and to take the popular leaders into their confidence without any further delay. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* endorses the suggestions made by the Committee of the All-India Moderate Conference and hopes that Government will see their way to act up to them. The *Hindusthán* writes :—Government raise the Moderates to the seventh heaven when they are in agreement with their opinion, but they do not attach any weight to their opinion when they differ from them. Be it as it may, Government should give a careful consideration to the suggestions made to them by the Committee of the All-India Moderate Conference. Will Government accept the suggestion for an enquiry into the administration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer? Unfortunately Government do not like anything that is unpleasant to them, come from any quarter it may. In these circumstances we do not think Government will approve of the suggestions made by the Moderates.]

Comments on the suggestions made by the Committee of the Moderate Conference regarding the present political situation in India.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 2nd May; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 3rd May; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 3rd May; *Hindusthán* (24), 3rd May.

***18.** In the course of an article in which it condemns the recent excesses the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks :—"The country must rise to a man under the Moderate leadership which must now assert itself. We really wonder what they are doing and whether they have heard Sir George Lloyd's rallying cry. That such a cry should have come from the Governor is in itself a shame. Bombay must of course take the lead. It is no question of the Reforms being wrecked or otherwise. It is a question whether anarchy is to prevail or not, whether it shall be timidly looked down upon or fearlessly and courageously denounced. That denunciation must come from every town and every platform. It is no time for pious regrets. We do not know what the leaders of Bombay are doing. Are they afraid of the extremists wrecking their meeting or hissing them and holding a counter-demonstration? Dare they?..... We are waiting to know when responsible and sober opinion in the country will express itself. Bombay is the stronghold of such opinion but every one seems to be satisfied with the action Government are taking. Moral force is however a stronger antidote to rebellion. Its weight has got to be laid in the balance and Bombay must take up the lead."

The duty of the Moderate leaders at the present juncture.

Kaiser-i-Hind (27), 4th May, Eng. cols.

19. Mr. S. Gillespie of the I. P. Mission, Ahmedabad, writes to the *Praja Bandhu* :—"Along with many others I attended the meeting in the Premabhai Hall yesterday evening summoned by the Commissioner, N. D. Much was said and said well concerning the recent regrettable events by which the good name of our city has suffered. But as far as I could hear—and acoustic properties of the Hall are not good—nothing was said on two important points which needed not merely to be uttered but to be emphasised, *viz.*—(1) that the authorities should, as far as possible in every case, promptly

The duty of Government and the public in such critical times.

Praja Bandhu (30), 27th Apl.

make public their actions and the reasons for the same. To sit on Olympus and thence to issue fiats might have been all right in the past, but such a procedure is absolutely out of keeping with modern democratic ideas, and (2) the intelligent portion of the community should not only not lend itself to the dissemination of the idle and baseless rumours, but should take every opportunity of contradicting the same. Truth and truth alone is the foe of all misunderstanding, ill-feeling and disorder, and it alone can make us free, free in the highest and best sense.

How Government can meet the present situation.

Sudhákar (124), 27th Apl.

20. When Germany declared war on England in 1914, she expected that the discontented countries under her rule, *viz.*, India, Egypt and Ireland would rise in rebellion against her. This expectation was realised to a considerable extent in the case of Ireland and partially in the case of Egypt, but proved to be wholly wrong in the case of India. Western civilization sanctions the striking of an adversary at a vital spot when he is in difficulties with a view to achieving one's object and it was not strange, therefore, that Ireland took advantage of the difficulties of England and rebelled against her. Even South Africa which enjoyed the rights of *swarájya* under the British Empire tried to regain its lost independence, but India remained loyal to the core. She not only did not rebel but disappointed Germany by giving splendid assistance to England in men and money. But what is being said of our loyalty now? To judge from the accounts appearing in Anglo-Indian newspapers India is seething with rebellion and conspiracy. We are unable to agree with the Government of India that a rebellion has really broken out in the Punjab. It is well known that by his policy of repression Sir Michael O'Dwyer has produced deep dicontent in the Province. It is no use denying the fact that everywhere in India sympathy is felt for the people of the Punjáb. Sir Micheal was very proud of the loyalty of the Punjáb! Should he not have been ashamed to declare the existence of rebellion in a province whose praises he sang in season and out of season? We are surprised at his inhumanity in bombing the Punjabis from an aeroplane. Sir Michael's term of office has expired and we ask the Government of India to earn the blessings of the Punjab by sending him home. We understand Mr. Hailey, late Commissioner of Delhi, is being deputed to assist Sir Michael. If the rumour be true we are sure the Government of India are making a great blunder. No doubt the Government of India possess a giant's strength. They must not, however, use it like a giant against their own subjects at the instance of Sir Michael. The issue of fresh ordinances will have the effect of restoring quiet but will not appease the people. Only the repeal of the Rowlatt Law will do it.

Gujaráti (20), 27th Apl.; *Hindusthán* (24), 29th Apl. and 1st May; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 2nd May; *Praja Bandhu* (30), 27th Apl.; *Káthiáwár Samáchár* (71), 30th Apl.

21. Martial law has been proclaimed in the Punjáb as if that province were in a state of war. Even the newspapers, the organs of public opinion, have been suppressed. It is our opinion, however, that a very large majority of the people of the Punjáb are free from blame and that they are subjected to needless repressive measures. Is the Punjáb an enemy country that the shop-keepers are threatened with the forfeiture of their shops if they do not open them? A telegram announces that recalcitrant shop-keepers are to be punished with imprisonment, fine or flogging! We have to rub our eyes to make sure whether we are awake or dreaming of the Prussian soldiery! A telegram states that flogging is being inflicted in the streets of Láhore! Is Gujranwala a fortified city where arms and ammunition are manufactured that it is being bombed from the aeroplane? Cannot peace be restored in the Punjáb without such measures? We do not know who is governing Láhore at present! We do not know whether the various orders issued by Sir Michael O'Dwyer are meant to restore peace in the Punjáb or for suppressing legitimate criticism and political agitation in that province. In his reminiscences Lord Morley has many strictures against such executive orders, but we shall quote them on some other occasion. Now an ordinance has been issued which renders

a man accused of any crime liable to suffer any punishment. God alone knows if this is the beginning of the art of administration—or the end. For man cannot find out. [The *Hindusthán* strongly resents the suggestion made by Anglo-Indian papers for stronger measures for putting down the present unrest. It requests Government to give a careful consideration to the representation made by Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya on behalf of the All-India Congress Committee and to adopt conciliatory measures. In a subsequent issue the paper asks Government to consider the widely different effects produced in Gujarát and the Punjáb by the measures adopted by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd and Sir Michael O'Dwyer respectively and to see that the policy of Sir George is followed in the Punjáb. It suggests that Sir Michael should be sent out of India. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also advocates the use of conciliatory measures in place of the policy of repression adopted in the Punjáb and elsewhere in this country. The *Praja Bandhu* writes:— It is wrongly believed that Bolshevism is at the root of the present troubles in India. Government and the Criminal Investigation Department have been greatly concerned over this question owing to the report that the Bolshevists have sent £25,000 to India. It is quite likely that the Russian Bolshevists might try to extend their sphere of influence to India. But the atmosphere of India is quite uncongenial for the growth of Bolshevism. In reality the unrest is due to the policy of repression adopted anew by Government. It is not advisable for Government to make use of arms and repressive laws in order to remove despondency and allay excitement. Such measures might create an appearance of peace, but in reality there would be no peace and people will continue to lose confidence in Government. The steps now taken by Government to quell unrest are likely to make the people more discontented. The present excitement will easily be set at rest by tactfully taking the people into confidence. It was publicly asserted by many non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council that the Rowlatt Bills indirectly aim at suppressing political agitation besides anarchy in this country. How can then people have any sympathy with an act which has been passed in defiance of the views of the non-official members and on the strength of the official majority? The *Káthiáwár Samáchár* scouts the suggestion that the unrest is due to Bolshevist propaganda and, while asking Government to adopt conciliatory measures, it exhorts the people to be loyal and calm and to refrain from disturbances and bloodshed.]

22. "There is a vague sense of uneasiness and insecurity everywhere. This sense of uneasiness and uncertainty arises not only from the recent activities of the elements of violence and disorder, but from the attitude of Government as well. The atmosphere of hope and confidence has been suddenly changed to one of doubt and anxiety by the recent happenings. It is necessary that the people's confidence and sense of security against the forces of both revolution and reaction should be restored. We must have peace and order and security. But we must also have progress and the fulfilment of promised reforms..... Of course, the immediate and insistent task before Government is the restoration of peace and order. Repression, martial law, and other measures, may be all well and even necessary, in the situation that has arisen. But it would be a fatal mistake to think that, when order is restored with a strong hand, all is done, and Government can afford to go to sleep. A mere negative policy such as this will not do. As the *Observer* points out, a negative policy of firmness will aggravate the difficulties. Side by side with the necessary show of power and the assertion of authority, there must be a policy of concession and conciliation. Some of the recent executive measures have been fearfully drastic. We shall not comment upon their necessity or justifiability. They have been taken and they stand. Their effect upon the minds of the people cannot but be dubious and distressing. That makes it all the more essential to push on vigorously with a programme of liberal and substantial reforms. Action on the promises and pledges given has been too long delayed. It may be that the recent disturbances are due to the irresponsible activities of the malignant enemies of Government and all settled order. But the dilatory or forgotten redemption of pledges has certainly facilitated the work of these malignant agents of

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 1st May, Eng. cols.

anarchy and disorder. Having determined to assert their authority in an unmistakable manner, Government can also at the same time afford to show their good faith and honesty of purpose, by at once inaugurating the measures of reform and progress that have been long overdue. The tense and terrific situation calls for an immediate announcement of a broad and liberal policy of reform. True safety and statesmanship lie in that alone."

Comments on the disturbances in certain parts of country.

O Amigo do Povo Goano (58), 26th Apl., Konkani cols.

23. *O Amigo do Povo Goano* writing under the heading 'Disturbances in India', remarks that the passing of the Rowlatt Bill against the will of the people has given rise to the *Satyagraha* movement, which in its turn has resulted into disturbances at Delhi, Láhore, Amritsar and Ahmedabad..... In the paper's opinion Government should restore order by pacifying the people and not by firing on them and killing them. ..... It then goes on to remark that, in all countries where the people are opposed to the Government or where the Government forcibly carries out measures which are not wanted by the people, disturbances and disagreements between the people and the Government always take place. If, therefore, Government want that the people of India should remain quiet, it should take steps, as early as possible, to conciliate them..... It then gives it as its final opinion that the only way of ending with the present situation is to repeal the Rowlatt Act and not to resort to firing on the people, which will only cause greater resentment and lead to more horrible deeds on the part of the people.

Necessity of inquiry into the Punjáb disturbances.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 2nd May; *Rashtra Hitaishi* (117), 30th Apl.

24. The *Dnyán Prakásh* pleads for an inquiry into the Punjáb affairs and wants all information to be published in order to show to the people that Government were not over-strict out of a vengeful spirit. It does not want the scope of the inquiry to be limited to finding out the causes of the disturbance as suggested by the *Pioneer*. It wants the inquiry to cover also the point as to whether the measures adopted by Government in combating the disorders were proper or not. It is necessary in its opinion to see that people are not needlessly troubled while maintaining peace. It does not think that Government have taken due care in all places. It holds that just as it is necessary to punish the rioters, it is also necessary to hold to account the officials who have misused their power. [The *Rahstra Hitaishi* suggests that the All-India Congress Committee should appoint a Commission to inquire into the Punjáb disturbances, which should prepare its report for the next session of the Congress which is to be held at Amritsar.]

The real cause of the Punjáb disturbances.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 2nd May.

25. Under the martial law in the Punjáb there has been issued an order that wheat flour should be sold at a cheap rate and it is natural for the poor people to feel glad to that extent and to forget momentarily the other harassing points like deportations, arrests, prohibition of meetings, etc., connected with the operation of the Martial Law. It can clearly be seen from this how mistaken it is to term the present conditions as 'rebellion' as is done by Government. There is so much distress among the people that they want cheap grain even though under Martial Law. A special communique has been issued stating that people cry out *Martial law ki jai*! If it be the object of the Punjáb Government in issuing the communique to convey the impression that martial law is popular, it is not only ridiculous but also improper. It is no credit to any Government that people should be so poverty-stricken as to welcome cheap food under any circumstances. The Punjáb Government ought to learn a lesson from it. The cause of the disorder is economic. If that is removed, the chief source of disorder will disappear. Not even the Punjab Government can argue that civil authorities are incompetent and military authorities competent to do it. Whatever be the reason, the Punjáb Government seem to take pride in the fact that Martial Law is being cheered. The glorification of it by the poor falsifies the theory that the Punjáb movement is intended

to overthrow the British Government. The loyalty of the Punjabis is as unbroken and faultless as that of the people in the other provinces.

26. "The present situation agitates the public mind all over the country. The latest ordinance promulgated by the Governor-General is that any offence committed by any person on or after the 30th March may be tried by special commissions under martial law. We thought martial law was meant to apply to society faced with serious disorder; to apply it to *any* person charged with *any* offence would be to place enormous powers in the hands of military commanders. We thought the instinct of British statesmanship was against martial law; and yet there are Anglo-Indian journalists and Anglo-Indian administrators who seem to regard it as an excellent form of administration! 'Rough and ready justice' one calls it; 'martial law,' says another, 'does not by any means necessarily work against the interest of the Indian population.' As an illustration of how the martial law may operate, the reader may recall recent happenings in the Punjáb..... After this one may well wonder if the Punjáb Government lives within the zone of modern civilization. Again, it was under Martial Law that some men were whipped in Láhore streets!..... Yet another illustration of Martial Law is supplied by the following order issued by Col. Johnson at Lahore:— [Here is quoted an order which says that as for the health and greater comfort of the British troops electric fans are required, they may be removed by any officer appointed for the purpose from any college, public building, hostel, hotel, private or other residence, building, etc.] These are not the incidents of which any Englishman can be proud. Is it too much to hope that Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha will assert their authority to put an end to this situation and vindicate British statesmanship at this hour of great stress and difficulty?"

Comments on the working of Martial Law in the Punjáb.
New Times (9), 1st May.

***27.** "Mr. S. G. Vaze of the Servants of India Society writes to us that he wired at noon on the 26th of April a short summary of the Honourable Mr. Shastri's speech at Poona, but the innocent speech was not only delayed in transmission for three days but the Censor went to the extreme length of cutting down a portion of the speech of an honourable member of the Imperial Legislative Council of Mr. Shastri's standing and position. Trust begets trust and especially in these troublesome times, stupid censorship of free expression of opinion of trusted leaders of the people will not help the solution of the problem even a bit. We quote below the portion censored:— 'Judging from this standpoint, he (Mr. Shastri) could not withhold from the Punjab Government his stern disapprobation of the measures being taken by it. The declaring of the martial law, dropping of bombs from aeroplanes, whipping in the public streets were barbarities which they thought had passed away with the autocracy of the Russian Government. Further, some of the most respected of their leaders in the Punjáb were put under arrest. Though with their inadequate knowledge they could not pronounce a verdict on each case, he must say that it was impossible to believe without the strongest evidence of the arrests of the editor of the *Tribune*, Mr. Manoharlal, Mr. Dunichand, and others whom he personally knew, that they were greatly overdoing this part of the business. Instead of bringing back calm, these measures were only too likely to exasperate feelings and create a rankling sense of wrong in the public mind. The Government of India which had too complacently allowed Sir Michael O'Dwyer to take these severe and barbarous measures must have its share of responsibility for the results that would follow. What would be the effects of these outbreaks on reforms? There was no doubt that they would be used to delay reforms. If the Punjab Government had intended to defeat the reforms it could not have acted better than in the way they were now acting. Whatever the intentions of Government, there would no doubt be a tendency to use the present disturbance to baulk the people of the reforms. With the promise which the Viceroy had felt himself compelled to give to the services rendering the position of ministers unbearable and with the increase in salaries which the Secretary of State was granting them, the outlook was already a gloomy one.'"

Mahrátta (8), 4th May.

*28. "Judging from the latest telegrams, the situation in the Punjáb seems to be improving. No fresh riots have occurred, the train, telegraph and postal services are regular, and public confidence in the efficiency of the administration has been restored. When martial law will be withdrawn cannot be surmised : it depends on circumstances. Many ill-informed but well-intentioned persons appear to think that there has been excessive severity in executing matial law. On what basis of fact such statements are publicly made we cannot uuderstand. Those who glibly denounce its severity must not forget the antecedent circumstances which led to its introduction. Those who profess to be horrified by the severe sentences passed by the Martial Law Commission must pay some regard to the details of the charges against the accused. The peculiar mental twist which afflicts Indian politicians prevent them from seeing both sides of any question. They are simply content to assume the worst against Government and pass judgment accordingly."

Sunday Tatler (15), 4th May.

29. "The Punjáb Government could not have committed a worse folly than to sanction barbarous methods of dealing with a misguided mob. It is not hardened criminals or persons whose guilt consists of abnormal moral depravity that they are called upon to punish in times like these when riots, however regrettable they be, are due more or less to follies and credulous faith in secret mischief-mongers. We may detest these inciters behind the curtain as much as we may; but the mob which follows them and commits acts of lawlessness, we have only to pity it. Nothing can be left undone which is required to put down the spirit of lawlessness and restore public peace. But punishments such as are said to have been inflicted, *e.g.*, whipping on the public streets or dropping bombs from an aeroplane on turbulent mobs, appear on their very face to be indefensible. They exasperate the people and the victims begin to be looked upon as martyrs. Acts like these are discreditable on the part of any Government in its dealings with its subjects. What was the necessity for such obviously harsh measures in the Punjáb? Why does not the Government issue a full account of what has taken place in that Province to call for the use of such measures? So far as published accounts go, we think the spirit of terrorism is let loose on the poor people of the Punjáb, and although everything necessary to put down the riots has our fullest support, revengefulness ought to form no part of the considerations guiding the ruler of a Province which has unfortunately erred."

Deccan Ryot (5), 1st May.

*30. "It seems that a systematic attempt is being made by the bureaucracy and by their apologists, the Anglo-Indian papers, to throw dust into the eyes of the British public regarding the real political issues that are being fought in India. The Anglo-Indian papers are straining every nerve to cook a presentable dish to the British Parliament which, guileless as it always is, is expected to lend its support to all the lawless acts of the bureaucracy. They have already conjured up the ghost of Bolshevism in India and are trying to paint the picture in all its hideous ugliness. One paper in Bombay very naively suggested first of all that certain acts of the mob in Ahmedabad and the Punjáb are the sure signs of Bolshevism. In order to furnish proofs for its theory this wise oracle quoted an unathorised and unofficial telegram from the Russian Bolshevic headquarters purporting to convey that the Bolshevic agents have entered India and are carrying on a serious propaganda among Indians. In order that the sinews of war should not be wanting it is also reported that so great a sum as twenty-five thousand pounds which at its highest cannot exceed three lacs and seventy-five thousand rupees, was imported. In spite of veiled hints of the Government communique, no man with a sane head on his shoulders can ever persuade himself to believe that India is at present under the shadow of the Russian monster of Bolshevism. And what do all the arguments advanced in support of this theory amount to? The Anglo-Indian papers see in the recent disturbances an organisation which according to them can be due only to Bolshevic agents. Secondly, they see—to describe it in

Why the bogey of Bolshevism is being trotted out by Anglo-Indian papers.

Mahrátta (8), 4th May.

their own words—that premeditated attacks on lines of communication were made, and this attack according to them is a sure sign of the Bolshevic hand and inspiration. Thirdly, they plead that Europeans alone were the victims of the attack which again according to them indicates nothing but an attempt made to overthrow the established Government. These are the main arguments advanced by those few who are interested in side-tracking the real issues before the country and getting the support and sanction of the Parliament and the British public to their misdeeds. They know that they have to justify their actions before the tribunal of the British public and hence they always keep their one eye towards British public opinion. And in order to enlist that public opinion in their favour and prejudice it against Indian interests this bogey of Bolshevism is bolstered up and they know that their hit is sure to go home because the British public is very sensitive on that point..... However, to us it seems that the Government has sown the wind in the form of the Black Bills and they are reaping the whirld-wind now in the form of disturbances wbich exhibit nothing but intense feeling in whatever misguided channels it may exhibit itself. To this is added the long strain of war, the famine and the economic bankruptcy of the people. The long promised reforms also are slow in emerging into view. The despair and disappointment caused by the non-fulfilment of political promises go a long way in bringing about the present state of things. Under the circumstances the only remedy that suggests itself to us is to do our best to bring enlightenment to the British public of the actual state of things here. At present the British public is being fed on exaggerated accounts of the happenings here. The bogey of Bolshevism also must have been adding its own quota to the volume of alarming news. The news of arrests, deportations, press-forfeitures, and martial law must have drawn a horrid picture of the present state of India. Already the anti-Indian element in British politics is up in arms against us and we must try our best to place before the British public our own view of the matter. There are differences of opinion amongst us, but there is no difference of opinion among the true representatives of public opinion so far as the Rowlatt Act is concerned. The people may be wrong and committing a mistake in opposing the Rowlatt Acts, but it is the right of committing such errors and correcting them which forms the chief element of Self-government. We for one believe that a whole nation can never go wrong and India was not wrong in opposing the Rowlatt Acts. As shown above, there are other grievances also wbch went to swell the volume of discontent, and redress of those grievances can be the only solution of the problem before the country. Let all parties, therefore, join Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, the president of the Indian National Congress, in representing their views to the British public."

31. "The solution of the Indian problem proposed by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford is based on facts which are described at much length in the first part of their famous Report. The whole view of the political situation as depicted there, though well-drawn in a way, is defective in one important point. It fails to present in its real perspective the position which 'hatred of British rule and desire for the elimination of the Englishman' occupies in the political life of India. Further, it assumes, and we think wrongly assumes, that their pious appeals to the educated classes of India to understand aright their 'duty towards agitation' were potent enough to induce those classes to the view of the illustrious authors of the Report. The class which they believe is deluded into the 'belief that the path to independence or constitutional liberty lies through anarchical crime' is described in the Report as being a small class. Its relation with the political section of India, the *intelligentia* of British creation, does not find a place in the view of the Indian situation taken by the writers of the Report. The appeal addressed to the educated class to realise the dangers of a fiery agitation is, it seems, addressed in sanguine hopes of its being heard by responsive ears. This hope and faith which the authors said lay in them was the foundation of their proposals which show signs of being based on mere faith at some of the most crucial points in them. But nobody thought that the mistake which they committed in thus raising a huge structure on the basis of hopes and faiths

The position of Anglophobia in the political life of India.

Deccan Ryot (5), 1st May.

would be so strikingly exemplified even before their proposals assumed the form of a Bill. The anti-Rowlatt Bills agitation and the troubles which it gave rise to illustrate as nothing else could the points we are emphasising. ..... They gave a warning that unrestrained agitation in India where a revolutionary party existed would lead to mischievous consequences. The people of India, they said, were not accustomed to weighing words of fiery and heated speeches. In a country like this, where ignorance is so widespread and passions are easily aroused, they pointed out, it was easy to excite a storm but nothing harder than to allay it. On every one of these points, the educated class to whom they appealed has shown that the hopes entertained by them were unjustified, the 'faith that is in us' was misplaced and the whole advice was lost upon the men for whom it was meant..... Not to mention the attitude of the extremists between whose principles and the Anti-British party there is but an ill-concealed resemblance, have the sober section of the educated class on whom Mr. Montagu seems to have enormously relied, proved that they are capable of rising to the necessary heights of statemanship? Have they shown that the faith in which the Reforms are proposed was justified? In spite of this warning and the prediction of disorder and disturbance as a result of fiery agitation, the Moderates—we do not call them 'leaders' for the reason that they have no followers except perhaps a few shrewd extremists who wish to exploit their gift of the gab for their own ends—entered upon a course of virulent agitation against exactly the measures foreshadowed by the authors of the Report and discharged volleys of 'fiery and heated speeches' against them. They carried on a newspaper controversy as to which of them, the Moderates or the Extremists, in the Council spoke the furiest words. The revolutionaries got their tools ready at hand. Under the 'leadership' of a sincere but unwise personality, they organised an agitation of what they called 'passive' but what one of themselves, Mr. Baptista, describe as 'active' resistance..... Famine already in full possession of the land; the trading classes irritated by the system of control; the middle classes driven to desperation by high prices; Mussalmans smarting under a sense of defeat of their own brethren outside India; the revolutionaries and their sympathisers pressing for the relaxation of the chains which bound down their activities; what could be a more dangerous atmosphere for the use of explosive language by the so-called representatives of India in the Legislative Council?..... What does all this prove? At least it proves that no good could come out of an attempt to revolutionise the Indian polity in the faith that advice given to the educated class would be a sufficient safeguard against the dangers of a hasty change..... Does this further prove that the reforms should be dropped or whittled down to a sham? We do not think so..... In spite of the faults of the educated classes and the ignorance of the masses, we think that reforms of a far-reaching character are not only unavoidable, but eminently desirable."

32. Commenting on the recent meeting of the Bombay Piece-goods Association, the *Hindusthán* writes:—It is regrettable that our merchants cannot peacefully deliberate over even those questions in which they themselves are interested. Whether the Association may come to any decision or not with regard to British goods, we advise the merchants to think twice before giving new orders. India's trade with England will never stop. But in view of the prevailing famine-conditions in the country, it is evident that people cannot buy costly cloth. Moreover, Japan is trying hard to displace Manchester cloth from the Indian markets. To one, who has taken the Swadeshi vow, Japanese goods are no better than British goods. So, it is not for merchants to consider how embarrassing the condition will be if, after buying the large stocks of British goods the cheap Japanese goods come to India and if at that time people take to Swadeshi goods. We have to consider this question not with a view to boycotting British goods but from the mercantile standpoint. It is not possible that under the existing circumstances, one can hope to earn anything by dealing in British goods. If every merchant acts in this question with due regard to his own interests, there

Comments on the last meeting of the Bombay Piece-goods Association held to consider the question of boycotting British goods.

Hindusthán (24), 26th Apl.; *Bombay Samáchár* (62), 28th Apl.

is no need of a resolution from the Association. Much can be achieved even without the Association's resolution if every merchant acts with due regard to his own interest, if not to that of his own country. It does not matter if the Association did not pass such a resolution; but if every merchant refuses to give new orders to the agents for British goods in Bombay, the agents will themselves write to their Manchester Offices about it and then, there cannot but be the desired effect in the proper quarters. [The *Bombay Samáchár*, while advising the Association to deal with this question with due caution and care, writes:—The resolution before the Association has nothing to do with Swadeshi, though it is brought in the name of Swadeshi. On the contrary it brings Swadeshi (as advised by Mr. Gandhi) into disrepute by advocating a boycott of British goods. Till the Indian output of cloth can be sufficient to meet the entire need of India, no such movement can be successful.]

33. "Of the prevailing unrest in the country all of us have had some knowledge, but no one had the slightest suspicion of the state of things in the Punjáb, or of the intensity of the bitterness created by the exasperating and repressive policy of the Lieutenant-Governor of that Province. Unfortunately, no representative of the Punjáb has joined the Congress deputation to England and it is unlikely that any one will be found to represent that Province. Several of the leading men in the Punjáb who could not have the remotest connection with the riots or the outbreaks of lawlessness and violence have been arrested and interned. The delegates who have proceeded to England from other Provinces have no intimate knowledge of the state of affairs in the Punjáb. Punjáb newspapers have been so autocratically controlled during the last five years that no information can be gleaned from them about the causes that have driven the Punjáb, usually so docile and law-abiding, to blind and fierce rebellion and exhibitions of hostility beyond our wildest dreams. All the same, however, we think the members of the deputation have their duty clear before them and we are sure they will perform it without hesitation. They must do everything in their power to bring home to the mind of the great British democracy that the chief source of danger in India is the bureaucracy and the methods followed by it. Disorders can and must be suppressed. India is emphatically a peace-loving and law-abiding country. The riots that have broken out are directly traceable to the autocratic and repressive policy of the bureaucracy. The system of government in India must be changed as early as possible so that India may be a willing and active member of the Empire instead of remaining sullen and resentful. Every delegate of the Congress proceeding to England owes this duty to his country and his people."

The task of the Congress Deputation in England.
Praja Mitra and Pársi, (31), 2nd May, Eng. cols.

34. It is foolish to think that India is not or will not be benefited by English civilization when almost the whole world has been benefited by it. An Indian should bear in mind that he desires to get and enjoy Home-Rule under the British Flag. Moreover, English civilization is based on liberty, justice and humanity. Anyone who understands these facts can never be dissatisfied with the British raj. The Proclamation of Queen Victoria—which brought us peace and prosperity after the troubles and bloodshed of 1857-58 and which has vouchsafed us our liberty in unmistakable terms—has made it obligatory on us to be ungrudgingly loyal to the Crown. That is true *Satyagraha*. In short we can never safeguard the interests and advantages of our country without resorting to moderation.

The interest of India lies in loyalty and moderation.
Akhbár-e-Islám (59), 29th Apl.

35. Mrs. Besant carries the palm in the matter of changing her opinions with lightning speed. When all the popular leaders are against the Rowlatt law Mrs. Besant declares that it is not so very bad! Mrs. Besant's volatility is wonderful but what is still more wonderful is our own simplicity. The present weakness of Modern India in listening to everyone who comes out from Europe is really very pitiable.

Mrs. Beasant's change of opinion regarding the Rowlatt Act.
Jagriti (46), 26th Apl.; *Rashtra Hitaishi* (117), 30th Apl.

[The *Rashtra Hitaishi*, while acknowledging the past services of Mrs. Besant to India, suspects from her recent doings that she must latterly have been suffering from dotage. It remarks that it would not feel surprised if some day she, on the strength of her occult powers, accused some particular persons of entertaining rebellious sentiments.]

Protest against certain prohibitory action taken by the Mamlatdar of Karad (Sátára) against the Satya Shodhak Samáj.

Din Mitra (102), 30th Apl.

36. The *Din Mitra* complains that the Mamlatdar of Karad (Satára) recently issued an order under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code prohibiting an instructive concert of the Satya Shodhak Samaj and a speech by one Anand Maharaj on the ground of obscenity and likelihood of causing ill-feeling between different communities. It declares that the allegation of obscenity made by the Mamlatdar is false as the songs to be used in the concert are taken from a book published long since which has never been hitherto objected to. It also points out that a meeting recently held at Kále in the same district by the Satya Shodhak Samaj ought to have convinced the authorities that the members of the Sabha do not try to cause ill-feeling between different communities. The paper, therefore, hopes that the Collector will look into the matter and take steps to pacify the minds of the people which have become excited by the action taken by the Mamlatdar.

Alleged ungentlemanly conduct of a European military officer towards the President of the All-India Marátha Conference.

Jágriti (46), 26th Apl.

37. The insulting behaviour of some Europeans towards Indians is one of the root-causes of the present unrest in India. While Mr. V. M. Pawar, Bar.-at-Law, President of the All-India Marátha Conference held at Wardha (Berar) was returning to Bombay in a second class carriage, a European military officer entered his compartment and tried to eject him by force. Some delegates to the conference who were travelling by the same train arrived on the spot and explained to the officer who Mr. Pawar was. The officer felt ashamed and tendered an apology which Mr. Pawar declined to accept. We trust Mr. Pawar will drag him to a court of law.

Comments on the order passed against Moulvie Leakat Hussein not to speak publicly for a year.

Kesari (109), 29th Apl.

38. Referring to the order served on Moulvie Leakat Hussein under the Defence of India Act prohibiting him from speaking in public for a year the *Kesari* writes:— Whether Moulvie Leakat Hussein obeys the order or elects to go to prison again is a separate question. But any patriot would be beside himself with rage witnessing the police determination not to allow one who had once incurred the wrath of Government to remain quietly in his house. The British Empire would not have toppled down if the police had waited a few days and seen what would be done by the Moulvie, taking into consideration his age and imprisonment till now. It would be the height of persecution to take legal steps against one in the black books of police, before he does anything bad. How can subjects trust the words of officials who say in open council that they have not misused and they will not misuse the laws when the Police thus often persecute terribly even before an offence is committed.

Comments on the refusal of the Government of India to release the Ali Brothers.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 2nd May.

39. Government certainly erred in refusing the release of the Ali Brothers, who, it seems, are innocent and outspoken in their views even now. The question of the Khaliphate has caused considerable anxiety to the Muhammadans at large; and whatever may be their differences in other matters all of them are unanimous and united in urging the retention of the Turkish Sovereignty. This unanimity and union makes it all the more necessary that these two brothers—the advocates of 'patience and prayer'—should be released, lest the Muhammadans might be misguided in their demands in the absence of their wise leadership. Such leaders never deviate from the constitutional course in carrying on their agitation and their help cannot but be useful at a time like the present. The paper quotes with

approval the passage from the brothers' letter to His Excellency the Viceroy in which they ask for passports so that they may migrate 'to some other land where to be a believing Mussalman and an ardent patriot is not considered a crime'.

Protest against the entrance of non-Musalmans in mosques.
Political Bhomiyo (74), 2nd May.

40. The *Political Bhomiyo* strongly objects to the presence of non-Moslems in mosques and warns the *Satyagrahi* Musalmans, few as they are, against doing anything that would bring the whole community in disrepute. It calls upon the community to hold protest meetings in order to express its disapproval of the acts of a handful of *Satyagrahi* Musalmans, who are supporting that movement in the name of the community and who have caused the pollution of the mosques by admitting non-Moslems therein. It also appeals to the Muhammadans as well as to Government to take legal action against those who desecrated the mosques.

The chief reason of the bad social relations between Englishmen and Indians is the political inferiority of the latter.
Jám-e-Jamshed (27), 28th Apl.

41. The new Reform Scheme will bring the educated Indians in closer touch with our British Rulers; and so it is necessary that the relations between these two should be more friendly that they are at present. In order to effect this, some correspondents of the *Times of India* have proposed the establishment of schools for teaching English etiquette to the uneducated Indians. According to our humble opinion, however, it is more necessary to have schools for the English themselves—especially for those of them on small salaries—in order to teach them to behave politely with Indians by giving up their antipathy to the black skin. The difference in the political status of the Indians and the ruling community is the principal cause of such an undesirable attitude of the latter towards the former. All the special privileges, therefore, which make up this difference in the political status, should be done away with and the idea of the Englishman's superiority over the Indian must be discouraged and discountenanced.

The situation in Egypt and India.
Gujarátí (20), 27th Apl.

42. There is unrest in another part of the Empire and that is in Egypt. There is no peace in Egypt, but if it is affirmed that there is peace in that country it must be said that that peace is dependent upon the rifle and the bayonet. There is a great similarity between the affairs in Egypt and those in India. Lord Morley from the very beginning has said that both the countries are being governed on similar lines and that officials have all along been asking for more powers to keep the people in check and that the officials in both the countries have been making harsh use of their powers. In the past the capitalists in England paid no heed to the requests and representations of labour; but since labour has resorted to strikes and violence, the authorities have had to yield to their wishes, be they reasonable or otherwise. It would be very queer indeed if any one were to believe that the Indian people are not influenced by the happenings in other parts of the world. True statesmanship and diplomacy consist in appreciating the present situation, educating public opinion and leading the people towards the path of peace, and not in centralising power and assuming a threatening attitude towards the people.

Comments on the Provincial Conference at Ahmednagar.
Kesari (109), 29th Apl.

43. The *Kesari* holds that the Ahmednagar Conference was a successful one and that it was so because Mr. Baptista was in the Chair. His ideas were, in its opinion, such as were in agreement with the political sentiments of the people. Like Mr. Tilak, Mr. Baptista, says the paper, holds that the time for s curing political rights is drawing near and that Parliament will not reject India's claims if a united demand is made. The Conference condemned the outrages in the Punjáb and Gujarát and the *Kesari* points out such outrages will neither win over the local officials or overawe the British people. However it does not think that the outrages constituted a rebellion and holds the

Rowlatt Act, deportation of leaders and detention of Gandhi and the Delhi shooting affair responsible for the disorders. It adds:—The Ahmednagar Conference condemned the repressive policy of Government along with the All-India Congress Committee. Everybody admitted that *Swarájya* would not progress unless peace reigned in the country. No doubt disorders in India as in Egypt would draw the attention of the statesmen in Paris but such attention would not be to the advantage of *Swarájya*. Like the officials in Egypt, the Government of India also will have to admit their mistake and withdraw the Rowlatt Act. The Act should be repealed as early as possible. British statesmen will naturally ask the Government of India to explain why India so useful in times of war became disturbed as soon as the Rowlatt measure was forced upon it and they will want the measure to be withdrawn and conciliating measures to be adopted. In order that such things may not happen, England has been informed that Bolshevism has affected the country. In these circumstances the Ahmednagar Conference recommended the weapon of boycott to the merchants and the people in order that the attention of the British people may be drawn to the Rowlatt evil. There is no question of racial hatred in this matter. The weapon is to be resorted to after waiting patiently for three months. The Ahmednagar Conference attained a special importance of its own on account of Mr. Baptista's speech and the boycott resolution.

44. A Khed (Poona) correspondent writes to the *Dnyán Prakásh* :—The chief reason why people do not get extracts from the Record of Rights soon lies in the fact that there is no rule requiring the Talatis and Patils to furnish the same within prescribed time. I have further to suggest that these extracts may also be made available through the Mamlatdar without whose orders no unregistered document should be allowed to be entered in the Record of Rights. The Record of Rights would be kept more efficiently if Talatis were appointed as far as practicable to places to which they do not belong.

Complaint of undue delay in giving extracts from Record of Rights.
Dnyán Prakásh (41), 30th May.

45. Commenting upon the demand recently made by some white colonists in British East Africa that Indian immigration into the colony be restricted the *Rájakáran* says that the colonists do not want the very men who have freely shed their blood for the greatness of the Empire. It is the height of baseness on the part of the white settlers, the paper remarks, to wish to exclude Indians who have helped to win the war.

Indian immigration in the British East Africa.
Rájakáran (116), 27th Apl.

46. "The public mind in Karáchi and the Province is agitated. The atmosphere, unfortunately, is full of whispers, and in whispers they ask—what is the meaning of the arrests and house-searches and the charge levelled under section 124-A? We are afraid the Commissioner's recent speech is based on exaggerated police reports; it is certain that not an honest Indian but regards it as anything but a correct interpretation of the situation; it has been received with surprise and regret even in circles known as 'Moderate'. Unfortunately, there are few to give the Government their frank opinion at this time; somebody must do the disagreeable duty of speaking honestly at the present hour of Sind's need; and the *New Times* does it in the hope that better counsels may yet prevail, and a wider and a sober outlook on the present situation secured by the local Government..... The Commissioner's speech referred to 'plotters'!..... Are there *facts* to justify the Commissioner's view that 'plotters' have deemed it wise to postpone violence to a more convenient season? Vague imputations will not help in creating that atmosphere of comradeship which is essential to our political and social development. That there has been politcal agitation in recent years is a fact; and that agitation has been mainly sustained by the Home Rule League and the *Satyagraha* Sabha neither of which is declared unlawful by Government. Nor is it

Reflections on the political situation in Sind.
New Times (9), 27th Apl.

difficult to understand why this agitation had been carried on with vigour during the last few years..... Sind has maintained its political sanity through all the years of 'agitation'. Why then these arrests? We offer no comment on the cases, as they are *sub judice*; but we are afraid the conduct of the police has not been unobjectionable in two of the cases we have in view. We refer to Mr. Durgadas' unnecessary detention under arrest at the Hyderabad Railway Station and to Mr. Narsinglal's detention in police custody without letting him know the nature of the offence for which, or the sections under which, he was arrested. Nor do we, looking at the matter from a commonsense point of view, understand why Mr. Durgadas has been refused bail; even Mr. Tilak was let off on bail when charged with the offence under Section 124-A. We earnestly ask the authorities to set themselves to conciliatory methods; let not the remedy prove worse than the disease. Sir George Lloyd's method of dealing with the situation in Bombay should prove equally effective in Sind."

Comments on the house searches and arrests in Karáchi and Hyderabad (Sind).

New Times (9), 30th Apl.

47. "The situation in Sind is developing quickly; it may be hazardous to put in an honest word for the good name of Sind in these times; but the *New Times* must speak the truth, and it cannot help thinking that the local Government has blundered in embarking on its present policy. Hyderabad has had its turn after Karáchi; houses have been searched and arrests made. A redeeming feature of this deplorable affair is that the men arrested have—all but one—been released on bail; and we may note, in passing, that the Karáchi public is pleased at the release of Mr. Durgadas on bail. Mr. Kemp's conduct is appreciated. But we fail to understand why Mr. Marrivala's application for bail has been rejected. We cannot comment on the cases as they are *sub judice*; but we wish to say, as emphatically as we can, that the recent policy initiated by the local Government has met with strong public disapproval, and will not meet the needs of the situation. A liberal policy is needed to pour oil on troubled waters; and the earlier it is initiated, the better for the future of this Province..... The local Government has, we are afraid, trusted too much to the reports—misreports—of interested or ignorant individuals; let it look into the situation carefully, and it will know that the heart of Sind is sound..... The tragedy of the Punjáb should have its lessons for us all; and it would be a big blunder to do anything which may create on the public mind the painful impression that the door is closed in Sind on traditions of British freedom and British justice."

The Peace Conference.

Gujaráti (20), 27th Apl.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 3rd May; *Hindusthán* (24), 2nd May; *Bombay Samáchár* (62), 3rd May.

48. President Wilson, M. Clemenceau and Mr. Lloyd George seem to have overlooked the constitution of human nature in their scheme of the League of Nations and we are therefore afraid that it will merely be a nine days' wonder for all that. Is there no need of safeguarding the interests and giving guarantees for the safety of nations other than France? Why should freedom and the right of self-determination be guaranteed to the European nations alone? Why should the European nations be granted the right of keeping non-European nationalities in bondage? It seems, therefore, that the Christian nations of Europe—nay, the whole world—are actuated by selfishness and are striving for political ascendancy. The telegrams which are being received of late in connection with the Peace Conference do not lead us to think that the proposed peace will be founded on justice or will secure the real peace of the world. The terms of the treaty which Germany is expected to sign have been made as harsh as possible and Germany is being intimidated into signing it. Germany will have to suffer the consequences of the war for at least fifty years to come. So the peace will sow the seeds of disunion. Bolshevism is running amock in Russia. We are of opinion that mere economic distress is not at the root of Bolshevism but that centralisation of power and its misuse have also contributed to it. There should be no indemnities and retributions. There should be freedom of trade and every nation should be free to develop its own resources after its own manner. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* is grieved at

the difference of opinion arising in the Peace Conference over Italy's claims and expresses a hope that Italy will yield in the long run and that the allied nations will not allow Italy to urge its extravagant claims. The *Hindusthán* feels confident that the differences of opinion that have arisen in the Peace Conference will be settled before long and that the world will surely enjoy a spell of peace at least for a score of years to come. The *Bombay Samáchár* is also confident that agreement will ultimately prevail in the Peace Conference and that the difference of opinion over the Italian question will be amicably settled.]

MUNICIPALITIES.

Complaint that Municipal school-teachers have not been granted war allowance.
Kesari (109), 29th Apl.

49. "A suffering teacher" writes to *Kesari*:—The war allowance has been sanctioned for the teachers in the Local Board schools; but nothing has been decided as regards Municipal school-teachers. Some Municipalities are prepared to grant it but most of them have refused it for 'want of funds'. If Government are bound to supply Local Board teachers to the Municipalities, why do they not see that such teachers get from the Municipalites all the advantages they enjoy under the Local Boards? Similarly why should not Government sanction full grants to the Municipalities? If the Municipalities consider the expenses of their teachers to be too heavy they should hand over their schools to Government. Government should now either compel the Municipalities to grant the war allowance to their teachers, or allow them full school grants or take back their teachers. The issue of a Press Note by Government assuring the grant of war allowance to Municipal teachers will remove the anxiety under which they have been labouring.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 9th May 1919.

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*Reported in advance.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 10th May 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. "There must be deep sympathy felt for Lord Chelmsford's increasing difficulties. No administration since the time of Lord Canning has proved more anxious and strennous. The situation is certainly not relieved by the unsettled condition of Afghanistan. At a time when the internal administration of the country has become a matter of the utmost delicacy, this new distraction must prove most embarrassing. Whatever our political differences may be, all India will rally round the Government to repel any attempt at overrunning any portion of the Indian soil..... Whether by policy or by temperament, Amanullah has become an agent of mischief; and for the peace of India, Government will have to take order with him. His defection is serious, more from the moral effect it might have upon the Muhammadan States of Central Asia and upon the wilder elements in India itself, than from its own direct menace to India. The Amir can equip and mobilise about a hundred thousand men. The Afghans are by nature and training stubborn and eager fighters. They are said to have about 450 guns and 30 howitzers from Krupp's. Fighting and killing is a game to which they have no aversion; so that the Afghans would not be an easy foe to dispose of."

Comments on the invasion of India by Amir of Afghanistan.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 9th May, Eng. cols.

2. "The Amir of Afghanistan is on the war-path, and skirmishes between him and our army have actually taken place on the frontier. Why the Amir is rushing headlong on a career which is sure to ruin him has not been sufficiently made clear..... But whatever the reason of these hostilities may be, it is quite certain that the Amir, weak as his forces are in numbers and equipment, cannot stand the shock of British military strength for a long time, and will have to yield or be ruined. The catastrophe has been sought by him—and this is the worst of it—and what he has sown he will reap a hundred-fold. All the same, it is very unfortunate that when the minds of our Muhammadan brothers are being tortured by the projected dismemberment of Turkey, this new War with the only living independent Muhammadan power should come about to make their minds more sore and anxious. We hope that the Amir will be well advised to withdraw his forces from the frontier, and be loyal to the treaties entered into by his father with the British Government." [The *New Times* remarks:—"The news from the frontier is very disquieting..... What made the Amir to change his mind so soon and even to entertain the idea of leading an army against India, we are yet unable to understand..... We assure the Viceroy that Indians will support him whole-heartedly in his policy of keeping the frontiers inviolate. We trust the trouble will soon be over, and will not involve the country in a costly and prolonged war."]

**Mahrátta* (8), 11th May; *New Times* (9), 9th May.

3. The young Amir has made his people believe that the fertile soil of India and its rich cities can be won in no time and that the Government of India are powerless to defend them. God has not endowed the sturdy and simple-minded mountaineers of Afghanistan with the faculty of judment and they have fallen victims to the bait of securing large booty from India..... The Government of India hinted to the Amir that they were willing to attribute the incidents on the frontier to the folly of his officials. But he would not listen to reason since he had made up his mind to fight against his well-wishers. The cessation of the great war had filled the minds of Indians with hopes of plenty and this fresh calamity will sorely disappoint them. It will again put their loyalty to the test but they have no other alternative but to discharge their duty at this time.

Indu Prakásh (44), 9th May.

4. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* says that no one knows as to what the ultimate result will be of this Afghan invasion. In the the opinion of the paper this war as is the case with all wars will cause a breach in the public peace. At a time when a worn-out world has just emerged

Mufid-e-Rozgár (140), 11th May.

from a horrible war, it is not without any danger for the eastern world to embark on a new war. The English press has always erred by considering the enemy to be of no account and even in this case it has underrated him. In the opinion of the paper it is a mistake to put down the strength of the Afghan army at 60,000.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 8th, 9th and 10th May; *Hindusthán* (24), 9th May; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 8th May; *Bombay Samáchár* (62), 10th May; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 8th and 9th May; *Shri Venkateshwar* (82), 8th and 9th May.

5. While thanking the Government of India for the communique they have issued in the matter of the disturbance on the Afghan frontier, we hope that they will be in no hurry to take any drastic steps and will content themselves with taking only defensive measures. There is a great risk involved in taking possession of Afghanistan and extending the Indian frontiers as far as Russia, as it is not improbable that Russia might make common cause with Germany some day in future. In these circumstances, we wish that this occasion of a fanatical outburst on the part of the Amir of Afghanistan will not be availed of to carry war into the heart of Afghanistan itself. In these times good relations should prevail between the rulers and the ruled and we hope Government will think of the advisability or otherwise of pursuing the policy now adopted in the Punjáb. If the present policy is persisted in in the Punjáb it will result in weakening the people and the Government alike. [In a subsequent issue the paper urges on Government the desirability of withdrawing martial law from the Punjáb with a view to conciliating public opinion in the country and declares that the Afghans have perhaps precipitated hostilities owing to the excitement caused by the uncertainty as to the fate of Turkey and the Khaliphate and suggests that a pronouncement on the question will not only pacify the Afghans but tend to sooth the ruffled feelings of the Muhammadans all the world over. In a further issue the paper expresses the hope that the Government of India will see their way to win over the Afghans by assuring them of their friendship before launching upon an expensive war. The *Hindusthán* expresses confidence in the prowess of the British to protect India and believes that the Amir will very soon have reason to repent the hasty step he has taken in invading India. It asks the people of India to be staunch in their loyalty and to help the British to drive away and crush the foreign enemy. It also urges upon the Government the necessity of conciliating public opinion by repealing the Rowlatt legislation and putting an end to martial law and other repressive measures in the Punjáb and other parts of India. It is of opinion that the recently rumoured financial help given by the Bolshevists for brewing trouble in Asia must surely have gone to Afghanisthan and it considers it likely that the present trouble is due to Bolshevist propaganda. The *Sanj Vartamán* declares that it is nothing short of madness on the part of the Amir to think of invading India and believes that he will be taught a bitter lesson in no time. It also assures Government of the unswerving loyalty of the Indian people. The *Bombay Samachár* also exhorts the people to help Government and feels confident that the Amir will be soon brought to his senses. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also suspects Bolshevism to be at the root of the Afghan trouble and, while expressing confidence in the strength of the British to subdue the enemy, asks the people to be staunch in their loyalty and to help Government. The *Shri Venkateshwar* also expresses confidence in the British Government and assures them of the loyalty of the Indian people.]

The British Government should treat Turkey with generosity.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 11th May.

***6.** "Though not directly intrested in the matter, His Majesty's non-Muhammadan Indian subjects would heartily associate themselves with the Government of India in their anxiety to see this business settled in a manner to satisfy the reasonable desire of their Muhammadan countrymen. Indians, Muhammadans and non-Muhammadans, are fully aware that the final decision does not rest with the British Government alone. But what we would respectfully submit for the consideration of His Excellency the Viceroy is that the Indian people should be told of all the efforts which have

been and are being made to persuade the Peace Conference to adopt a settlment of the Turkish question, which will be recognised by intelligent and well-informed Muhammadan opinion as a real effort to meet the cherished sentiments of the Islamic communion in India. We all know that Great Britain did her best to keep Turkey out of the war and that it was a clique of political adventurers who plunged the country into it. Now that this clique has wrought its own ruin with that of Turkey, it will be generous on the part of the Powers to give this ancient Empire, with satisfactory guarantees regarding freedom and good government for the non-Muhammadan races under its suzerainty, a fresh chance in the great era which is opening to all the world."

The Indian Muhammadans, the question of the Khaliphate and the Holy Places of Islam and the Peace Conference.
Al-Amin (133), 29th Mar.

7. After referring to the facilities afforded to the Jews to represent their case before the Peace Conference, *Al-Amin* remarks:—This affords a painful contrast to the misforfune of the seven crore Moslems of India who have not even been admitted to the Peace Conference, in spite of their repeated clamours, although their interest in the Holy Places of Islam and Islamic countries obviously entitles them to take part in the deliberations of that body. The cries of the unfortunate, weak and helpless Muhammadans have proved to be cries in the wilderness and their impotent complaints have been ineffectual before the political sagacity of a self-sufficient Government. Why it should have been so it is not difficult to understand, bearing in mind what M. Tardieu said the other day, *viz.*, that France has no objection to Britain establishing its suzerainty in Palestine on behalf of the League of Nations. Whether Palestine is given back to the Jews, whether Constantinople is ceded to Greece and whether the British rule over Babylonia and the French over Syria, these nations must remember that Muhammadans thoroughly understand their distribution of territory among European nations, no matter in what form it is presented to them. The Peace Conference must understand that the political institution, which it is bringing into being under the name of the League of Nations, and which is nothing more than a new weapon for dominating over weaker nations, does not give promise of a long life dissatisfying as it does the 40 crore Muhammadans of the world.

Advise to Musalmans to await the fate of the Turkish question patiently.
Akhbár-e-Islám (59), 6th May.

8. Referring to the question of the Khaliphate, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* declares that the Muslim feelings in this connection have created the desired effect on Government and that they have been giving their sympatethic consideration to it. It refers to the assurances given by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay to the Sind Muhammadan Association as also by the Government of India in the Legislative Council and states that the Muhammadans should not require anything more than these assurances to satisfy them and that they should now patiently await the result without any further agitation. It also draws the attention of the Musalmans to the wise counsel given by the Ali brothers to their community and observes that if in spite of this wise counsel any Muhammadans, being misguided, show any sign of discontent they will lose the help even of God and the prophet.

Italy and the Peace Conference.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 5th May; *Sánj Vartaman* (33), 3rd May.

9. Italy's persistence in her demands has put England and France in a very awkward position. President Wilson has refused to yield to the demands of Italy. For reasons both political and economic, England and France do not like to displease either; but upto this time, they have not been able to please both of them, Italy and America, equally. Evidently America is more just and reasonable than Italy and so it is not wise for England and France to side with Italy as against America. A similar difficulty has arisen with respect to China and Japan. Japan has taken undue advantage of

China's weak position during the war-time, and means to persist in her demands in case Italy's demands are conceded. This may raise a greater difficulty for England. Moreover, though the Allies are in a position to suppress Italy successfully, it is doubtful whether they can do the same easily with respect to Japan as she is well-equipped both with men and money. [The *Sdnj Vartman* writes:—All the nations of the world will be gratified to know that President Wilson has strongly protested against the improper claims of Italy. It appears from the President's manifesto that he refuses to conclude peace on any unjust principles. England and France also lend their full support to President Wilson and so Italy cannot succeed in securing her claims.]

Comments on the rumoured retirement of His Excellency the Viceroy.

Hindusthán (24), 8th May.

10. There have been various conjectures as to who will be the new Viceroy. From these conjectures some people infer that Lord Chelmsford does not mean to complete the full term of his office. We do not know how far this inference may be true; but if Lord Chelmsford wants to go, the people of India will not solicit for his retention in this country any longer. After Lord Hardinge, his career as a Viceroy has in no way proved beneficial to the Indian public. No doubt, his name is associated with the Reform Scheme, but we know that Mr. Montagu has played a prominent part in that Scheme. Our chief concern, however, is to think of the persons whose names have been suggested as the likely successors of Lord Chelmsford. We hear Sir Douglas Haig has expressed a desire to succeed the present Viceroy. It is natural that he should do so; but he should not be appointed as the Viceroy of India on the same grounds on which Lord Morley refused to appoint Lord Kitchner to the Viceroyalty. Military Officers are never successful as administrators. India wants in future a sympathetic and liberal Viceroy, like Lord Hardinge. If the British Government will appoint a military man like Sir Donglas Haig to be the Viceroy, we will have to suppose with regret that England is wanting in political leaders. We have no reason to believe that England will commit such a mistake; but all the same, the suggestion of Sir Donglas' name should be protested against.

Comments on the deportation of Mr. Horniman and the suspension of the *Bombay Chronicle*.

Home Ruler (6), 3rd May.

11. "We very much regret the deportation of Mr. B. G. Horniman, the talented editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, by the Bombay Government, presumably under instructions from the Government of India and the suspension of the *Bombay Chronicle*..... However, Mr. Horniman's deportation to England at the present moment will have some good results, as the present is an opportune time for him to be in England in view of the policy pursued in this country and the approach of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Bill in the Parliament. We have some reason, therefore, to rejoice at this action of the Government to force one of our leaders to leave India and enlighten the British people on the most urgent problems of the country."

Sind Vasi (55), 30th Apl.

12. We were completely dismayed by the news of the deportation to England of Mr. Horniman, editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, by the Government of Bombay. It goes without saying that Mr. Horniman was a severe critic of the Government but criticism is not hostility, it is rather friendliness. Nor should there be any apprehension of disturbance or disorder from such men; they are rather a great help in suppresing disorder. Mr. Horniman was looked upon as a leader and the Government creates trouble for itself by its policy of running in leaders, because it is leaders who stand by it at critical moments. Mr. Horniman has now been sent off to England but there too he can and will render great service to our country. We cannot at the same time help expressing our sorrow at the discontinuance of a newspaper like the *Bombay Chronicle*. We do not quarrel with the Directors for stopping publication of the paper, having regard to the conditions laid down by Government.

*13. "We said in our leading article on Mr. Horniman's deportation last week that "the summary deportation of an Englishman apparently for no other offence than that he espoused the Indian cause, not always wisely, perhaps, but, there cannot be the least doubt, whole-heartedly and thoroughly, is a measure which no Indian publicist can view with equanimity." Commenting on this, the *Times of India* wrote on Thursday as follows: "Those who were readers of the *Bombay Chronicle* in recent days will be able to judge for themselves whether it is fair to suggest that Mr. Horniman was deported for mere espousal of the Indian cause....." It is necessary to clear the ground by recalling that there were three orders dealing with Mr. Horniman and the *Bombay Chronicle*..... The *Times of India* wishes us to understand that the reasons for the deportation are to be deduced from the issues of the *Chronicle* forfeited with the security under the Press Act. But while the Press Act prescribes forfeiture of security as a penalty for publishing objectionable articles, it does not, so far as we know, authorise the deportation of the Editor as an additional penalty. The Legislature has laid down a certain penalty for a certain offence. That penalty has been exacted, and the offence has been purged. No other publisher whose security was forfeited—and there are many such—has been deported..... The public, under the circumstances, cannot help concluding that the fact of Mr. Horniman's being an Englishman has something to do with this exceptional order of deportation passed on him. But, it asks, was Mr. Horniman the only English editor of a newspaper in India addicted to strong language? It sees that there have been and there are others who are no less addicted to it. The only difference is that they employ it adversely to the feelings and aspirations of the Indian people, while Mr. Horniman employed it in support of such feelings and aspirations. The only way in which the feeling in the public mind conveyed by our remark can be dispelled, is by Government publishing a full statement of the reasons which led them to deport Mr. Horniman, in addition to imposing the censorship and forfeiting the security of the *Chronicle*. There cannot ordinarily be three punishments for the same offence under two different enactments..... The *Times of India* is merely repeating the official opinion when it says that the Rowlatt Act 'can hurt none but those who think they have a right to pursue the methods of anarchy and revolution' and that 'no honest journalist has the least fear of the Press Act.' These are not the opinions of Indian publicists..... The Press Act is regarded by the vast majority of Indian newspapers as an engine of oppression. In these respects, the *Chronicle* was not guilty of any more heinous offence than we and other Indian publicists have been guilty of. We are not prepared to say, and we have never said, that Martial Law was needlessly or prematurely introduced in the Punjáb and Ahmedabad. An Indian gentleman from the Punjáb published an account of the origin of the disturbances in Amritsar and Láhore which conveyed the impression that the situation could have been saved at the outset without recourse to martial law. His statements are entitled to as much weight as those of any Englishman, official or non-official. But a Government in the position of the Punjáb Government has to be supported, however little we may like it, in an emergency like the present one, and only an independent investigation can show how the troubles originated and if they could have been avoided by tactful handling of the situation. If the *Chronicle* had indulged in a paroxysm of wrath without any more information than was available to the general public it was certainly wrong and even culpably reckless in so doing. But it is not a penal offence to indulge in a paroxysm of wrath, and if editors are to be deported for that reason, none of us can be safe. And we do not see that it is a very serious offence to say that the Punjáb Government was in a mood of wrath and panic. Many people, not exclusively Indians, have a suspicion that the Punjáb Government has been over-doing it a bit. We have outlived the divine right of kings, and surely we are not going to be called upon to acknowledge the divine right of Lieutenant-Governors. We are not called upon to defend or justify everything that the *Chronicle* wrote on recent or remote events, and indeed, we had pointed out in our paragraph on the censorship last week that our contemporary was often given to violent language. There are, however,

Indian Social Reformer (7), 11th May.

certain occasions when it is a sin to refrain one's tongue or pen from strong words, and the whipping of persons in the public streets of Láhore was one of them. If Mr. Horniman had been put on his trial, the world would have been in a position to know what defence he had to make of his conduct. The verdict of a journal, however eminent, is not a valid substitute for a verdict of a judge and jury. The defect of deportation as a penal measure is that you do not give the accused person an opportunity of defending himself..... We are not satisfied by the *Times of India's* elaborate indictment, that the deportation is justifiable for the reasons given by our contemporary. We do not seem to be alone in this matter. Mr. B. J. Padshah, the distinguished scholar, educationist and industrial organizer, who had declined to sign a representation on Mr. Horniman's deportation because he did not know the reasons which actuated Government to order it, sent word to the editor of this journal, after reading the *Times of India's* article—and expressly authorized its publication—that if the reasons given therein were all that could be urged in defence of the deportation, he could not help concluding that the deportation was without justification."

*14. "By the deportation of Mr. Horniman without an open trial, and without giving out even a plausible excuse, Government has created a condition of life wherein the freedom of speech and press exists only by sufference of the authorities that be, and it is but meet and fair that such life should be despised by any self-respecting patriot. All those who glibly talk that honest men should not fear are out of court when people have before them an example of a man of eminence spirited away without even a mock show of trial or without even a semblance of justification in the order of deportation except the mysterious words 'prejudicial to public safety'. People cannot believe such a justification proffered by Government, and it is the bounden duty of every civilised Government to put their case before the people. If the people are to be kept in the dark as to the motives of Government, then it naturally follows that the people are justified in putting their own construction on, and in constitutionally protesting against, a state of things which is fraught with the danger of the loss of individual freedom any moment. It cannot be argued also that Mr. Horniman's case stands alone in the field. What is oppressive to one is oppressive to all and we have similar instances before our eyes. But even granting that it is an individual case, all freedom-loving people are duty-bound to protest against even a single oppressive act..... What then may be the reasons that are underlying the action of the Government in this case? Surely the motives that actuated them must be taken for granted to be the purest. But what is the criterion, what is the test, that people can easily apply and get themselves satisfied? There is none. We, therefore, appeal to Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, to get himself satisfied as to the justification of the order of deportation. If he sanctions this deportation of Mr. Horniman, before being satisfied, he will surely be transgressing the limits put by his political *Guru*, Lord Morley. In his *Recollections*, Lord Morley clearly put definite unmistakable limits on the powers of deportation when he warned Lord Minto that he would not sanction deportation 'except for a man of whom there was solid reason to believe that violent disorder was the direct and deliberately-planned result of his action'. If Mr. Montagu is satisfied that the principle, as laid down by Lord Morley, is strictly observed both in letter and spirit, he may sanction the deportation; but if not, he owes it to his high office, to the Indian people, and to his conscience to cancel the order and allow Mr. Horniman to return to India..... We are fortunate in having at the head of the administration of Bombay a person like Sir George Lloyd whose restraining influence is felt everywhere. We appeal to His Excellency to take the people into confidence, and publish the reasons that prompted Mr. Horniman's deportation."**

Mahratta (8), 11th May.

15. "Mr. Horniman was deported on the 26th April last and Bombay has remained calm, not because its citizens love him less but because they love him so well that they could not trust themselves in these times of excite-

Young India (16), 7th May.

ment not to be betrayed into acts of anger if they gathered in their thousands at meetings of protest..... Mr. Horniman has been deported under the Defence of India Act. Under it only those who are a danger to the State, that is, those who are suspected of complicity in revolutionary crime can really be deported. Now even his worst enemies would not accuse Mr. Horniman of cowardice or hypocrisy. He believed in calling a spade a spade. He never concealed his opinions about men or measures and he would not have hesitated to declare himself a revolutionary if he had believed in revolutionary movements. And yet we have never known him to support revolutionary or anarchical crime. The Government have produced nothing to show that Mr. Horniman ever supported revolution or anarchical crime..... The bundling a man out of the country without previous warning or notice reminds us that the best of us can only retain their liberty on sufferance. But the deportation is not merely an insult to Mr. Horniman; it is an insult to the whole of the Bombay Presidency if not to India..... Probably the Government did not know what hold Mr. Horniman had on the affection of the citizens of Bombay or probably the Government knew this fact and therefore sent him out of Bombay. In our opinion the Government have committed a grave blunder in thus wounding the people's feelings..... Nor have the Government stopped at the deportation. By their order of pre-censorship they have effectively stopped the publication of the *Bombay Chronicle*. We have seen the extracts from the *Chronicle* which were objected to by the Government and which have formed the basis of the order of pre-censorship. We believe that the extracts in question do not travel beyond the bounds of just and fair criticism..... The order of pre-censorship, coupled with the order of forfeiture of security, almost betrays a spirit of revenge. In these circumstances our down duty is clear. We shall hope, so far as lies in our power, to fill the void created by the suspension of the *Bombay Chronicle* and to carry out its best traditions.

16. "Whatever grounds the authorities may have had for passing the orders that they did against Mr. Horniman, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, and the paper itself, it cannot be denied that their exit from the sphere of their hitherto activities is a distinct loss to the national cause in general and to Indian journalism in particular. We say so advisedly because during the last six years Mr. Horniman and the *Bombay Chronicle* have rendered valuable service to the public cause by their fearless advocacy thereof and by boldly ventilating their grievances with a view to get them redressed. That a public journal like the *Bombay Chronicle* should not be in the good graces of the authorities one can easily understand..... Deplorable as the step taken by the authorities is, there is every probability that Mr. Horniman will be able to continue the work begun by him in India in England where he has been deported under the orders of Government."

Praja Bandhu (30), 4th May, Eng. cols.

17. "The action of the local Goverement in deporting Mr. Horniman, whether it is inspired by the Imperial Government or not, has dealt a severe blow to the public life of the Presidency..... His fault, if fault it be called, was that he followed out logically all the doctrines and principles laid down by the statesmen who brought the Empire to victory regarding the aims and objects of the war. The war was fought for the principles of liberty and justice and for the rights of smaller nations, at least this was what we were given to understand by all the statesmen from Mr. Lloyd George downwards. Mr. Horniman clung to these principles through thick and thin and would not allow any tampering with them. He was thus acting as a sort of good conscience for the Government. But, unfortunately, many of us do not like the twitchings of conscience and would like to leave it off for a time at least. The deportation of Mr. Horniman would have been by itself a public calamity, but it is a greater calamity as it is accompanied by putting the *Chronicle* under a censor..... No Government in the world can hope to govern to the satisfaction of the ruled unless there are free and outspoken journals of public opinion from which it gets light on the views of the people..... Does the Government of Bombay seriously believe that the views of the

Hindusthán (24), 4th May, Eng. cols.

people of the Bombay Presidency are and will be represented by the two Anglo-Indian papers of Bori Bunder and Dalal Street? If it is not under that delusion, what medium will it select for getting these views, without which it is impossible to govern well? With due respect to all our vernacular papers, one must say that even they cannot express the views of the public with as much frankness as the *Chronicle* did. Looking to all these circumstances, the Government will, we hope, mitigate their terms of censorship and allow the *Chronicle* or some other daily paper to be floated successfully again."

18. Had Government appreciated the comments made by the *Bombay Chronicle* they would never have had to take recourse to the deportation of Mr. Horniman. We are grieved at the deportation of Mr. Horniman when he was in a weak state of health without giving him timely warning to enable him to attend to his private affairs. A man of Mr. Horniman's type is at present badly needed in England and we hope the editorship of *India* will be made over to him. [The *Arya Prakásh* deprecates the step taken by Government against Mr. Horniman and exhorts the people of the Presidency to raise a protest against the order while maintaining law and peace. The *Hind Vijaya* also deplores Mr. Horniman's deportation and hopes that he may be soon restored to India. In its English columns the *Gujarát Mitra* considers the action taken by Government as justifiable in the abnormal circumstances in which the country is placed and declares that ignoring the situation would have exposed Government to grave dangers. In the Gujarati columns the paper implies that the step taken by Government is a drastic one to which they have been driven by considerations of public safety in the abnormal conditions prevailing in the country. The *Kaira Vartamán* reiterates the views expressed by the *Gujarát Mitra* in its vernacular columns and adds that it was a blunder on the part of Government to have deported Mr. Horniman. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* on the other hand declares that Mr. Horniman disregarded all warnings given by Government and pursued a reckless course of unbridled criticism and that Government had no help but to deport him. It asks other Extremist papers to profit by Mr. Horniman's example and not to use imflammatory language in the interests of the country. It exhorts Muhammadans to refrain from the *Satyagraha* movement and not to mix up and prejudice the question of the Khaliphate by their participation in political agitation of an objectionable kind.]

Gujaráti Punch (22), 4th May; *Arya Prakásh* (17), 4th May; *Hind Vijaya* (68), 7th May; *Gujarát Mitra* (21), 4th May; *Kaira Vartamán* (70), 7th May; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (27), 4th May.

19. However much the people of this country may have advanced in civilization, their liking for the ancient custom of suspending business and observing a *hartal* whenever a particular grievance is to be redressed at the hands of Government is still the same. A *hartal* may have any effect on the Government or not, but people consider it fit to observe a *hartal* in order to show their feelings on a particular question, and we have no doubt that the people of Bombay will observe the *hartal* and fast as asked by Mahatma Gandhi. We hope the public will pass through this ordeal without even the least disturbance to the public peace. We have to be true to the confidence reposed in us by our Governor, who, in spite of other Governments' restrictions on Mr. Gandhi's movements, has not interfered with his free movements in our Presidency. It was only in deference to the orders of the Imperial Government that he was obliged to take steps against Mr. Horniman, though he himself was opposed to it. [The *Sánj Vartamán* asks the public to observe the *hartal* in a real *Satyagrahi* spirit and warns them against doing anything that would sully the fair name of Bombay. It ascribes the present liberal policy of the Bombay Government to His Excellency the Governor and considers it very fortunate that among his councillors there is at this juncture an Indian who is a real friend and well-wisher of the people and who has been all along using his influence zealously in maintaining the prestige of this Presidency and its people. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* does not approve of the method of expressing sorrow by observing a *hartal* and doubts the effectiveness of

Hindusthán (24), 8th May; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 10th May; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 6th May; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 10th May.

such a method. It declares that the *hartal*, if at all it is to be observed, must be restricted to the *Satyagraha Sabha* alone. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* fully agrees with the *Jám-e-Jamshed* and exhorts all Musalmans to dissociate themselves from it. It earnestly desires that all such acts of the so-called *Satyagraha* may soon cease once for all.]

20. Referring to the account published in the newspapers by Mr. Azad, Barrister-at-Law, of the manner in which the order for deportation against Mr. Horniman was carried into effect, the *Kesari* says that the account clearly shows how harshly Government treat even political prisoners of high standing, and that the order was so hurriedly executed that Mr. Horniman was not allowed time even to dispose of his private matters or to send word to his friends, and that it was with the greatest difficulty that Mr. Azad could secure even a five minutes' interview with Mr. Horniman on the steamer. The paper then gives a translation of Mr. Horniman's "inspiring message" to Indians, and expresses the hope that the country will respond to it and go on with its efforts to achieve *swarájya*.

Kesari (109), 6th May.

21. Mr. B. G. Horniman's deportation and the consequent stoppage of the *Bombay Chronicle* will not fail to give a shock to everyone associated in any way with the *swarajya* movement. It is evident from the notice served on Mr. Horniman that the order for his deportation emanated from the Government of India and that the Government of Bombay were concerned with its execution only. The Government of India have made a bad mistake, in making the life of the *Bombay Chronicle* dependent upon the will of the Censor and in deporting Mr. Horniman while he was still an invalid; and in our opinion, the Government of Bombay also is not entirely free from blame in this repect. It is not necessary to point out to Government the need, at a critical time like this, for a journal of the type of the *Bombay Chronicle* which reflected true popular opinion. History teaches that the policy of showing a bait in the shape of reforms accompanied by one of repression has not succeeded anywhere in the world. In future at least Government should adopt only such measures as will ensure real peace in the country and thus earn the blessings of the people.

Sudhakar (124), 4th May.

22. It is better to imagine than to describe the pain felt by the people on account of the stopping of the *Bombay Chronicle*. But Government should not forget that the embers of patriotism will blaze all the more. What was the offence of the *Chronicle* and its Editor? It is the duty of Government to prove their guilt. Government will themselves point out the wrong path to the people by issuing an autocratic order instead of following the open way of proving the offence in the law court. The *Chronicle* may disappear as a result of the Government order. Its editor may leave India. But the ideas spread by him among the people will not disappear. [The *Shubhodaya* writes:—Why was there so much fuss? Mr. Horniman did not teach people sedition. He condemned the Rowlatt Bills, but they are sinners who did not protest against the Bills. Mr. Horniman did not act contrary to the orders of Government. In India quite a different policy is followed. Even if the bureaucracy dances naked like a devil people must say:—'Oh! What a nice dance!' The law says the actions of Government may be legitimately criticised. But the officials do not like well-based criticism if any one makes it believing in what is said in the law. What they do not like, Government consider unholy.]

Karnátak Vaibhav (85), 29th Apl.; *Shubhodaya* (91), 2nd May.

*23. "We cannot but emphatically protest against deportation on grounds of principle. We know it is an arbitrary weapon susceptible of great abuse. But we think that even principles have exceptions. And in the case of Mr. Horniman the exception is, we have to say it out, justifiable. There is no denying the fact that we are passing through exciting times when the feelings of the people, even in Bombay, are 'as quiet as gunpowder'..... That Mr. Horniman was like an enkindled match near

Subodh Patrika (48), 11th May, Eng. cols.

gunpowder no sane person, who has witnessed what happened on the 11th of December last year, can fail to conclude, if only he does not allow his feeling to get the better of his reason. We ask those, who are prone to talk cant and shed crocodile tears over the exit of Mr. Horniman, whether they would advise Government to wait till they had witnessed scenes in Bombay similar to the one they saw in front of the Town Hall in connection with the Willingdon Memorial Meeting. Knowing as we do, how things are going on in other parts of India, should the Government here not take care betimes that the fury of the mob may not be let loose once again, thousand times more intensified, because of the strained feelings already in existence? Was it not better that the hand and the brain that had played such mischief in the past, should have been stayed in the swiftest, quietest and the least inconvenient manner, both to the owner of them and the Government, from setting mischief on its errand once again?..... We have not the least doubt that if the *Satyagraha* movement were not piloted by a man of the honour, integrity and temper of Mr. Gandhi, under the guidance of Messrs. Horniman and company it would have burst out into a conflagration that would have made severer measures inevitable. We have only to turn over the columns of the *Chronicle* during the last three years, and especially since the return of its editor to power as the sole dictator and boss of the show, to see how they had systematically lent themselves to be bespattered with dirty and absolutely irresponsible correspondence such as no self-respecting editor would have allowed to go in..... It was the excess of his own method that undid Mr. Horniman and the paper which helped him to become a leader of those whom he had himself advertized and patented as the young lions of Bombay..... While thus we cannot but think that Government did what was the best and the only course possible under the circumstances in the matter of deportation, we cannot think that it acted wisely in not giving the *Chronicle* a chance to return to sanity and moderation under a new pilot. Pre-censorship is very invidious and to a paper of the status of the *Chronicle* it cannot but be intolerable. Government could have waited and seen how it was being conducted when it was given a warning to turn over a new leaf by the deportation of its former editor."

Comments on the *hartal* for Mr. Horniman.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 12th May; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 12th May; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 13th May.

***24.** The *Sánj Vartamán* deprecates the attempt made by certain Anglo-Indian newspapers to show that the *hartal* was a failure and, while declaring that last Sunday was observed as a day of mourning by Hindus and Muhammadans alike, writes:—Mr. Gandhi deserves the credit for the passing of the day in peace. We have also to thank His Excellency the Governor and his advisers for allowing us to observe the *hartal* without any interference and without requisitioning the Police and the military in large numbers. The conduct of the Police on the day was worthy of praise. Bombay has done its duty towards Mr. Horniman in such a manner as would redound to its own credit, and it has set an example to the rest of India. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* also thanks His Excellency Sir George Lloyd for allowing the people of Bombay freedom to observe the day in the manner they thought proper in honour of Mr. Horniman and considers the trust placed by him in the people as a fresh example of his wise statemanship. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* believes that the passing of the *hartal* in peace was due to the joint efforts of Mr. Gandhi, his followers and the Bombay Police. It is of opinion that the participation of Muhammadan merchants in the *hartal* was greatly due to their desire to maintain their friendship with the Hindus who persuaded them to join it and declares that eating-houses and shops situated in Muhammadan localities were not closed on the day.]

Advice to the Muhammadans not to take part in the *hartal* for Mr. Horniman.

Akhbár-e-Islám (59), 10th May.

25. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* in a handbill issued as a supplement to the issue of the 10th May writes:—Mr. Gandhi has issued a communication asking the people to observe a *hartal* on Sunday next. We do not want to discuss what kind of editor Mr. Horniman was or whether he was a man worthy to become a journalist. However, we do not think that Mr. Gandhi and

his followers are right in asking people to observe a *hartal* for all and sundry and thus lowering its solemnity, if it has any. We do not know if there were any special virtues in Mr. Horniman besides this that he was a good penman and that he made a free use of his pen and money according to his whims. Granting for the sake of argument that Mr. Horniman was actuated by honest motives in wielding his pen; was any *hartal* observed for other editors who wielded their pen in the interests of the people and who came under the disfavour of Government? If Mr. Horniman has discharged his duty he has done so in return for the fat monthly remuneration he received. If a man who is paid for his work attains some measure of success in his work, we cannot for that reason take him to be an angel. The Muhammadans also took part in the last *hartal*, but we see no necessity of publishing at this stage the reasons of their so doing. Have not other editors of newspapers rendered service to Islam by writing articles in connection with the question of the Khaliphate? Should the Muhammadans consider themselves as under special obligations to Mr. Horniman? The Muhammadans will thus see that there is no foresight or wisdom in observing *hartal* for Mr. Horniman, and we hope that they will hold themselves apart from the farcical movement and will get themselves appreciated at their proper worth. If the Muhammadans read the Quran tomorrow according to Mr. Gandhi's instructions they are likely to harm the cause thereby. Mr. Gandhi advocates, as it is the Quran's express injunction to its followers, to obey the orders of God and His prophet as also of their rulers. It is clear, therefore, that the followers of the Quran will not be so foolish as to observe the *hartal* in opposition to the orders of Government inasmuch as the order of deportation of Mr. Horniman was issued by His Excellency the Viceroy. We would, therefore strongly urge every true Muhammadan to abstain from taking part in the *Hartal* and thus carry out the commandment of God and His prophet.

*26. We hold that we have nothing to do with Horniman or with *hartal*. Why did not the Musalmans observe *hartal* or go to the mosques when it was announced by the European press that St. Sophia should be taken from Sultan Wahiduddin Khan by force and turned into a Greek Church? Horniman has no connection with us, and he has rendered no service to Islam. The followers of *Satyagraha* alone should go on strike and ruin their business. The general public need not join them. [Elsewhere the paper wants to know whether *Satyagraha* means that the Muhammadans should give up certain duties enjoined by Islam. It strongly objects to pulpits of mosques and Muhammadan cemeteries being used by the Hindus for orations, and exhorts Musalmans to abstain from permitting non-moslems to do such acts.]

Mufid-e-Rozgár (140), 11th May.

27. "We can all admire self-immolation and penance as means to spiritual strength, spiritual purity and self-realization. But as an imposition given to multitudes of people, we cannot, frankly enough, understand its efficacy. ..... It is easy to give advice as to what one should not do. But to give advice as to what one should do, wisely, well, and effectively to large masses of people without opening the door to inevitable mischief is the hardest of tasks. It is the task of a true statesman. And no saint—and such we consider Mr. Gandhi to be—can cope with it. Evidently Mr. Gandhi missed his vocation when he exchanged the life of a recluse for that of a politician."

Mr. Gandhi should not have turned a politician.

Subodh Patrika (48), 4th May, Eng. cols.

28. The *Anavil Sevak* while exhorting the public to join the *Satyagraha* movement writes:—Every nation has a right to enact laws for itself; but no nation can do the same for other nations and so if one nation enacts laws for another nation by force they cannot deserve the sacred name of law. Only those regulations can be called laws, which are passed with the consent of the people on whom they are to be enforced; in the absence of such a consent, they are mere repressive orders. Such

Exhortation to Indians to join the *Satyagraha* movement.

Anavil Sevak (60), 31st Mar.

orders can be enforced only on slaves and only slaves respect them. No liberty-loving man ever respects a wrong order. Moreover, the king and his officers are bound to carry on the administration with due deference to the public opinion as they exist for the benefit and happiness of the people. The above named three natural rights (of maintaining self-respect, of making laws, and of having a government for the benefit of the governed) of the nation are being robbed since many years past, as a result of which, the people, who ought to be in a princely state, are reduced to the state of a pauper; and the officials, who ought to be in the position of servants, have become masters. In a district, the powers of the Police Superintendent, the Assistant Collector and the Collector are like those of a king. There, what the head of the Police Department says, is gospel truth for the civilians, and to execute the civilians' orders is like a commandment to the head of the Police Department. Thus the nation is being ground between the two stone of a grinding-mill, as a result of which, the nation, originally in the state of wheat, is reduced to the state of flour; but still to reduce it from the state of flour to the state of fine flour, have come the two stones of a grinding-mill in the form of the Rowlatt Bills, No. 1 and 2, of 1919. For the thoughtful section of the public, such a state is unendurable; rather than passing life under such a state, the thoughtful class feels greater joy in sacrificing life and everything belonging to it for the sake of remedying that state—nay, in such sacrifice alone they believe lies the fulfilment of the object of their life. For every liberty-loving thoughtful man, such an occasion of sacrifice has now come; and every true Indian will not fail to contribute his quota of sacrifice in one way or the other at the altar of *Satyagraha*. The bureaucracy would not like to part with their powers, and the people, being conscious of their self-respect, cannot remain under subjection. The bureaucracy have got powers, arms and the military on their side; the people have apparently got nothing of these, and yet they have everything and much more if they can realise their own power and strength. In the world the greatest power is that of the people. Where the people and the Government work in opposite directions, the Government cannot but yield to the people in the end; and where the Goverment hesitates to yield (to the wishes of the people), there the authority of the Government is reduced to mere name. Russia and Germany are instances which prove this principle. In India, whenever the bureaucracy want to do anything at its pleasure, it consigns the threefold public opinion of this country—the elected members of the Councils, the public and the press—to the waste paper basket. Such a thing happens only in this country and the reason for it is the indifference of the people. In consequence of their indifference, the people of this country have to suffer humiliation not only in foreign lands, but even in their own country they have to live a life of humiliation. The Indian nation has passed many years in such a humiliating state; but as everything has its end, this state, too, has reached its climax. Now, the people of this country are becoming conscious of the fact that death is infinitely preferable to a life of humiliation. For many years past the nation has been thinking as to how it can mantain its self-respect, but nothing practical has come of it. Fortunately for this country, there exists a heroic man like Mahatma Gandhi at present. He considers the present occasion on which the Black Bills are passed by the official majority against the opinion of the entire public, to be an extra-ordinary occasion, owing to which, there has been unexpected unity in the whole country; now the present occasion must be fully availed of. The people have now to demonstrate, not by words but by their conduct, that there are not thirty-two crores of statues or slaves in this country but they are men like those in other countries, that they, too, have feelings and commonsense and that their feelings cannot be slighted as if they were fools. Mahatma Gandhi says that the people of this country have to choose between life and death—life means the life with self-respect and death means the life of humiliation. The people should either sacrifice their everything at the altar of *Satyagraha* and should thereby live the life of self-respect or should get themselves gradually burnt on the pyre of humiliation. They have to choose between the two; on their choice depends the existence of the present and future generations of the nation.

29. We would respectfully draw the attention of Mr. Pratt to the consternation that has spread among the people of Ahmedabad owing to the searches and arrests that are being made by the police in the city. Many mill-hands are running away from the city and many mills have had to be closed in consequence. We are afraid this will have an adverse effect on the price of cloth. Many merchants are trembling in their shoes and they do not conduct their business with their usual enthusiasm. We see signs of fear in the faces of people and they do not know what will happen to them. Such a state of affairs should be met by an assurance from the Commissioner and a careful handling of the situation by the police. The help of respectable citizens might be taken to reassure the people and the persons arrested should be released on bail without undue detention. A mixed Commission should also be appointed to try the people who have been arrested.

Alleged panic in Ahmedabad owing to police searches and arrests.
Gujarâti Punch (22), 4th May.

30. "Ahmedabad has paid the penalty in having two hundred men more or less seriously wounded by buckshot or bullet and fifty killed as against one member of the police killed and another hurt. We have reports however of daily arrests throughout the affected area..... We entirely fail to see the prudence or the necessity of arresting mill-hands and others of the general crowd in the hope of finding out those who might have taken part in the operations of the mob. According to the reports received by the press, the mill-hands for fear of being arrested are leaving Ahmedabad with the result that the mills are working half strength. Surely those who are in charge of the prosecutions cannot desire complete dislocation of the trade in Ahmedabad or a state of panic under which the people are living..... In order that real peace might be secured, it would be far more useful to inquire into the causes of the unrest..... The popular belief is that the Government is responsible for the unrest and dissatisfaction that undoubted exist throughout India. The Government may if they wish ignore the real causes. They may ostrich-like refuse to see the real danger in front of them..... With the sad experience that the public have of the misuse of the Defence of India Act, the Press Act and such other legislation granting extraordinary powers to the executive, the public need no embellishments to induce their condemnation of the Rowlatt legislation. No amount of Government pamphleteering and Durbars to explain the position, can possibly satisfy the public mind. We know that it has only added to the irritation. The flouting of public opinion is a most potent cause of unrest."

Young India (16), 10th May.

31. "It is clear that the Government have extended the term of office of Sir Michael O'Dwyer not merely because it would be undesirable to change horses in midstream, as some Anglo-Indian newspapers would fain have us believe, but because, according to them, a strong man is needed for the maintenance of peace in the Punjab at the present time, and in Sir Michael they have an ideal Lieutenant-Governor of the type of 'material law and no damned nonsense.' No similar confidence is felt in his successor, who is known for a mild and gentle man. The *Times* has blurted it out. Taking up its peculiar role of a candid friend, the journal remarks: 'There are times when plain speaking is required, and it is necessary to say that Sir Michael O'Dwyer's successor does not possess the same qualifications as he for dealing with open rebellion. It is essential that Sir Michael O'Dwyer be asked to remain at his post at present.' Without a doubt the ruler of the Punjáb is possessed in a supereminent degree of those gifts which the *Times* ascribes to him. He can be trusted to repress disorder with an iron hand as few else can be trusted, and if a display of strength were the only quality desiderated in the Punjáb satrap at the present crisis, the wisdom of retaining Sir Michael's services till he has effectually extinguished all signs of disorder cannot be questioned. But we do not believe that a relentless administration of material law is all that is required in a

Comments on the telegram sent to the Premier by the committee of the Moderate Conference regarding the unrest in the Punjab.
Servant of India (10), 8th May.

disturbed state of the country. If the capacity for a large-hearted sympathy and imagination is particularly required at any time it is on the occasion of a serious crisis like the present. We have only to imagine to ourselves what disastrous consequences would have ensued if, instead of Lord Canning being at the helm of affairs at the time of the mutiny, there was a man who was endowed with a double dose of those qualities of which His Honour of the Punjab is such a splendid example. If, as fortunately things fall out, it is time for Sir Michael to lay down his office and if Sir Edward Maclagan, appointed to be his successor, also happens to possess just those qualities which are now called for, it is not the part of wisdom to delay the commencement of the new regime even by a single day. For very much depends upon the personal qualites of the head of Governmant at such a time, and the past record of Sir Michael is such that the mere extension of his rule longer than the prescribed span would by itself excite strong suspicion in the public mind. It is not, therefore, without a proper appreciation of the advantages and disadvantages of such a course that the Moderate Party's Conference came to the deliberate judgement that Sir Michael's headship of the Punjáb should terminate. The people of this country are invited to have an implicit faith in the declaration of Government that they are faced with open rebellion, and those who betray any critical spirit towards the uncommonly harsh measures that are taken to suppress disturbances are looked upon as unfriends of Government. The Anglo-Indian prints are for the moment ringing with a denunciation of the Moderate leaders, whose particular office it would seem to be to support Government through thick and thin. It is nothing to the Government that the Moderates warned them in good time against the blunder which they committed in passing an obnoxious legislation. They might disregard the warning and, by a sequence of events, bring upon themselves trouble of a serious nature And yet when they use brutal repression to put it down, the Moderates must not even suggest inquiry and when things like an insurrection, rebellion, and revolt, are talked of, they must not call for evidence. There is no one among the non-officials who is safe enough to be taken into confidence and no sort of indication can be given which would induce the conviction that there is a pressing danger. The Moderates see that men of an eminently meek disposition and perfect honour are being spirited away, and yet they must cherish the belief that the Governmeut are acting wisely. Few there are in either of the Indian political parties who will not run to the succour of Government when they see that the life of the State is in peril and will not support the extreme use of force to avert the evil, but it is difficult of credence that a conflagration of the character of open rebellion has all of a sudden burst upon the country. In such a state of things it becomes impossible for Moderates, to whom most unctuous appeals are being made for co-operation, not to entertain grave misgivings of the necessity or wisdom of many of the measures that the Punjáb Government are taking. The Moderate party did well to denounce the severity of the measures which on the facts published everyone must regard as greatly exceeding the needs of the situation. They, therefore, ask for a full statement of fact so that whatever justification there may be for the application of force may be known to the public. They also request an open and independent inquiry into the outbreaks, including the measures taken by Government..... The reports that are coming from the Punjáb about the violence of measures used are of grave import. Practically all mob violence has now ceased, and things are restored to their normal state. It is now only the excesses committed by authorities in the exercise of force—we must regard them as excesses in the light of the information available—that are heard of. In these circumstances it is the duty of Government, if they care for their fair name, to make a full and explicit statement on the situation, and they will find that if the measures are reasonable, however strong, there will be no lack of popular support and co-operation."

The All-India Congress Committee's cable on the political situation in India.
New Times (9), 6th May.

32. Commenting on the cable sent by Pandit Malaviya, on behalf of the All-India Congress Committee, with regard to the situation in India, the *New Times* remarks :—"The case for India from the Indian standpoint cannot be more soberly and more succintly put. The Government of India in their resolution of April 14 attribute

all the unrest to the 'unscrupulous' agitation against the Rowlatt Bills; but the Government should have probed the causes of the present unrest deeper. It is the duty of Indian leaders to place before the British and Indian public the chain of events which ended in the deplorable riots; and this is what the Panditjee's telegram seeks to do..... The situation calls for that statesmanship which animated the British Government and the Indian people in their recent struggle for the maintenance of the liberty and freedom of peoples against the domination, militarism and ruthless repression of the Central Powers. May we hope that Lord Chelmsford may yet display the qualities of statesmanship which the occasion demands?"

Comments on the situation in the Punjáb.
Sind Vási (55), 26th Apl.

33. Complaining of the harshness of the various orders issued in the Punjáb under Martial Law the *Sind Vási* remarks:— All this shows that the Government of the Punjáb do not possess the knack to deal with the present situation. The orders that have recently been issued are not calculated to make people sincerely loyal. On one occasion Lord Morley wrote to Lord Minto "I will not accord sanction to any deportation until I have been satisfied that there is evidence sufficient to show that a certain disturbance actually occurred because of the man in question." Now we ask whether such evidence was available in the so many cases of deportation in the Punjáb. If it was, why is it not disclosed? Here our officials seem to think, as witness the threat given by the Commissioner in Sind in his recent speech, that rigorous punishments alone can meet the situation. Lord Morley however thought differently. According to him rigorous punishments rather pave the way for the bomb. The Government of India and the Provincial Governments will do well to bear in mind the wise words of Lord Morley.

New Times (9), 2nd May.

34. "The sentences passed under Martial Law against the Láhore rioters take one's breath away. Nine have been sentenced to transportation for life and their property forfeited for dealing harshly with a C.I.D. official and for acts of rioting. We cannot think the accused would have been so severely punished if they had been tried in an ordinary court of law and we believe that justice must be tempered with mercy. It is true the L. G. reduced the sentence in the case of some to imprisonment for 10 years; but even this punishment is too severe in all conscience. Is this the way to bring peace to the Punjáb?"

Home Ruler (6), 3rd May.

35. "Now what is the reason for a people declared only the other day by the same authority to be profoundly loyal and peaceful to have been driven into an open state of rebellion against the authority of the Government? There must be something fundamentally wrong either with the much advertised efficiency of the Government or the profound loyalty of the people. But the latter is dependent on the former and is simply a natural and logical outcome of it. For a Government really efficient and popular must have loyal and contented subjects. We are thus logically brought to the conclusion that the much advertised efficiency of the Punjáb Government is simply a myth; otherwise it should not have to make such a degrading confession. Any way the matter requires a thorough investigation and we urge upon the Imperial Government the necessity of appointing a Commission of officials and non-officials to enquire thoroughly into the whole question as early as possible."

Sudhakár (124), 4th May; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 8th May.

36. The recent arrests made under the Defence of India Act seem to show that Sir Michael O'Dwyer has made up his mind to drive out of the Punjáb all national movements conducted by Extremists and Moderates alike. The present policy of repression has considerably alarmed the people of the Punjáb and they have even begun to doubt whether they are under the benign rule of England or under that of the anarchy-ridden Russia. The Honourable Mr. Bannerji, Pandit Malaviya and others have petitioned the Viceroy and the Prime Minister that the accused in the recent disturbances

in the Punjáb may be openly tried before an unofficial commission instead of before the Martial Law commission. Heaven knows how many men will fall victims to the Martial Law before a reply is received to their prayer! [The *Indu Prakásh* writes:—The prestige of Government will not suffer if they show mercy. The present Government is freely doing what Lord Canning hesitated to do in 1857 when rebellion had actually broken out. Lord Canning received from his countrymen the epithet of 'Clemency Canning'; but historians are of opinion that Lord Canning's policy was largely responsible in establishing peace. We earnestly pray that Government should display similar statesmanship and abolish military rule in the Punjáb.]

*37. "O'Dwyerism is running riot in the Punjáb, and, if the account given by a respectable gentleman of the Punjáb in the *Leader* is true, then it must be said that un-British militarism is stalking abroad in the land of those who shed their blood to crush German Militarism, 'Compulsory Salaaming' to British officers, brutal flogging in the public, hand-cuffing, of respectable barristers, arrests of gentlemen like Professor Manoharlal, Dr. Gokulchand Narang and others, censorship of the Press, and severe punishments for comparatively minor offences by the Martial Law tribunals are the order of the day, and every one of these un-British measures is, we are afraid, unhinging the faith of the people in the British justice. The guilty must no doubt be punished, but whatever the local officers in the Punjáb may say, people will never believe that men like Dr. Narang and Professor Manoharlal, who are passed as Moderates, can be guilty of any incitement to violence or of any other offence. The arrests of these and similar genlemen speak volumes against militarism in the Punjáb, and have removed the last traces of sympathy with Sir Michael O'Dwyer's difficulties."

Mahrátta (8), 11th May.

*38. "We call the attention of the Government of India, and especially of the Education Member, to the letter which we publish in another column from Mr. C. F. Andrews. The resolutions prescribing the Rowlatt Act as a text book to be taught in schools is said to have been arrived at a Conference of principals of colleges and head masters of schools presided over by Dr. Ewing, late Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University. With all deference to these Punjab educationists we venture to think with Mr. Andrews that this resolution is a dangerous and degrading innovation in the history of Indian Education. The Rowlatt Act cannot be taught honestly by any teacher without reference to the arguments advanced for it by the officials and against it by non-official Indians. Is it intended that the students in the Punjab schools and colleges should be taught that their countrymen who presented a solid opposition to the Act in the Imperial Legislative Council were fools or knaves, and that Sir William Vincent, Sir Verney Lovatt and Sir George Lowndes have the monopoly of political wisdom? We would also point out to the Government the danger involved in compelling teachers, who may not share the official view of the Act, to give lessons inculcating that view on the students at the risk of the displeasure of their superiors. This is a direct incentive to hypocrisy, and if this innovation is tolerated by the Government of India we may as well cease to speak of the development of character as an end of Indian Education. What would Dr. Michael Sadler think of this when the news reaches him in England? What would Mr. Fisher think of it?"

Comments on the proposal to teach the Rowlatt Act in Schools and Colleges in the Punjab.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 11th May.

39. "If sedition is the charge against Mr. Roy, he should, we think, be tried under the Press Act before ordinary Courts of Justice. Not being involved in the riots, we fail to understand why he should be subjected to the 'rough and ready justice' of a Martial Law Court. The case is adjourned to the 14th. We trust the authorities will see the justice of having Mr. Roy tried by Civil Magistrates.

The Editor of the *Tribune* should be tried under the Press Act and not in a Martial Law Court.

New Times (9), 9th May.

40. Those who are delighted with the cries of *Martial law ki jai* in the Punjáb do not seem to have paused to understand its real significance. It means nothing but Bolshevism. The people are thus prepared for Bolshevism by means of martial law! The reasons, as given out officially, that have actuated people to cry out *Martial law ki jai* are the same as are at the root of Bolshevism in Russia, and the officials, therefore, may thus be said to have themselves introduced the contagion of Bolshevism among the people. How can then martial law be said to have created a good effect on the illiterate masses? If the authorities in the Punjáb are delighted with the cries above referred to, they, in our opinion, are unable to think properly. We are constrained to say that the present policy will aggravate the economic distress in the country. We hope Government will place no reliance on the rumour about the Bolshevists having sent money to India to create disturbances in the country.

Martial law is creating Bolshevism in the Punjáb.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 6th May.

41. "We know of a Missionary School in the mofussil where the children are indoctrinated with the idea that it is their duty to salute every European they meet, because he is 'a representative of the King-Emperor.' As the local colony was not averse to the business of acting as 'the representative of the King-Emperor,' it generally developed the notion that not to be 'salaamed' argued defiant manners, if not furtive treason against the 'British *Raj*'. We are reminded of this congenial practice of drilling people into habits of loyalty—towards the *Raj* of course—by the report from the Punjáb, which we publish elsewhere, where the *Sahib log* exact salaams from all and sundry on pain of instant reprisals. Armed to the teeth, they may well disport themselves among defenceless inhabitants demanding other forms of abasement, and satisfy themselves regarding the loyalty of the people, their contentment and general enlightenment on the Black Act. The educated classes were recently reported to be sullen. We hope the idea is not even remotely suggested by the comparative indisposition they are liable to evince in the tribute of automatic salaaming."

Alleged enforced salaaming of Europeans by Indians in the Punjab.
Young India (16), 10th May.

42. Parts of India are in a very bad plight now. We curse the day when the Rowlatt Bill came into the country, a Bill which has brought disturbances in its train. All India is now uuder the stigma of sedition. The agitation which the people have started against the Act is being dealt with by the authorities as if it was sedition. We think that this is a great blunder on the part of the authorities. If it is sedition to demand a right or to express one's resentment at a wrong then surely no country can be free from it. Indeed, every Indian, no matter what his creed may be, realises and acknowledges that the British connection is good not only for England but also for India. What we are anxious about at the present moment is that the present situation may be eased. In order to effect this, a good understanding between the Ráj and the people is a necessity. The people have done their part in that even a man like Mr. Gandhi has for a time suspended the Passive Resistance movement and has worked heart and soul to restore order. There has been no disturbance since he suspended his work and it is not likely that there will be any hereafter. The attitude of the Ráj, that is our officials, however, has taken a peculiar turn. In several places arrests, searches and deportations have been ordered. Having regard to the excitement in the country there may be some excuse for the repressive attitude of the Government. But it must be remembered that those who rule a country must keep their heads cool. Even here in Sind which is a proverbially quiet country, and which even during the present troubles has been as free from excitement as no other part of India has been, even here the authorities have, one does not know for what reasons, ordered several arrests and searches. In such a province as Sind it is not proper to employ repressive measures. We beseech His Excellency Sir George Lloyd personally to inquire into the present conditions of

Appeal to Government to give up repression.
Sind Vási (55), 29th Apl.

Sind. If he does we are sure that he will find that there is no possibility of disturbance in Sind.

43. Temporary peace may be restored by answering brick-bats with bullets and by requisitioning troops and the police on the mere expression of public opinion in a strong manner, but no peace is established in the hearts of the people by such means. Repressive measures drive the dejected and the despondent to revolution and anarchy. People are being prevented from giving vent to their feelings and the popular leaders are accused of creating trouble. This is unbearable. The authorities forget that while kingdoms are conquered by the force of arms the hearts of the people are not so won. Sir Michael O'Dwyer in his speech delivered on the 7th April expressed his defiance of popular agitation because British arms had come out victorious in the European war! It is surprising that such a Lieutenant-Governor who openly advocates the suppression of political agitation is kept in his office after the expiry of his tenure. The public are of the opinion that just as the trouble in Ahmedabad and Viramgám was due to the arrest of Mr. Gandhi, the trobule in Amritsar was caused by the deportation of Dr. Kitchlew and Mr. Satyapal. This opinion is shared by the Congress Committee. A public, impartial and prompt enquiry into these troubles is quite essential in the interests of the peace of the country and the goodwill of the people towards their rulers. [The *Navsari Patrika* writes:—Might can subjugate any one but it cannot win hearts. The smouldering fire in the heart is fanned by the exercise of force and it gives rise to a conflagration that leads to evil and harmful consequences. Government should show paternal feelings towards the people and should win them over by love instead of keeping a strict eye over their faults. The *Deshi Mitra* remarks that the recent attitude of the British towards India shows that when India's help is no longer wanted England flouts it, and it ascribes the present trouble in the country to the repressive measures of Government and their disregard of public opinion. In a disquisition on *Satyagraha*, contributed to the *Sindhu Samáchár*, one Hundraj Sharma writes:—There is no other means for the regeneration of India except *Satyagraha*. Some are of opinion that *Satyagraha* is cowardice, but they forget that while cowardice is due to weakness *Satyagraha* conquers brute force, tells its opponents that it can answer brick-bats with stones but that it refrains from so doing and challenges its opponents to put an end to its existence. Since ferocious and unjust persons (demons) like Hiranyakashyap have been wiped out of existence there would be no wonder if the inebriation of the bureaucracy is put an end to. A *Satyagrahi* believes in the power of the soul and is prepared to receive arrows and bullets. No nation can enjoy liberty as long as it is not prepared to make sacrifices. We should all join the army of *Satyagraha* for the salvation of India. The progress of a nation is like the tide. Those who want to stop it, beware! In the subsequent issue the paper writes:—There is not a trace of disloyalty in Sind, but the officials have spread discontent in the people by instituting arrests and enquiries. Those who protest against the Rowlatt legislation cannot be considered disloyal. Sind is loyal to the core and it would not be proper to cast aspersions of disloyalty upon it and to begin a series of arrests on that account.]

Gujarátí (20), 4th May; *Navsari Patrika* (73), 4th May; *Deshi Mitra* (66), 8th May; *Sindhu Samáchár* (84), 26th Apl. and 3rd May.

44. It is a point worthy of being noted that both the Moderates and Extremists hold repression to be responsible for the disorders. The only difference between the two parties is that the former are of opinion that the movement of passive resistance should not have been begun. Both the parties hold that the discontent created by the Rowlatt Bills culminated in the Punjáb disorders. The burden of the great war was borne by the people in the belief that the defeat of Germany which they were assisting to bring about would benefit India. The August declaration confirmed this belief and the bureaucracy also behaved during the war in such a way as to strengthen the belief. But this attitude was changed when the war came to a close and the

Repressive policy of Government the cause of the disorders.

Kesari (109), 6th May.

hope was turned into a disappointment. The Rowlatt Bills more than anything else caused the disappointment. The Rowlatt Act was passed in order to stop all at once any movement obnoxious to the officials having its origin in disappointed hopes. The bureaucracy however was not responsible for other conditions. It was not its fault that there was famine and influenza. It was not its fault that the Turks were defeated and that the question of the Khalifate assumed a new character. It was not its fault that the war was prolonged over four years and that the burden of the war became unbearable. But the bureaucracy alone is to be blamed for destroying the hope that sustained the people even while they had to suffer from causes beyond their control, by passing the Rowlatt Act. The bureaucracy persuaded itself into the belief that the great war proved its system of administration to be a success. But the Punjáb disturbances dispelled this delusion. Even if Mr. Gandhi had not begun his *Satyagraha* movement this delusion would have been dispelled one day or another. Whence has Mr. Gandhi attained the great power over the minds of the public? Why was there a *hartal* as soon as the Punjáb leaders were arrested? The bureaucracy says rogues deceived the people by spreading rumours; but people are not thus deceived. Indians are not so dull as not to understand wherein their interests lie. Disorders have been the result of the obstructions placed in the path of the people who wanted to follow Mr. Gandhi's method of penance. Disappointment and darkness are the root of the disorders. The proper remedies at such a time are the withdrawal of the Rowlatt Act as early as possible, cancellation of martial law, departure of Sir Michael O'Dwyer even in an aeroplane from the Punjáb and the early introduction of the Indian Reform Bill in Parliament.

Sedition-mongering and not the Rowlatt Act is the true cause of the disturbances in India.

Musafir (137), 25th Apl.

45. What has happened during the first two weeks of this month all over India reminds us of the dreadful incidents of 1857. The apparent pretext is that Government, on the recommendation of the Rowlatt Committee, has passed the Rowlatt Bills for the prevention of disorder in the country against the wishes of the Indian members of the Legislative Council. We, however, do not even for a moment suspect, in the light of what has happened, that the opposition to the Rowlatt Bills is responsible for the bloodshed that has occurred. The responsibility for the bloodshed lies on those who have by their speeches and writings against Government incessantly poisoned the hearts of the mass of the population; and the opposition to the Rowlatt Bills has as it were served as fuel to the fire which already existed. This seems clear from the attitude of the people to the Defence of India Act which is even more severe and more prejudicial to freedom than the Rowlatt Act itself. It has enabled Government to deport any people, without informing them of the charges against them and without hearing them, to unknown destinations for indefinite periods of time, and to prohibit any people from writing anything or making speeches. We can boldly say that the cancer in the hearts of the people was already there as the result of the speeches referred to above, that the opposition to the Rowlatt Bills served as the surgeon's knife to open it, and that the bloodshed was nothing more than a natural consequence.

The disturbances in India should not affect the question of reforms.

New Times (9), 7th May.

46. "The cry is now raised by several Anglo-Indian papers that reforms ought not to be given to India..... The riots in the Punjáb are due to a combination of unfortunate circumstances, and ought not to stand in the way of reforms for a country which gave conspicuous help to England in the war. It may be, as an Anglo-Indian paper said the other day, that 'all Britons in India have the profoundest admiration for Sir Michael O'Dwyer'. But it cannot be denied that Sir Michael has been exceedingly unpopular among Indians including the masses of the Punjáb..... The Punjab riots indicate, to our mind, the unpopularity of Sir Michael, not India's unfitness for reforms. India is hopeful, is expectant; to trust the counsels of reactionary Anglo-Indians will be, as a British statesman has pointed out, 'a confession of gigantic national failure'."

47. The *Home Ruler* thus concludes an article in which it discusses the various deputations from India proceeding to England in connection with the Reforms Scheme:—

Home Ruler (6), 3rd May.

"One thing that must be noted by all parties concerned is that no whittling down of the Scheme takes place. The people of India have been waiting patiently for many years for their aspirations being fulfilled until their patience has been exhausted. Their feelings have been already exasperated to their utmost length by the forcing of the Rowlatt Act through the Imperial Legislative Council in the teeth of the unanimous opposition of the Indian non-official members of the Council and the universal opposition of the people outside. They are discontented. The situation is very critical and it will be an act of grossest unwisdom not to appreciate it. Any whittling down of the Reform Scheme or playing with it will have disastrous effects."

48. "Anglo-Indian papers seem to think that because the anti-Rowlatt Act agitation has been availed of by certain mischief-makers for creating outbreaks of disorders, Indians, and particularly the moderate-minded men amongst them, must now work a change in their heart and begin to love a law for which they before cherished deep aversion. The *Madras Mail* thus favours the local Liberal League with earnest advice to co-operate with the Government in dispelling misconceptions regarding the Crimes Act and deprecating all opposition to it. By the way, we have noticed placards correcting some misrepresentations of the Act, not one of which we have seen in circulation in this part of the country. The propagandist work undertaken by the Government in the vernaculars will be commendable if only they will set themselves to refute misstatements which have actually gained currency. Otherwiie, the pasting up of bills will only do harm by suggesting ideas of which people had never dreamt. It is true that the uninstructed have but a vague idea of the law, if any at all, but they are not so seriously misinformed as to believe any of the fantastic stories which the vernacular placards contradict. The Moderates cannot relax their opposition to the Rowlatt Act because of the tragic events that have followed in its wake. They are not capable of the psychological feat which the *Mail* in its generosity has recommended to them. It also advises the Moderates to separate themselves from the Extremists in order that they may be regarded as allies of Government. Let the *Mail* understand once for all that the Moderate party settle their policy in accordance with their convictions and do not set even co-operation with Government of this sort above their convictions."

The attitude of the Moderates towards the Rowlatt Act.

Servant of India (10), 8th May.

49. The petition to the British Parliament in connection with the Rowlatt Bills prepared under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Association is a fresh evidence of the Indians' unswerving loyalty and their faith in British justice. It is only due to their loyalty that their feelings are very acute against any encroachment by the authorities in this country on the powers of Parliament and on the independence of the High Courts established under the authority of the Parliament. Unfortunately the bureaucracy in India, being intoxicated by the use of unrestricted powers, is unable to understand the real spirit of the noble struggle against the Rowlatt Bills. The people of this country have no objection against giving any powers to the authorities in order to prevent crimes, but as a precaution against the abuse of the powers vested in them, they should not be allowed to encroach on the independent powers of the High Courts. The petition under comment is based on this principle. We hope similar petitions will be sent from other provinces also. [The *Sánj Vartamán* fully approves of the contents of the petition and expresses a doubt as to the Government of India's powers to enact these laws. It confidently asserts that as the agitation against the Rowlatt Bills has permeated even the masses, it will be very effective in getting them withdrawn. It endorses the view expressed in the petition that the Rowlatt

Comments on the petition to Parliament against the Rowlatt Act.

Prajá Mitra and Pársi (31), 5th May; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 5th May; *Hindusthán* (24), 5th May.

Act will prove very dangerous in execution. The *Hindusthán*, while writing in the same strain, adds :—One merit, or demerit, of the British nation is that John Bull does not become awakened all at once, but if he at all becomes awakened, he never fails to do justice. Hundreds of such petitions must be sent from all parts of the country in order to awaken John Bull.]

How Government should secure co-operation of the people.

Sudhákar (124), 4th May.

50. His Excellency the Governor recently declared that the people of Bombay were always ready to respond to the call for co-operation. The bureaucracy declare that it is greatly in need of the co-operation of the people and the latter also are always willing to offer it. But as the bureaucracy while showing its anxiety to secure co-operation is also prepared to embark on a policy of repression ; this damps the ardour of the people anxious though they are to co-operate. All efforts of the bureaucracy to establish quiet with the help of co-operation coupled with repression are bound to fail. An individual that begs for co-operation should lay aside all thoughts of repression and he who threatens to use repression ought not to beg for co-operation. Past history shows that the Indian bureaucracy is carrying on the administration of India with a dish of dainties in one hand and a bludgeon of repression in the other. Unrest in the country is harmful both to Government and the people. If Government wish to restore quiet they should not have recourse to repression but should secure the co-operation of the people and repeal the Rowlatt Act which is the root-cause of all uneasiness.

Young India (16), 7th May.

51. " The days that have just passed and are still passing have been more critical than any recorded in the history of modern India since the time of the Mutiny and so far as the feelings of the people are concerned they cannot be better characterised than by the fact that the peace which the Armistice has brought to India is worse than was the world-wide war to her. That is a cruel irony. But it is all the reward, so far at least, of India's services and sacrifices during the war..... Quiet will no doubt be restored very soon. But an armed quiet brings no contentment. If real peace is to be established in the country it can only be by satisfying popular demands. What the Government must do in order to restore their relations with the people to the right plane has been adequately indicated in the cable which has been sent to the Premier by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, on behalf of the All-India Congress Committee, and in the resolutions passed by the meeting of the Committee of the All-India Moderate Conference last week. The demands contained in the cable and the resolutions embody the most representative opinion of the country on the causes of the present situation and the duty of Government in regard to it. These demands statesmanship cannot refuse. Their main object is to win the goodwill of the people for the Government by an act which must appeal alike to their hearts and imagination. This act must take the shape of a public announcement of the initiation of a constructive policy of reconciliation. Any such announcement, we think, must contain (1) a definite declaration of policy regarding the question affecting Islam before the League of Nations, (2) a declaration as to the forthcoming reforms, (3) withdrawal of the Rowlatt legislation, (4) the appointment of an impartial commission of inquiry into the causes of the unrest and the administration of martial law and other repressive measures in the Punjáb, (5) a general amnesty to all but the perpetrators of criminal acts."

Government is unnecessarily giving additional powers to local officers.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 6th May.

52. Our leaders have been urging Government to take them into their confidence by explaining to them the reasons for adopting any measures they may think necessary for restoring quiet in the country. Their request, however, has not produced any result up to this time. Even the Punjáb which has been the hot-bed of unrest appears now to be settling down. All will agree, therefore, that the measures adopted to meet an unexpected emergency should now be dropped. Instead of this Government are providing their officials with fresh weapons to harass the people. One of such weapons is the power

conferred upon an official, named by a local Government, when the Government of India notifies a particular area to be disaffected, to arrest a man on mere suspicion. This power is of course given by an addition to the rules under the Defence of India Act. It will be a mystery to anyone why Government should think it necessary to strengthen the powers of the authorities at a time when normal conditions are being restored everywhere. There is no doubt it is the duty of everyone to assist Government to preserve order. People will be puzzled to know, however, how they are to co-operate with Government if the latter continue to enact such measures without offering any explanation or without consulting anyone. It is incumbent upon Government to convince the people that the measures adopted by them are necessitated by circumstances and that they will be withdrawn the moment the need for them ceases to exist. But if instead of that Government persist in their course of extending the powers of their executive officers so that eveyone will be at their mercy, the situation will needlessly become still more acute.

Government control and high prices in Bombay.
Mufid-e-Rozgár (140), 11th May.

*53. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* calls the attention of the Police Commissioner and the Municipal Commissioner to the high prices prevailing in the city and observes:—In Láhore the necessaries of life are being sold at fixed rates. Why do you not see that in Bombay also they are sold at control prices? Will not the existing high prices induce the people to commit excesses? Is it not the duty of the Commissioner of Police to warn the keepers of hotels and shops to sell things at control rates? The hotels are all in a wretched state. The Municipal Commissioner should make a round of the Teli Gali and its hotels, and see for himself how dirty and insanitary the condition of that lane is. When people are forced to eat rotten food served at such insanitary hotels, they are sure to catch influenza, fever and other ailments. The authorities of the city must never judge by a look at Chowpatty and other pleasure resorts that the whole city is in a healthy condition. Government ought to keep the people contented by ensuring that things are sold at the prices fixed. Hence both the above-mentioned Commissioners should take speedy action.

Alleged profiteering in Rangoon rice at Bijápur.
Karnatak Vaibhav (85), 6th May, Eng. cols.

54. "We learn that a petition has been made to the Director of Civil Supplies, Bombay, by a number of clerks in the Account Office at Bijápur complaining of the abnormally high price of Rangoon rice in the market at Bijápur. The price which is Rs. 26 for a bag of Rangoon rice is really abnormal even for the present abnormal times. It is said that the usual rates per bag are according to the quality of the rice Rs. 13—15 or 17. If it be so, it is quite a mystery why the price should be Rs. 26 in the Bijápur Market. There must be some middleman who is making huge profits..... It is a grave scandal for which some body must be responsible and he must be brought to book after a due enquiry into the matter. Otherwise the lot of the poor people will be unbearable and they will go without any rice for the belly..... This is a matter which requires an urgent and immediate enquiry and we appeal to the District Officers of this place to make the necessary enquiry without the least delay. We await the enquiry and its result."

Complaint about the Indian personnel of the Jails Committee.
New Times (9), 8th May.

55. "We must express our dissatisfaction at the way the Indian personnel of the Jails Committee has been chosen. One of the Indian members is Mr. Dorai Rajah who is a Vakil in Madura; he knows little of Jail systems or Jail administrations. Another member, Khan Bahadur Hammat, is, for ought we know, an unknown horse."

Alleged need of sympathetic statesmanship in Sind.
New Times (9), 2nd May.

56. "The turn of events since the day the first arrest was made should dissipate the delusion and dread of 'sedition' in Sind; 'plotters' are as rare in this Province as serpents in Norway. Even the *Daily Gazette* is constrained to admit that 'wholesale arrests are apt to create the impression that there is a considerable amount of revolutionary or anarchistic agitation in

Sind—and for the best of our belief there is none.' The truth is, there is not the slightest use for revolutionary politics in this Province; it will be foolish for merchants, for the landed aristocracy, for the masses, for any man with any interest in the social order, with any stake in the country, to have any sympathy with ideas of riot or anarchy. The local Government must not confound 'agitation' with 'sedition' or 'revolution.' The agitation in Sind has been constitutional and law-abiding..... We ask the authorities to abandon the present policy of objection and negation and suspicion and initiate a policy of constructive co-operation with the people..... Sind should be handled sympathetically, in the spirit of patience and wisdom, and with keen appreciation of our national aspirations." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—The Seditious Meetings Act has been extended to Sind. What justification there is for this is not known. No reasons are given in the announcement. One thing we can reaffirm with confidence: there is no sedition in Sind. And we would ask the authorities to set themselves to the formulation of a positive policy inspired by confidence in the people. Only then will things move along the lines of progress in the Province.]

57. Yesterday when we received a telegram from the Associated Press stating that the Seditious Meetings Act had been applied to Sind, we for some time could not believe that Sind could have been so highly honoured by the Government of India. Poor Sind, which is situated in a corner of India, which is considered a desert, which is seldom remembered in other parts of India, and which is regarded as a peaceful country, will now be known all over India. It will now be said that owing to the presence of anarchists and revolutionaries in the province, the Government of India have been compelled to extend that Act to it. The Act at present is in force in the Punjáb only. When there were riots in Ahmedabad and in the Punjáb, Sind was quiet; and yet such repressive laws have been brought into force in Sind. But we forget that the Commissioner openly said in his speech the other day that a great disorder would have taken place in Sind but for the presence of numerous troops in Karáchi. Is that so? This indicates to what extent our Government understand our people. Mr. Lawrence is an old Sind official and yet he calls Sindhis revolutionaries! We, however, think that Sindhis are as capable of sedition as Englishmen themselves are. [Commenting on the Commissioner's speech the *Sindhu Samáchár* writes:—If sedition can be scented here too, where then can loyalty remain? The Commissioner referred to the *badmash* foreigners who have disturbed the peace of their own native country and have come to live in Sind. It would have been better if he had disclosed the identity of these *badmashes*. Who are these foreign *badmashes*—Europeans or Indians? Perhaps they are some Scotchmen or Irishmen. For Indians can never be seditious.]

Comments on the application of the Seditious Meetings Act to Sind.
Sind Vási (55), 2nd May; *Sindhu Samáchár* (84), 26th Apl.

58. "No doubt it is the business of the Government to keep order and good government and remove those that are dangerous for the state, but when the action is taken wholesale and against very many people unnecessary fuss is created. We do not know what grounds the Government have which called forth the arrests of over a dozen and quarter at Hyderabad and Karáchi. Every one would wish that all repression be put a stop to and that policy replaced by the policy of conciliation. Were the Government to take into their confidence the public men it can be nothing less than impossible that all discontent can not be removed and seditionists hauled up; though it is impossible to believe that there exists anything like sedition in Sind..... They should take the leaders of the people of the country into their confidence and adopt a policy of conciliation rather than that of repression. The wholesale arrests of workers in the Indian cause conveys the impression that there exists at the bottom a conspiracy seething with discontent and they contemplate revolution, which in fact is not and can never be. One thing, however, is most clear, that it is the Rowlatt Bills that have greatly been

Comments on the arrests and house searches in Sind.
Sind Advocate (11), 1st May.

agitating the minds of the Indian people. We are of opinion that once and as soon as these bills are withdrawn there can be an end to the agitation.'

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 6th May, Eng. cols.

59. "The traditions of the bureaucracy have found full vent in the Province of Sind. The slight curb of public opinion that exists elsewhere is absent in Sind. Such newspapers as exist in that Province have no circulation outside the Province. The Commissioner in Sind is armed with numerous powers of a Local Government. The Government of Bombay exercise only a long-distance and hardly energetic control over the Sind Administration. Signs of a reactionary and repressive policy have been visible in Sind for a pretty long time. The supersession of the Hyderabad Municipality, the interference with the Shikárpur Municipality and numerous petty annoyances are all the outcome of this policy. The few independent newspapers were harassed in every possible way. And now the culmination has come in the indiscriminate and wholesale arrests reported from Karáchi and Hyderabad. Nothing whatever has happened to justify the drastic course that is being pursued in Sind. There has been no covert or overt excitement, no violence or incitement to violence, no rioting, no interference with public communications..... The Honouraule Mr. Bhurgri's house was searched in his absence, but nothing objectionable was found. Did the police expect to find revolutionary or anarchist literature, or treasonable correspondence in his house? Why was this wholly unnecessary and unjustifiable humiliation put on him? Simply because unlike other Sind zemindars he does not seek official favour or a title, and is accustomed to straight speaking, and is on that account an eyesore to the officials in Sind. Similarly, there is nothing else against the others, who have been arrested except that they are the leaders of the nationalist party. They have not the remotest connection with any conspiracy or treasonable movement. But the officials in Sind are doing all they can to drive the people to desperation just as Sir Michael O'Dwyer and his officials did in the Punjáb. It is high time that, in the interest of the Presidency and for its fair reputation, the Bombay Government were to intervene and put an end to the excessive but dangerous zeal of the officials in Sind."

Sind Observer (13), 2nd May.

60. The *Sind Observer* thus concludes an article in which it justifies the various arrests, house-seaches, etc., in Sind and blames the *Daily Gazette* for cautioning the authorities against the possible evil results of their stern policy:—"That Government took a lenient view of affairs six weeks ago is no reason why, having looked into the matter and found grave reasons for taking action now, the law should not be set in motion in the case of such as there is deemed to be evidence against. It is permissible to express the opinion that prompt action six weeks ago would have had the most beneficent effect. We fail to understand how public announcements of intention to disobey laws were permitted in newspapers. But the more strongly we feel on such matters, the more imperative does it become to accord strong support to Government action at the present time in maintaining order and in bringing to justice such persons as the officials on the spot consider they have sufficient evidence against of having offended against the laws of the land—favouring none."

The Sind people are sick of the Controllr's Department.

Naw Times (9), 9th May.

61. The Sukkur correspondent of the *New Times* writes:—"The price of wheat is going up here though it has gone down considerably in the Punjáb. It is selling at Rs. 8-8-0 while in the Punjab it is selling at Rs. 4-8-6. The fall in the Punjáb is due partly to the new crop being ready for market and partly to the Martial Law. People are wondering at the difference of prices in the two places and they throw the whole blame upon the Controller. They complain that priority certificates are not being granted after the fall in prices in the Punjáb. They perhaps do not know that the Controller has already received his full supply from the Punjáb for the quarter and therefore cannot grant priority certificates for some time to come. Whatever it be, the people are sick of the Controller's Department and they fancy that things will return to their normal conditions after the abolition of the controlling department."

62. The *Muslim Herald* expresses its gratitude for the facilities provided for intending pilgrims to Mecca by the Government of India and says:—Although Government have kindly arranged with steamship companies to provide third class passages at the rate of Rs. 125 per head yet the line of demarcation drawn between the inhabitants of Java and Bokhara on the one hand and India on the other is not wholly in keeping with British traditions. The Bukharis come to Bombay after travelling for six months, and the first news they hear is that a Russian note of the value of Rs. 100 is exchanged for Rs. 10 only. It will be an additional misfortune if they be asked to pay Rs. 200 for a third class passage. They will, in that case, be neither able to go back to their homes, nor to proceed to Mecca for their *Haj*. We hope that Government will consider their case mercifully.

Complaint about the higher rate of passage proposed to be charged to intending Hajis from Bokhara and Java.
Muslim Herald (141), 9th May.

63. The *Bombay Samáchár* considers it very fortunate and praiseworthy that Government have made the necessary arrangements for the convenience of the Indian Hájis, by sparing a number of steamers for the purpose and by reducing the fares to the pre-war level. It declares that these arrangements will give entire satisfaction to the Musalmans at large and it expects a large number of them to avail themselves of this convenience. It also calls upon Government to send an influential deputation of Indian Muhammadans to the holy places so that a true account of the present condition of those places may be presented to the Indian Moslems as there is considerable uneasiness among them as to their safety. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* considers the action of Government to be a special obligation conferred upon the community, and so it calls upon the various Muslim Associations to thank Government on behalf of the Musalman community. It feels grateful to Government for publishing this communique betimes and declares that as Government are taking the utmost care of the religious feelings of the people, every Indian looks upon it as his religious duty to be loyal to the British Crown.]

Comments on the facilities provided by Government for the Haj pilgrinage.
Bombay Samáchár (62), 6th May; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 8th May.

***64.** "This journal has been in existence now for two years, and has devoted itself consistently to the support of the Government and the exposure of the tendencies of the school of thought which openly claims to have but one object, *viz.*, the making of Government impossible. Almost alone in Bombay journalism, the *Sunday Tatler* has striven whole-heartedly, to lay bare the tangled skin of the pseudo-political activities of those who, intent on the pursuit of their own personal ends, have debased the moral currency of public life. We neither expected nor received any reward. The unthinking crowd left us severely alone. The support that might have come from those capable of appreciating our labours has not reached us. But we persevered in the task we had imposed on ourselves from motives of loyal, patriotic duty, and we rejoice even in our neglect. Such work as we set out to do is perhaps not paying work, but we did it in utter disregard of material gain or popularity, and we mean to persevere. To the few—the very few—who have befriended us, we tender our grateful thanks. We are fortified by the knowledge that these will continue to extend their support, and perhaps on seeing these lines, they may be pursuaded to do whatever is in their power, to enlarge the circle of our supporters."

The financial position of the *Sunday Tatler*.
Sunday Tatler (15), 11th May.

MUNICIPALITIES.

65. The *Kánara Vritt* complains that the preliminary list of Kumta (Kárwár) Taluka Local Board Voters is not properly prepared and that it does not contain all the voters entitled to vote. It admits that the list is a rough one and that those not mentioned therein may have their names entered on application. But still it wants that mistakes should not be made from the

Objections to the Taluka Local Board Voters' List for Kumta (Kárwár).
Kánara Vritt (39), 23rd Apl.

beginning. It says that it is not necessary that the whole sum of Rs. 48 should be paid in one village as assessment in order to entitle a person to vote. It is sufficient, it thinks, if Rs. 48 are paid in all. It is not also legal to exclude, in its eyes, persons so entitled because they dwell within the municipal limits of Kumta (Kárwár). Even those rayats who pay a rent of Rs. 48, it adds, are entitled to vote. The Record of Rights, in its opinion, supplies the necessary information and it holds that it is a mistake to omit the names of rayats qualified to vote. The names of Local Board teachers getting Rs. 500 annually, it says, have not been included. It suggests that all these mistakes should be corrected. According to the *Gazette*, it points out, new Boards are to begin their work from June next and the elections are fixed in Kumta Taluka for the 2nd of June. The paper wants to know whether the *Gazette* or the Collector is mistaken.

RALWAYS.

How the question of overcrowding in third-class railway carriages may be solved.
Kesari (109), 6th May.

66. In the course of a letter to the *Kesari* Mr. Vishwant Ganesh Javdekar of Dhulia (West Khándesh) writes:—All the attempts made to secure redress in the matter of overcrowding in third-class railway carriages having failed, I asked the Railway Board whether it would be proper for one to pull the emergency chain in case the railway officials refused to reduce the overcrowding in a compartment. It however asked me to consult my own legal advisers in the matter. I therefore made up my mind to make the experiment myself. On 20th March 1919 on my asking the guard in charge of the Nagpur Mail to reduce the overcrowding, he went away saying that it was not his business and that I myself might throw out the passengers. I then pulled the emergency chain. As the train then refused to move, the guard, the station master, etc., came and took down my name and threatening to give me in charge of the Police, wired to the Police at the next station. The Police there came to take me into custody but when I asked them for the charge in writing, no body gave it, and though it is over a month since the incident took place, the Railway Company also has not asked me anything about the matter. The Company is perhaps afraid that if it proceeds against the passenger and the charge is proved it will itself become liable to be fined under the Railway Act.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 16th May 1919.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 17th May 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. Commenting on the Proclamation issued by His Excellency the Viceroy in connection with the Afghan hostilities, the *New Times* remarks :—" His Excellency's appeal to the people of India to refrain from acts which will add to the burden of his government will, we feel sure, meet with immediate response. It will be an act of statesmanship, we may add, if the Martial Law is withdrawn and the Punjáb pacified at this time. We earnestly hope the war will be of a short duration ; and we feel sure the loyalty of Indians will be the strongest possible refutation of the Afghan theory of Indian unrest. The Amir's effort will not succeed, for India understands that in the British Empire is the hope and promise of Indian nationalism."

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's Proclamation regarding the Afghan hostilities.
New Times (9), 13th May.

*2. "The Viceroy's proclamation gives an idea of the extent of the folly and madness of Amir Amanullah Khan in resolving to make this sudden and wanton attack upon the peace of India..... Further we are told that the Amir excuses his act of treachery pretending that India is in a state of revolution which will react on his own country. Further the recent deplorable events in India are so grossly misrepresented that the Afghans are told that in India neither men's property nor their religion is safe, that three men are forbidden to speak together, that Muslims are excluded from their mosques and Hindus from their temples. We all know that these are utterly false statements. But we are told that there is proof of certain despicable men in communication with the Amir working as his agents in India. Three such men have already been arrested in Peshawar. Against them British power must tell. Whipping and deportations are tame punishments for such traitors. British guns must blow them up to pieces."

Kaiser-i-Hind (27), 18th May, Eng. cols.

*3. The Afghan armies have been greatly reformed during the last fifty years, *i.e.*, since the Amir entered into an alliance with the British Government. Hence it is foolish to think that they will be blown away before the British forces. We are sorry to find that the Anglo-Indian press always despises and underrates the true value of the natives. The real culprit who murdered Habibullah Khan has not been nor will be traced. The whole press was jubilant over the disgrace and imprisonment of Sardar Nasrullah, but by now the press must have found out that he is the only experienced man in ths whole of Afghanistan to-day. [Elsewhere the paper advises Government, if it be true that the Amir has embarked on war on the strength of false rumours emanating from the Punjáb, to dispel such apprehensions by suitable and effective means. In yet another place the paper asks the British statesmen to go to the root of all the causes which led to the war, and inquires if all Afghan statesmen are so foolish as to embark on war without estimating the strength of the (opposing) forces. In another place once again it pays a tribute to the manner in which the operations of the British forces which are fighting on the defensive are conducted. It adds that Afghanistan is barren and it is unprofitable to advance far into it.]

Mufid-e-Rozgár (140), 18th May.

4. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* considers it a suicidal step on the part of the young Amir to have risen against the British and calls upon the people of India to co-operate with Government in meeting the situation and is gratified at the offers made by Indian Chiefs, particularly Muhammadan ones, to place the resources of their States at the disposal of Government for the purposes of the war against Afghanistan. It is surprised at the inaction of the Anjuman-e-Islám of Bombay in coming forward to denounce the action of the Amir. In a subsequent issue, the paper expresses gratification at the

Akhbár-i-Islám (59), 16th May.

proclamation issued by the His Excellency the Viceroy to the people of Afghanistan and hopes that these people who are staunch followers of the Prophet will be led to the right path by the verse from the holy Quran quoted in the Viceroy's proclamation.]

Kesari (109), 16th May.

5. It was thought that the murder of Amir Habibullahkhan was the bitter consequence of the play of individual ambition, but it is now clear that the deed was committed by military conspirators following a particular policy. A Turkish party was naturally formed in Afghanistan at the beginning of the great war which maintained that the country should invade the Punjáb by picking up a quarrel with the British. The friends of Young Turks were in Afghanistan even before this and they were engaged in the work of forming a Pan-Islamic union. But Amir Habibullahkhan declined to intervene in the war. Afghanistan had no other alternative but to keep itself neutral in a war between Turkey and England. It was as it were caught in a vice between the British and Russian forces and they would have made short work of it. There was a change in the Russian situation in 1918. In March of that year the Turko-German forces came near the Caspian Sea and they evinced a desire of invading India by utilising the Caspian-Merv Railway. Till that period, it was not possible for Afghanistan to engage itself in any anti-British agitation. Persia, Samarkand, Bokhara and Kabul Muhammadans now formed an entente and supported by the Turko-German forces schemes began to be hatched of an Indian invasion a year ago in Kabul. At that time Germans were in the ascendant in France and if Afghanistan wanted really to invade India, May of 1918 was the proper time for it. Why did Afghanistan waste that opportunity? What was against it then and what is now in its favour? It is no doubt true that Habibullahkhan was the Amir of Afghanistan then and that he avoided war as he was greatly impressed by the military strength of Britain. It is also true that Amanullahkhan, a devotee of Young Turks, is new Amir and that he has begun the war hastily. But we cannot say that the great change was effected by the change of individuals. It is true that last May, Turko-German forces were encamped on the Western side of the Caspian Sea and that Germany was victorious in France. But these things took place far off from Afghanistan, and the old and new Russian army of the Caspian, Merv, Bokhara, Samarkand and Tashkand was against Germany. The old Russian army was openly fighting Germany and the new Russian army was secretly assisting the former. How was the Turko-German force under Mackensen to approach Afghanistan? When Afghanistan saw that the old and the new Russian Army of the Caspian and Samarkand was against the Turko-German force it was not possible for Afghanistan to take up arms on the side of Turkey even while Germany was dominant in Europe. The British forces were pushed up in Seistan when the feeling of the Russian army was known and they were allowed to occupy the Merv-Caspian Railway. What could even Amanullahkhan have done, were he the Amir then, in these circumstances? From last December or so, Germany is no longer the enemy but Russia is the enemy of England. From January 1919, Bolsheviks and British forces are fighting against one another openly. The Russian forces on one side of Afghanistan became ready in January to fight against the British forces on the other side. Such a situation had never arisen during the last 75 years and not for a moment during the great war. Last January the Taskhend-Orenberg Railway line was occupied by Lenin and from Petrograd to Merv the Bolshevik rule was firmly established. Lenin knows that when England will be free from the peace entanglements with Germany, it will suppress the Bolsheviks; but why should they, when once the war is on, refrain from troubling England as much as they can till the very end? In January the Bolsheviks joined the Teheran-Bokhara-Samarkand-Kabul clique. As the Russians have been the *gurus* of the officials and other people of Bokhara, Samarkand and Kabul for the last 50 years, they thought that Lenin was a new glorious Tsar upholding the poor and they fell victims to the deceptions of Bolsheviks. The clique thought that the proper time for the invasion of the Punjáb had arrived on account of the disorders in the Punjáb and Amir Amanullahkhan began

openly to speak of it after the 13th of the last month. People began to connect Amir Amanullahkhan with the murder and in order to stop this talk about the murder he had hastily to undertake the invasion of a foreign country. If the Bolsheviks help Afghanistan well, the war will continue for a year but if they do not go beyond lip sympathy, within three weeks Kabul and Kandhar will be occupied by the British. It is also likely that the Afghans may retreat even beyond Afghanistan while Lenin is not disposed of. The British Army will, therefore, first try to sever the connection between the Bolsheviks and Afghans and then try to capture Kabul. [Elsewhere the paper writes referring to the Viceroy's Proclamation:—Government know that the Congress, the Home Rule League and other political institutions impressed the idea upon the minds of the people during the great war that the British Government was more beneficial than the rule of an intelligent and scientific nation like Germany. It is not at all possible that India which did not approve of German rule would prefer Afghan rule or bow before satanic Lenin; Government need not suspect that Indians would directly or indirectly aid Afghans or Bolsheviks. The Afghan spies may have secretly fostered disorders in Ahmedabad and the Punjáb; but it would not do to ascribe the disorders to revolution. Disappointment caused by the Rowlatt Act and by the determination of the bureaucracy not to give up their powers burst out in the form of the Punjáb disorders. People will not do anything that would encourage the Afghans; but in order that they may voluntarily help Government if need be, it is necessary to repeal the Rowlatt Act and give an assurance of a share in the Central Government as early as possible. The interests of both England and India would be served by such a decision. England is strong enough to suppress Afghanistan without the voluntary help of the Indian subjects. In the coming June 20,000 troops are to be sent from England against Afghanistan. In less time they could go *viâ* the Black and Caspian Seas to the other side of Afghanistan, than they would take if they go to Afghanistan *viâ* Karáchi and Quetta. England will take upon itself the work of severing Afghanistan from Russia and the Government of India will have to fight Afghanistan. British soldiers are not so enthusiastic to fight Lenin. Though they do not approve of Bolshevism, the British masses do not think it a holy duty to fight against Bolsheviks in Russia. In these circumstances it would be needlessly troubling England to adopt circumlocutory methods, if the bureaucracy sticks to its attitude towards the Rowlatt Act without caring for the voluntary help of Indian subjects.]

6. The Afghans have no doubt made a great mistake in waging war against the Government of India. Ultimately, however, this conflict will lead to the good of both the British Empire and Afghanistan. Formerly Afghanistan formed a buffer between the two powerful Empires of Russia and Great Britain. Owing to the collapse of Russia, however, it has now ceased to occupy that position. Up to this time Afghanistan was practically *terra incognita* to the outside world. But now when it will be overrun by the English and Indian armies it will be thrown open to the commerce of the world and will thus emerge from its barbarous condition. It appears from the proclamation of His Excellency the Viceroy that the Amir is endeavouring to disseminate false news in India with a view to spreading discontent among Indians. But we know the Afghans only too well. Ahmedshah Abdali was no other but an Afghan who descended into the Punjáb and plundered right up to Delhi. The Viceroy may rest assured that Indians will not attach the least value to the proclamations and leaflets issued by these cruel people. Indians, be they Hindus or Muhammadans, will never welcome them; whatever may be our differences with Government we shall never join hands with an uncivilized people like the Afghans. Government need not entertain any doubts about the loyalty of Indians at this time. India was perfectly loyal during the great war and she is not likely to go astray now. If there were an iota of statesmanship in Afghanistan the Amir would not have picked a quarrel with the Indian Government. But it is futile to expect the Afghans to exhibit a quality now

Ráshtra Hitaishi (117), 14th May; *Jágriti* (46), 10th May; *Rájakáran* (116), 11th May; *Dnyán Prakásh* (41), 14th May; *Khándesh Vaibhav* (110), 12th May.

which they never exhibited in the past. They seem to have reverted to their old occupation of robbery. This will have only one ending, *viz.*, the total destruction of Afghanistan. [The *Jagriti* says that the loyal Muhammadans of India will be greatly pained to see the Afghans twisting the tail of the British lion without having an adequate conception of his strength. The *Rájakáran* says that for the Afghans to venture to fight with the British Empire which has just emerged victorious from a great war is to invite certain destruction. The *Dnyán Prakásh* writes:—There is no doubt Indians will give Government all the help they need at this time. They should, however, appoint a mixed commission of officials and non-officials to inquire into the causes of unrest in the Punjáb and thus remove any misunderstanding that may exist between the rulers and the ruled. This will create an atmosphere favourable for the willing co-operation of the people. The *Khandesh Vaibhav* writes:—The Indian Chiefs and peoples will show the same alacrity in assisting Government now as they did during the great war. But it is the duty of Government also to keep the people contented. The military rule in the Punjáb is pressing heavily on the people and Government should lose no time in ending it.]

*7. "Folly and recklessness and want of knowledge and foresight have ruined Turkey. Enthusiastic visionaries who led the revolution have brought ruin upon the Empire of the late Sultan, who with all his reactionary methods and principles and with all his questionable deeds, knew at least how to keep the European nations at arm's length and preserve his own power and prestige. A similarly disastrous blunder has been perpetrated by Amanullah Khan. One can never feel any sympathy with the author of such an idiotic crime and his advisers. We have not the slightest doubt that all of them will be taught a severe lesson. Our Muhammadan countrymen have not yet fully realised how Turkey has brought about her own ruin and how the British Government even with their advocacy of her cause may fail to secure all that they desire from the Peace Conference which has to deal not with the Moslem nations and their views and feelings alone but with a complicated problem affecting the whole of Europe. But they will now be in a position to realise from the very outset how reckless and unjustifiable has been the conduct of the late Amir's successor."

Gujárati (20), 18th May Eng. cols.

8. The information published by the Government of India about the disturbance on the Afghan frontiers is not adequate. Those very people who are interested in the safety of the frontiers are kept in the dark. People want to know as to whether there is only petty mischief or a regular conflagration on the Afghan frontiers. There was some disturbance in the Punjáb on the 11th April, but martial law was enforced forthwith and the circulation of news was stopped. People in other parts of India are entirely in the dark as to the real situation in the Punjáb. How is it then that the Afghans knew what was happening in the Punjáb and led an attack in the proximity of Peshawar on the 2nd May? It seems, therefore, that the suppression of news about the Punjáb affairs led to the spread of wild rumours and Amanullakhan was tempted to take advantage of them. This shows that a great blunder has been committed by keeping people ill-informed about the happenings in the Punjáb. Whatever may be the causes of the disturbances in the Punjab it would be advantageous to all to adopt a liberal policy in the province and to take the people into confidence in order to enlist their co-operation in suppressing the disturbance on the frontier. The Sikhs may be dissatisfied with the administration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer but it is ridiculous to suppose that they would be prepared to accept the authority of Amanullakhan. [The *Hindusthan* writes:—The people of Indian will welcome the proclamation issued by His Excellency the Viceroy. We are gratified at the initial step taken by the Viceroy to take the people into his confidence. The people may

Gujarátí (20), 11th May; *Hindusthán* (24), 12th May; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 17th May; *Shri Venkateshwar* (82), 11th and 13th May; *Bombay Samáchár* (62), 14th May; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 11th and 14th May; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (27), 11th May; *Sayáji Vijaya* (119), 15th May; *Deshi Mitra* (66), 15th May; *Broach Mitra* (63), 11th May.

have differences of opinion with the officials in this country but they cannot for a moment tolerate the suggestion of breaking their relations with the British. We, therefore, fail to understand what has led the Amir to take the present step. The British have humbled a foe like Germany and they will not take long to bring a small principality like Afghanistan to its senses. India's loyalty has been severely put to test in the past, but the present occasion will help to remove any doubts that might still exist in the minds of certain ill-informed Europeans. Since the outbreak of the European war the people of India have been urging Government to give military training to their youth but nothing substantial has come out of it. Government should now give a careful consideration to this subject. Government will be relieved of much of their anxiety if the young men of this country are placed in a position to defend their own country. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* thanks His Excellency the Viceroy for keeping the people of India informed of the happenings in Afghanistan and for issuing the proclamation to the people of that country. It expresses a hope that the pride of the commander of the Afghan troops will soon be humbled and believes that many of the Afghans will refrain from joining Amanullah in his foolish adventure. The *Shri Venkateshwár* declares that the whole of India to a man will stand by the British in withstanding any foreign aggression and considers it sheer folly on the part of the young Amir to have launched on a foolish adventure. In a subsequent issue the paper gives a hearty response to the appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy and asks the people to refrain from doing or saying anything that would add to Government's anxiety or make the task of governing this country more difficult. The *Bombay Samáchár* exhorts the people to respond to the appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy and trusts that the Afghans will learn a bitter lesson and be convinced of their folly at the very first brush with the Indian army. The *Jáme-e-Jamshed* declares that the new Amir should be taught a lesson for his folly and that the annual subsidy given so far to Afghanistan should be stopped once for all as there is no Russian menace left any longer for India to fear. In the subsequent issue the paper confidently believes that the people of India will forget all their differences with their rulers and make common cause in repelling the foreign aggression and thus respond to the appeal issued by His Excellency the Viceroy. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* exhorts the people to respond heartily to the appeal issued by the Viceroy and asks Mr. Gandhi to suspend his *Satyagraha* movement till the cessation of hostilities with Afghanistan. The *Sayaji Vijaya* deplores the folly of the Amir in courting his own doom by rising against the British but is gratified at the fresh opportunity afforded to India to prove her loyalty. It also asks Government to give military training to the youth of India and to give them commissioned ranks in the army so that their martial spirit may be kept at its best and that no foreign enemy may ever dare to invade India in future. The *Deshi Mitra* writes:—The young Amir has unnecessarily created a disturbance and his castles in the air are bound to come to naught. However, there is need for sympathetic co-operation between the Government and the people in defending India. Government should, therefore, be prompt in removing the causes that have given rise to discontent among the people. It is only when the people are fully satisfied with their rulers that a Government is spared the bitter experience embodied in the proverb 'drowned in a ditch after swimming an ocean' or 'a small stone breaks a water-pot'? The *Broach Mitra* expresses confidence in the power of Britain to teach a bitter lesson to the new Amir but wishes that in view of the possibilities of complications with Russia the Government of India should content themselves by driving away the Amir's forces and should not extend the boundaries of India as far as Russia.]

9. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* considers it a welcome change in the attitude of the Muhammadans that they have now seen the propriety of the Rowlatt Act and are gradually looking upon the *Satyagraha* movement with dislike. The paper congratulates the various Muslim associations and leaders of other provinces on their having shown their loyalty to the British Crown by advising the public to stop all agitation against Government in view of the Afghan

The Afghan War and the loyalty of Musalmans.

Akhbár-e-Islám (59), 17th May.

War, and regrets with wonder that the Musalmans of Bombay have not yet seen fit to follow in their wake. It earnestly calls upon the Bombay Muslims to convene a meeting in order to assure His Excellency the Governor of Bombay of their loyalty to the Crown.

Comments on the meeting of Bombay Muhammadans to consider the question of the Khaliphate.

Muslim Herald (141), 16th May; **Mufid-e-Rozgár* (140), 18th May.

10. Commenting on the meeting held under the auspices of the Anjuman-i-Zia-ul-Islam in connection with the question of the Khaliphate, the *Muslim Herald* writes:—We bring it to the notice of Government once again that it is not good on their part to show indifference towards Moslems who do not scruple even to sacrifice their own religion to express their gratitude. We have heard from reliable sources that when Mr. Gandhi entered the premises the Muhammadans greeted him with the forearms joined together after the fashion of the Hindus. They did not stop there, but at the departure of Mr. Gandhi they shouted *Allaho Akbar* (God is great) which is addressed to God only. If the Mussalmans are desirous of establishing the Khaliphate at the expense of religion, we request them to let the matter alone. Mr. Gandhi is the man who is determined to abolish cow-killing and Urdu. Only a few days ago Messrs. Gandhi and Jamnadas made speeches at the Hindi Literary Conference against Urdu. What kind of friendship is this that in our meetings they come and call us brethren and show great sympathy with us, while in their own meetings they devise schemes for suppressing Urdu? Mr. Gandhi's sincerity is worth noticing. He said at the meeting that he could speak Urdu, but that he wanted to speak in Gujrati on that night. To deliver a speech in Gujrati at a Muslim meeting is sufficient to prove that Urdu is not indispensable. Mr. Gandhi has, however, completely won over the wiseacres of the meeting to his side. [The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* criticises the reception accorded to Mr. Gandhi in similar terms.]

Comments on Mr. Gandhi's speech on the Khalifate at a meeting of the Zia-ul-Islám Anjuman of Bombay.

Akhbár-e-Islám (59), 12th May.

11. Commenting on Mr. Gandhi's speech on the question of the Khalifate before a meeting of the Anjuman-e-Zia-ul-Islám of Bombay, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* writes:—It was quite obvious that all the leading citizens of Bombay had purposely kept away from this meeting. From the appearance of the gathering one would suppose that Mr. Gandhi had lost the sympathy of the leading Musalmans of Bombay, and so people must have realized that his *Satyagraha* movement has brought a great calamity on the country. Mr. Gandhi suggested in this meeting that *Satyagraha* was the connecting link between the Hindus and the Musalmans. We strongly object to such a suggestion. For, looking to the delicacy of the Muslim Faith, the fanciful implications of *Satyagraha* may cause much friction between the Hindus and the Muhammadans by estranging the latter from their faith. As people have been misled in the name of *Satyagraha*, the new religion of *Satyagraha* would be disastrous for the Indian people. Mr. Gandhi further stated that Mecca and Medina should remain in the hands of Muhammadans and must not fall into the hand of any other power. This statement implies that if these holy places pass into the hands of any other power, the Muhammadans will be greatly disturbed thereby. But there is no truth in this implication, for, the British Government have given repeated assurances about not interfering with the Holy Places of Islám. Mr. Gandhi attended this meeting with the selfish purpose of persuading Musalmans to join the *Satyagraha* movement, but it was a matter for joy that not a single Musalman came forward to join that movement or speak on its advantages in that meeting.

Musalmans and the *Satyagraha* movement.

Political Bhomiyo (74), 16th May.

12. If the reports regarding Afghanistan are true, the quiet atmosphere of India is likely to be disturbed. When the danger of the Afghan invasion is impending, the Indian Muhammadans are advised by their so-called friends to resort to *Satyagraha* in connection with the question of the Khalifate. We hope our Muslim brothers are aware of the disturbances that erstwhile took place in consequence of the

Satyagraha movement, and so they will maintain their loyalty to the Crown without being deceived by the advice of their so-called friends. Their interest consists only in siding with Government. The party, which has incurred blame owing to the *Satyagraha* movement and has lost its prestige in the eye of Government as well as the public, attempts to bring into disrepute even an unswervingly loyal community like the Musalmans. Now, it only behoves Mussalmans that they should not be deceived by the sweet words of their so-called friends. Since the time of the Company the Muhammadans have remained loyal to the Sarkár and have occasionally helped them. They have successfully passed through the ordeal of even the last war, wherein they had to fight against their co-religionists and have thereby completely proved their loyalty. Moreover, there is every hope that they will remain loyal to the Crown even in the present Afghan war. Musalmans had no hand in the disloyal incidents that have occurred till now. They are advised to resort to *Satyagraha* only with a view to make them swerve from the path of loyalty. Muhammadans, therefore, should do nothing of the kind. The Hindus and the Muhammadans have fully experienced how wicked and injurious the *Satyagraha* movement is; not only that, but some reputed Muslim leaders as well as Hindu and Pársi leaders too have disapproved of this movement. Why should then Musalmans resort to *Satyagraha*? Some say that Musalmans are dissatisfied in the matter of the Khalifate and consequently their feeling is greatly excited, as a result of which there have been some outbursts of unrest in different places. This is a downright affront to Muslim loyalty. The few Musalmans who joined the *Satyagraha* movement did not do so for the sake of the Khalifate. In short the *Satyagraha* movement against the Rowlatt Act has no connection whatever with the question of the Khalifate. The agitation in connection with the latter stands on an entirely different footing from that against the former. No doubt, the Muhammadan feeling would be injured if their holy places would pass into the hands of some other power and if the Turkish Empire were dismembered; but all the same they do not mean to be disloyal to Government. They feel confident that Government will not fail to appreciate the valuable help they rendered to Government by fighting against their co-religionists; that is to say, Government will certainly reward their services by respecting their wishes in the matter of the Khalifate. Muhammadans have no reason to be disappointed until the question of the Khalifate has been finally settled, and so the Musalmans must have faith in Government.

13. "These terms ought to make Germany realise to the full the complete significance of *Vae Victis*! which she would herself have impressed on her enemies if she had been the victor, in spite of the fact that she was saved a military Sedan by President Wilson giving her the armistice only a fortnght before Marshal Foch was ready with his big scheme of advance through Lorraine. It is natural for everybody to feel a sneaking sympathy for the under-dog, but in this case sympathy will be completely wasted, for if Germany had won we know what had awaited the whole world from the writings of her then popular writers like Bernhardi. She played for world dominion or downfall, and it was her misfortune that she got only the latter. Those who wantonly play for such high stakes certainly deserve no sympathy on losing."

Comments on the peace terms offered to Germany, *Servant of India* (10), 15th May.

14. "The real issue is: Is the Peace that is now dictated to Germany a just peace—a peace that will usher in good will, contentment and harmony in a world thirsting for them? What are the necessities of the case? These were to destroy the spirit of Prussian Militarism altogether and not to transplant it from Germany elsewhere, to make the world safe for democracy and not for Imperialism, to punish Germany but not to kindle a flame of hatred and vengeance among her people, repair the wrongs inflicted by her Militarists on other peoples and not to reduce her own people to the condition of serfs. The 'programme of the world's peace' on these lines was embodied by President Wilson in his famous fourteen points, which were fully endorsed by the Allies and on the faith of which no less than to the armed force of the Allies Germany was induced to surrender..... The

Young India (16), 14th May.

argument that all the reparation Germany may make cannot be a sufficient recompense for the wrong done by her is no answer to the double wrong of the servitude of the German people and the parasitism of the French and other Allied peoples which is involved in the present scheme of reparation and indemnities. And after such a peace which condemns Germany to the position of a helot for foreign taskmasters, is it likely that she will enter the League of Nations? What then becomes of the greatest constuctive idea of the war the permanent settlement of the world on the guarantee of 'a general association of Nations'? That primary consideration is forgotten in what may be misconstrued by some as perhaps the cry for revenge masquerading in the guise of dealing out stern justice..... Is not there a higher lesson than that of stern justice? If the world is to remain as hitherto a house divided against itself, that lesson may prove effective. But if the new world is to be a world of permanent peace and good will among men, is it not necessary that the higher lesson of forgiveness and magnanimity should be applied?"

*15. "The long-delayed and much-expected Peace Terms have at last been published and the sum and substance of the conditions imposed on Germany can be very pithily expressed in very few words, namely, that they amount to a slow death-sentence on her; Financially, Germany will be bled white by exacting enormous sums for reparation: military and naval conditions reduce her to impotence; she will be stripped of all her colonies; slices from Germany herself will be cut to satisfy France and Poland; and some of her parts will be constituted as independent States. Wether Germany will accept these terms or not it is difficult to determine at present, but opinion in Germany, as expressed by the Press, is against their acceptance, and the latest telegrams show that even the German Government has denounced the Peace Terms..... But supposing that these Peace Terms are imposed upon the unwilling Germany by the Allies, can we say that they would not rankle in the minds of the Germans as did the terms in the minds of the French, after the last Franco-German war? And if they would, will they not keep alive the spirit of revenge in their minds, as did the terme imposed on France after 1870? Can this then be deemed as a guarantee for the future unbroken peace? The only answer to these questions is in the negative, and in the very interests of peace, we think the Allies will have to modify certain conditions of the Peace Treaty..... It is thus clear that the Peace Treaty, excepting the Labour provision, is not very satisfactory from the point that it cannot prevent future wars, and it has not made the League of Nations a practically useful governing body to settle international disputes."

Mahrátta (8), 18th May.

16. Germany may sign the terms of Peace to gain the time till she completes her preparations, but it would be a mistake to suppose that the treaty would make her oppose the Bolsheviks. The Anglo-French themselves will have to deal with Lenin, who will possibly be able secretly to secure German munitions in large quantities. It is also likely that large numbers of German military leaders and experts may migrate and take service under Russia and in that way try to wreak vengeance on the English and the French. These terms of Peace will doubtless secure a new lease of life of some months for Lenin. The Allies' intention seems to be to turn against Lenin after completely smashing Germany. It is clear that till that happens Central Asia will have to suffer harrassment for some days at the hands of Lenin.

Kesari (109), 13th May.

17. The peace terms are such as would be imposed upon a defeated nation by the victorious party, and if Germany accepts them, she will not be able to raise her head at least for the next hundred years. Germany was no doubt our enemy; still, however, the fact that her future generations will have to suffer for the faults of the present generation cannot but breed a feeling of indignation in her people. To-day Germany is at the mercy of the allies; whether to let her live or to kill her or to extinguish the fire of enmity from

Hindusthan (24), 13th and 14th May; *Praja Mitra and Parsi* (31), 14th May; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 13th May; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 13th May; *Bombay Samácher* (62), 15th and 16th May.

her heart, now rests with the allies. We did desire to see the defeat of Germany as our enemy; but all the same we must acknowledge that she was a brave nation and had far advanced in Science, organisation, etc. Will there be permanent peace in Europe by reducing such a nation to a non-entity or by keeping her in a crushed state for years together? Her military and naval strength may be curtailed, but it is not desirable to keep her industries in a crushed state as an indemnity of crores of rupees is to be exacted from her. Some ask whether Germany will accept these terms; but if the allied nations—especially America—will stand by them, Germany has no alternative but to accept them. Germany has now no friend, no ally in Europe. To insult a fallen enemy some will suggest that the terms be made still more severe. The world had greatly relied on President Wilson; but from the perusal of the terms it appears that France and England have played a prominent part in framing the peace terms. Germany may not have any army; she may not have money; still, however, there will not be peace in the heart of the German people after signing the Peace Treaty. They will have a feeling of revenge in their heart as the French had against Germany after their defeat. These terms should be modified for the future peace of Europe if the Allies wish to create such a feeling among the German people as would make them forget the very idea of war in future. The wise politicians of Europe are now formulating the League of Nations with a view to save their nations from future wars; but so long as every constituent of this League of Nations would not aim at the good of the world by giving up all his self-interest, this League of Nations cannot preserve the peace of the world. [In its subsaquent issue the paper writes:—Those, who thought that Germany would sign the Peace Treaty without any hesitation whatever, are deceived in their view. From the telegrams and the opinions of the German press and politicians one would, at first sight, feel doubtful whether Germany will sign the Treaty or whether there will be war again. But Germany will shortly see that she has no alternative but to sign it. The German representatives may sign the Treaty, but if the German people would not support them, Bolshevism would at once catch hold of Germany. If the German representatives would refuse to sign, there would be a great commotion among the Allied nations. Italy, being displeased, had left the the Conference and has again returned; but Japan, China and Belgium are not satisfied. There has been considerable difference of opinion among the Allies themselves In these circumstances, if Germany refuses to sign, there will be a great political change in Europe. President Wilson has agreed to the terms, but it is to be seen how the American people welcome them. There are a number of Germans in America too; in view of the German feeling about the peace terms, they will try to influence the American public opinion in order to get these terms modified. And so, we do not believe that the peace terms as prepared by the Allies will be accepted. They will probably be modified. All the same, looking to the present condition of Europe, it is a mistake to think that war may be renewed in the near future. If, however, war is renewed, then Europe is doomed. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—The terms are no doubt very severe, but looking to the German brutality in war time, they seem quite proper at first sight; but the question is whether they will serve to maintain peace for a long time. Even the Allies feel sure that the enemy will not sign the treaty without any hesitation. The situation has grown very complicated. The American opinion is growing against American intervention in European affairs, and insists on discharging the duty of safeguarding the interests of China against Japan. The *Sánj Vartamán*, too, considers the terms as severe but thinks them justifiable in view of Germany's aggressive conduct in the war. It writes:—Germany is completely crippled by these terms, but if she refuses to sign, the Allies will compel her to do so. These terms complete her defeat. The *Jám-e-Jamshed*, while justifying the terms, writes:—We have got the Peace Treaty which has completely crushed the bogey of future war. The *Bombay Samáchár* declares that it is to the advantage of Germany as well as the world that the former should accept the peace terms. In its next issue the paper pronounces the terms to be quite just and proper and observes that the

fact that Germany has begun to realise her position is a hopeful sign for the future peace.]

It is Government's mistakes that are responsible for the troubles in India.
Servant of India (10), 15th May.

18. The London correspondent of the *Servant of India* writes:—"The latest news from India is very gloomy. The disturbances have not been altogether unexpected. Unrest of one kind or another has been prevalent there for some time, and it is most unfortunate that, instead of giving pent-up feeling a healthy outlet by proceeding as rapidly as possible with the reforms, the Government should have given the impression, not merely that they were sympathetic to attempts to prevent or whittle them down, but that they were determined to defy popular opinion in regard to the Rowlatt Bills. A legitimate outlet for energy having been thus denied, what more natural than that an illegitimate one should have been sought? Mr. Gandhi, I am perfectly sure, must be as horrified as most at the shocking scenes that have occurred in various parts of the country. But having regard to the previous history of the case, one is compelled to declare, with all possible emphasis, that, as in Egypt, it is the Government's own mistakes that have been responsible for these tragic happenings. Had India been England, and had the Viceroy been Mr. Lloyd George, he would have hurried to the centre of things, have taken control of the situation personally, and have arranged a settlement that would have redounded to the credit of the administration and of the opponents of its methods. Under a bureaucracy, anything may happen. It is occasionally possible that it may do the right thing of its own initiative; but that is almost to expect the impossible. As a rule, the bureaucracy is blind to signs and symbols, it turns a deaf ear to protests, it disregards portents, and it winds up by clenching its teeth and fighting for its life. Having set up an altar to the great god Prestige, it worships regularly, continuously, and with loud cries at the shrine, offers up burnt offerings—the news comes that bombs have been employed to disperse the mobs—and after the most infernal tomtomings to its divinity, someone comes along to tell it that, after all, it has made a bloody mess of a somewhat simple business, and that it had better do what it swore at first it would not do. Then for the time it puts away its god—ready for use on some other appropriate occasion—and puts on sackcloth and ashes in mourning over its defeated ambitions. In Egypt they have begun to see reason. The obstinacy of the bureaucracy there has been broken by the tact and good sense of **General Allenby.** Is there no Allenby that can prevent disaster in India before it is too late? Who is going to be recalled for this wretched mess? I am more than doubtful whether Mr. Montagu has more than a nominal responsibility for it. He must be appalled at the stupidity and recklessness of those who have, secretly and openly, endeavoured to wreck his proposals to secure the confidence and goodwill of the Indian leaders and the Indian people. In the long run, you may be assured, I think, that Mr. Lloyd George will stand by his sturdy lieutenant against the reactionaries in his own rank, who will wish to utilise these unfortunate happenings to discredit the reform proposals, and either postpone their consideration or urge the adoption of still further measures of repression. Ireland is to-day all but irreconcilable. Egypt is in a ferment, from which anything may emerge. And how will India come out of the present troubles? What must Europe and America think of the British failure to conciliate three victims of a ridiculous and outworn Imperialist system? The continental peoples and the Americans will not be able to realise that Indians of responsibility would like to be on Britain's side in all the matters in which she is involved among the nations of the world. They would like to co-operate upon equal terms. But what are they to do when, in effect, they are told that they are not really trusted, that their protests must remain unheeded because the rulers know so much more than the people? How can they co-operate? What more natural than that they should be compelled to stand aside and say to the rulers: Having sown the wind, you must now reap the whirlwind? It is absurd that, just when there were signs of better times and a greater mutual understanding, your blind bureaucracy should have poured oil on the flames, instead of helping to put them out by expressing sympathetic appreciation

of India's aspirations so strongly stimulated during the war. But these are the ways of the bureaucracy."

Mr. B. C. Pal's views on the present situation.
Home Ruler (6), 10th May.

19. In the course of an article on "The present situation" contributed to the *Home Ruler* Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal writes:—"None who reads the official communiques on the present situation in the Punjáb and elsewhere, can refuse to admit that the so-called unrest with which Lord Minto and his advisors were faced was as mere child's play to the present unrest. The gravity of the present situation is clearly indicated by the promulgation of Martial Law in parts of the Punjáb, the requisition of aeroplanes to quell civil commotions, and the repetition of measures of repression which, popular tradition says, had never been resorted to since the complete restoration of peace and order after the Mutiny. It is inconceivable that Government would resort to such measures of repression except under a sense of the extreme gravity of the situation that faces them. But the question is, do they know the actual truth about this situation? Have they, indeed, any means or opportunity of knowing it? The experience of the Punjáb ought to be an eye-opener to Lord Chelmsford and his advisors. Were they not given to understand that Sir Michael O'Dwyer had secured the peace and contentment of his people to an extent unattained by any other provincial ruler? There was not a whisper of discontent from that province; no inconvenient agitation, not even a single Home Rule organisation such as had threatened to disturb the peace and placidity of all the other provinces, including even Burma..... A friend who has been examining the files of the Indian papers of the Punjáb of the last five or six years was paying a singular compliment to Sir Michael O'Dwyer for the way in which he managed to silence the voice of all criticism of his administration during all these years. All the records echo one unbroken song of glory to the great and wise and benevolent ruler of the province! But even a fool can see now that all could not possibly have been for the best in the best-administered of all the Indian provinces. The things that have happened in the Punjab since the 30th of April last could not possibly have been the work of a day. Pitiful ignorance and insensibility could alone set all this to the agitation against the Rowlatt Act or Mr. Gandhi's *Satyagraha*. The Rowlatt agitation could not possibly have gone beyond the educated classes and the insignificant section of the masses that are in any way in touch with the former. It may have possibly thrown the burning match, but the powder magazine was there before this burning match fell into it. Had the authorities at Simla or Delhi any suspicion of it, before the 'burst up' as the Honourable Mr. Srinivas Sastree describes it? If not, why? That is the most serious question which the Viceroy and the Secretary of State ought to seriously ask themselves in this connection. Sir Michael O'Dwyer knew the existence of this powder magazine, and His Honour took special care all these years to prevent any outsider, whose presence or speech might throw a match into it, from entering it. But this astute Irish administrator forgot that there was such a thing as self-combustion both in nature and political society..... He had reduced the Punjáb to a living intellectual tomb, forgetting that even inside the most perfectly protected tombs evil vapours generate and gather which at the first touch of light or heat, burst up in a combusion that blows up all the solid masonry and stone works over it. But had the Government of Lord Chelmsford any inkling of it? If they had, they should have taken precautions against any possible burst up—precautions that might have saved their reputation on the one hand, and prevented the untold misery and loss of life, property, and freedom that mob violence and the measures of the Government had combined to inflict on the people, on the other. If the Government of India had any suspicion of the real condition of the Punjáb, they should have prohibited all public meetings there, and should have brought that luckless province under the Seditious Meetings Act, long before the 30th of April. They should have proclaimed all processions, and might even have prohibited all demonstrations either against the Rowlatt Act or any other measure of Government. These would not, we know and admit, cure the disease, or eliminate the poison that had clearly gathered in the

body politic during the seven years of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's eminently successful administration of the province. But these would in any case have saved the people from being shot down by machine guns, and bombed, like innocent Londoners, from aeroplanes, and all the horrors and indignities of the Martial Law..... If the Government, either at Láhore or Simla and Delhi, knew of the combustible materials that had gathered in the province, their failure or neglect to take precautionary measures convicts them of culpable want of foresight. If they had no idea of it, which we believe is the truth, then they ought to at once remove all restrictions from the fullest and freest expression of public opinion in the province to both press and platform, and thus not only let the fatal steam out, but also find themselves in a better position to deal with it in true statesmanlike fashion. But the Government of India will never be able to do this unless they adopt Abu Bakar's excellent definition of treason ['To tell truth to a person commissioned to rule is faithful allegiance; to conceal it is treason'] and replace their own ideas on the subject by it. They must realise it that they have absolutely no access to the mind of the masses. The police may know, but are not interested in telling the truth to them. Indeed, the whole system is such that the Indian members of the Intelligence Branch are not encouraged to communicate unpleasant truths to their British masters. They are employed to help the administration of repressive measures, to ferret out sedition, to hunt political suspects, but not to enlighten the mind of their officers as unpardonable impertinence. The press alone might, if it were reasonably free, help the Government in this matter. But the Press Law has practically closed that door. Public men might have helped the Government here. But those who cultivate official acquaintance rarely do so except to grind their own axe; this class of public men cannot be expected to tell the truth, nothing but the truth and the whole truth, to those whose friendship they desire for private ends. The others are not in the good books of the officials. The inevitable consequence of all this is that which we are seeing before our very eyes today. But the time has come when Indian publicists must make up their mind, as the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri says, to tell the truth as they honestly know and believe it, without fear and favour, in the conviction that this alone is likely to save the future of Indian freedom and the integrity of the Empire with which it is bound up. Loyalty to the Empire demands that every Indian politician and publicist must do it."

20. "We hold, and most of our educated countrymen are of the same opinion, that the real origin of the outbreaks of violence in the Punjáb is not to be found in constitutional agitators and soberly conducted newspapers, but the exasperating and provoking manner in which that Province has been governed ever since the appointment of Sir Michael O'Dwyer as Lieutenant-Governor..... Perfectly peaceful public meetings were repeatedly prohibited, the elementary right of newspapers to publish the proceedings of public meetings and comment on public affairs was frequently interfered with, and the entire administration became instinct with repression. While flouting the educated classes on the one hand, Sir Michael O'Dwyer proclaimed from the housetops the loyalty of agricultural Punjáb and the ready exploitation of the man-power of the Province, on the other hand, in perfect ignorance of the fact that by his high-handedness he had succeeded in driving the whole Province to a state of desperation..... We are sure the retirement of Sir Michael O'Dwyer will have a quieting effect on that unfortunate Province. Sir Edward Maclagan is a good man and sympathetic, and he may be trusted to undo much of the mischief made by his predecessor."

Unrest in the Punjáb.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 14th May., Eng. cols.

21. "Can the application of martial law in the Punjab be justified? Several even of the student community in Lahore have been subjected to severe penalties; and persons have been arrested without specific charges being framed against them. What overt act did the editor of the *Tribune* commit, what arms did he possess that

New Times (9), 16th May.

he should be tried under martial law and be deprived of the safeguards of a trial in ordinary courts of justice? The whole question of the administration of martial law and the causes of discontent in the Punjáb needs to be thoroughly investigated by an independent commission of enquiry. As it is, even the modest request made by Indian editors to allow Mr. Andrews to report on the condition in the Punjab has been rejected. Sir Michael is in no mood to entertain such requests! Let, then, the Home Government be the physician of the Punjab, make a diagnosis of the case, and offer the right remedy of unrest. Indians on the whole are a very docile, a very patient people. At this hour of emergency India appeals to British statesmanship to look into the present situation and judge the Punjab justly."

22. "The curtain falls in 'Hamlet' with the cry 'The rest is silence.' Is the story of the Punjáb going to end in silence? Dead men tell no tales and the living are bidden to hold their peace on pain of swift punishment—but how long? Truth has a queer habit of leaking out and it is foolish indefinitely to hold the veil over the Punjáb. Of one thing we may be certain. The Government of the Punjáb dare not—in the public interest, of course—face the excruciating glare of publicity. They prefer the dark room and have stopped every avenue of public vision. Thus for the holy purposes of peace, order and good government,' they would not allow a man of the rectitude of Mr. Andrews to report on events, what time the special correspondent of the *Civil and Military Gazette* is left free to tell his own story. Why? Sir Michael O'Dwyer knows it and the public knows it. By the way, it may be noted that Mr. Andrews has become the target of abuse among our Prusso-British Junkers who call him by all the corrupt names of their vocabulary. The Punjáb is now cut off from civilization. The indigenous press has, of course, proved that it is not equal to meeting the harassing conditions of the Government which have made it extinct. While nothing of independent observation is allowed to come out of the Punjáb, nobody of the slightest use in the interests of justice is allowed to step into that sacred area. Permission has been refused to Mr. Norton and Mr. J. N. Roy to appear in defence of the editor of the *Tribune*. Witnesses like Dr. Sapru and Mr. Chintamani are to be examined not directly but by commission. Those who wonder how eccentricities in Government can be possible, forget that there is no Government in the Punjáb, but only Sir Michael O'Dwyer. The fate of the accused editor lies in the hands of the Government, for they take it upon themselves to decide who should defend him at the trial. All these acts of tyranical meanness have the effect of secluding the Punjáb and practically suppressing independent evidence, which is exacly what Sir Michael O'Dwyer seems to want."

Young India (16), 17th May.

23. What is happening in the Punjáb? Why are the people there flogged in the streets? What is the meaning of the sentence of deportation being inflicted for merely burning the turban of a member of the C. I. D.? What is the meaning of deportation for spreading false rumours? Why are electric lights and appliances and motor-cars and carriages commandeered? Government are supposed to have adequate means of information. Why did they sit quiet till false rumours resulted in serious consequences? Mr. Alfred Nundy has rightly said that Sir Michael D'Owyer is reaping what he has sown in the Punjáb. The present conflagration is due to all activities being suppressed in the Punjáb. The *budmashis* who had been enlisted during the war found life difficult after demobilisation and they took part in the disturbances on finding that their life was no better than that of beggars. The second cause is attributed to the presssure used upon the people in the matter of the War Loan. The menial staff had also to contribute something to the loan every month from their salarly. People encountered difficulties in getting interest on the loans and it was a cause for complaint as some people had been made to contract debts for investing in these loans. Economic distress, famine, scarcity, the question of the Khaliphate, the Black Acts and the arrest

Gujaráti (20), 11th May; *Hindusthán* (24), 15th May; *Sánj Vartaman* (33), 15th May; *Shri Venkateshwar* (82), 17th May.

of Mr. Gandhi may all have contributed to the unrest. In these circumstances we can very well understand how those who received training in setting railway lines and telegraph wires abroad helped in removing rails and cutting the wires. The Anglo-Indian papers are trying to embitter the minds of the Indian people by making false allegations against them. Even now much would be gained if the rulers resort to peaceful methods and adopt a liberal policy. [The *Hindusthán* deplores the action taken by Sir Michael O'Dwyer in prohibiting Mr. Andrews from entering the Punjáb. It fails to see any justification of the Martial Law and condemns Sir Michael's administration as devoid of mercy, tact and statesmanship. The *Sánj Vartamán* congratulates the people of the Punjáb on their hearty response to the appeal of the Viceroy and their readiness to fight the Afghans. It hopes the policy of repression will be put an end to on the retirement of Sir Michael. It declares that the whole of India is unswerving in its loyalty to the British and is ready to prove it. The *Shri Venkateshwar* expresses surprise at the indifference shown by the Government of India in the matter of the arrests of popular leaders in the Punjáb.]

The attitude of Anglo-Indians towards the repressive measures adopted in the Punjáb, etc.

Young India (16), 14th May.

24. "Resort to short-cut methods of legislation and administration is something that has a persistent fascination for rulers and no thoughtful Indian can to-day escape the fact that in all the turmoil of legitimate agitation the principle at issue is the right of the people's will in civilised countries and nothing else. Unscrupulous controversialists have on their side some logic when they deny that first principle and claim that the ascertainment of the popular will is a delusion and a fraud. The contention is, however, corrupt and disastrous, and will not linger long in the field of controversy, in spite of its trappings of masquerade. There is against it the ardent hope of millions and the witnesses of the slain, that captive Prussia will not lead her own victors captive..... The forces of violence and disorder have, no doubt, to be quelled with all the means necessary for the task. The mental habit of reducing all the causes of unrest and resentment under the category of that convenient term 'Bolshevism' will, however, lead us on the way to ruin. Whenever our critics are faced with the concrete needs of good government, they have a tendency to retire to the funk-hole of 'Bolshevism', and from there snipe at every movement towards substantial reform as the pernicious offspring of night and chaos. To juggle with a few phrases of damnation is entertaining enough for a side-show, but Rowlattism and martial law cannot for ever settle in inseparable partnership over the administration of the country or serve as a cure-all for our troubles. Europeans in India are unfortunately viewing the problem from the wrong and fatal standpoint, and it is a pity that in the perpetual conflict of material interests they have with Indians, they do not feel urged to join criticism with regard to acts which are obviously violent. To take an instance, we should have expected Europeans to protest against the resort to whipping in public streets. But we find riotous impeachments against mentioning the facts and general denunciation of those who express abhorrence of the methods of the Punjab Government. Not a word of protest has escaped from the Anglo-Indian press against a course which is manifestly cruel and barbarous, while there have been disingenous attempts to explain it away as a method of legititimate chastisement. No Englishman would bear the indignity of it in the case of another Englishman, but when it comes to the sufferings of Indians, we do not find even a shadow of fellow-feeling or of righteous indignation. We do not forget the remonstrance of men like Mr. Horniman and Mr. Andrews, whose words have become gall and wormwood to Britishers in India. That circumstances have brought about such a deep chasm of antipathy on the side of Europeans in India, is a matter of deep significance, and it is the best proof we have of the absence of humane feeling which is at the root of the trouble we have to endure. Oceans of ink have been spilt in extenuation of such cruel treatment of Indians, and we have still to hear a word of protest. At the time of the Ceylon riots in 1915 there was a gentle order issued about people being 'shot at sight', but the protest of the Ceylonese, that an inquiry should be held into the

course of the order, was dismissed with disdain, while Sir Robert Chalmers was rewarded with a certificate of merit what time the island was still smarting with memories of cruel treatment. And now, in India, the plea that there should be an inquiry into the allegations of excesses during the subdual of riots, is treated by the Anglo-Indian press as a piece of impertinence and those who sternly protest against them become the victims of drastic disposal."

Comments on the personnel of the Ahmedabad Commission.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 15th May, Eng. cols.; *Praja Bandhu* (30), 11th May, Eng. cols.

25. "We believe that the personnel of the commission will command the confidence of the public. Perhaps, it would have been more satisfactory if a High Court judge were appointed to preside over the commission. But apart from this, the commission will be looked upon as a strong one; and we have every confidence that it will discharge its responsible functions completely, conscientiously, and faithfully. It is a matter of satisfaction that, contrary to the practice in such cases hitherto, the Indian element preponderates in the commission. [The *Praja Bandhu* writes:—"If the information about the constitution of the special Commission received by the *Advocate of India* is correct, we have no hesitation in saying that it fs fairly satisfactory, inasmuch as all the three members are quite competent to discharge the duty entrusted to them. Mr. Vernon is a member of the Indian Civil Service and is not an utter stranger to Guzrat. Similarly, Rao Bahadur Chunilal Setalvad is a native of this place and is an experienced and tried Magistrate. While Mr. S. G. Velinkar is one of the leading counsels of Bombay enjoying an extensive practice in the criminal courts of that city."]

Comments on the arrests and house-searches at Ahmedabad.

Praja Bandhu (30), 11th May.

26. We have full sympathy with the attempts made by the police to find out the real culprits in connection with the recent disturbances in Ahmedabad. But care should be taken to prevent needless annoyance to respectable people by house-searches and arrests instituted on the strenth of information supplied by mercenary people. The persons who are arrested or whose houses are searched should be told the name of the informant on whose evidence such steps are taken against them so that such people may be taught a lesson and they may be prevented from causing annoyance to the innocent. The onus of proof for justifying house-searches should rest on the police. We note with pleasure the solicitude shown by the higher police officers for the poor in making enquiries to see that they are not black-mailed by the police underlings. They should also take care to see that no one is harassed on false information and should get false informants punished.

Alleged difference between the treatment by Government of Indian and Anglo-Indian newspapers.

New Times (9), 17th May.

27. "If the Press Act is to work as it has during the last few weeks, Indian journalism had better be adjourned *sine die*..... The *Independent* and the Delhi papers are prohibited from entering the Punjáb where Sir Michael O'Dwyer holds sway under Martial law. The *Tribune* and the *Punjabee* were first subjected to censorship; the former continued to appear for sometime though without editorial comments, and the latter did not appear at all..... So it is that public Indian opinion in the Punjáb has no chance of expressing itself in the press at present; and this, if the authorities will but pause to review the situation, is a great disadvantage, not only to the public but also to the Government. Government Communiques are believed to be one-sided; they give only the official version; popular version has no chance of appearing in the press, and the result has been the spread of wild rumours which can only act prejudically on the prestige of the Government..... The Press Act, however, does not seem to exist for the Anglo-Indian Press. So moderate a paper as the *Indian Social Reformer* writes in a recent article that a potent cause of racial hatred in India is the Anglo-Indian Press..... A correspondent of the *Pioneer*, the other day, gloated over the fact that

Indian and Muslim leaders were handcuffed in Gujranwalla by Colonel O'Brien and made to march in the streets and bawl out to the Citizens to keep peace. 'What an example of Hindu-Moslem Unity!' chuckled the correspondent. Its this sort of writing calculated to promote comradeship between Indians and Englishmen?"

Gujarátí (20), 18th May, Eng. cols.

***28.** "The authorities in India never realise how easy it is for the Anglo-Indian press to produce a sense of universal resentment and uneasiness by its persistent policy of pin-pricking and violent or biassed criticisms, and that the extremist agitator is the direct product of the political atmosphere created by their favourite or much fondled organs of opinion. The Anglo-Indian papers with their influence at the headquarters of Government are no doubt able to drown the voice of the helpless Indian press. But that is a short-lived triumph. The core of the political problem that has to be faced remains absolutely unaffected by their interested campaign of terrorism and denunciation against the Indian press and the Indian leaders, and so long as that is so, not a hundred papers like the *Pioneer* and *Statesman* will be able to exercise the slightest ameliorative influence upon the general situation in India for any length of time."

Repressive measures are still being taken all over the country.

Kesari (109), 13th May.

29. Though there is quiet everywhere in the Punjáb, the administration of martial law is not brought to a close. Nay, every day under martial law, some new bludgeon orders are issued. Martial law was first used in Láhore in order to have shops opened. Government are all-powerful and all the powers of Government are centred in the hands of a Lieut.-Colonel Frank Johnson and he can do anything he likes. He can cheapen wheat, butter, salt and cloth and get some ignorant people to cry out *martial law ki jai* on the strength of martial law. But this policy will never succeed. Though some ten people may openly say *martial law ki jai* driven by fear of martial law, a thousand may be condemning it in their minds. Some day or other there is sure to be a reaction. The ridiculous attempts made to show that repression is advantageous to the people, forgetting the fact that it is not possible to supply things at the prices fixed by martial law, excite pity for the diseased minds of the bureacracy. It may have been necessary to proclaim martial law in the Punjáb but it is not just to proceed against innocent persons because there is martial law. The bureaucracy used the weapon against all and sundry and Mr. Dunichand, Pandit Ram Bhaj Dutt and others were suddenly deported. Now after a month these two persons have been brought to Láhore and released. The *Tribune* had again to stop because it was asked to deposit 2,000 without waiting for the completion of the case against the editor. It was thought that military repression would stop after a few days but that hope is not likely to be fulfilled on account of frontier troubles. How long will the Punjabis have to pass their days with these thorny bits? In the Punjáb there was the excuse of disorders for the administration of the bitter medicine of repression. But even provinces which are not suffering from the disease have to drink the medicine. The Allahabad *Independent* had to pay a deposit of Rs. 2,000. The *A. B. Patrika* had to forfeit Rs. 5,000 and pay Rs. 10,000. In Sind eight persons have been interned and are now to be prosecuted. During war, Professor Javermal Totaram had been interned. When he was released recently he became a *Sanyasi* and assumed the name of Swami Govind Das but he has again been interned. After the deportation of Mr. Horniman no special repressive step has been taken in Bombay. But the Viceroy has given to the local Government permission to invest Deputy Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents of Police with the powers of District Superintendents of Police. No explanation is given of any necessity for such an order. In Central Provinces all is quiet as in Bombay but Mr. Azizuddin staying with the Ali brothers in Chhindwada was asked to leave the District within 48 hours. What is more surprising and regretful is that the application to Government of the Ali brothers for their release has been forfeited! In this way repression is appearing in every Province in various shapes. How long will martial law and its little sister repression continue?

30. All India holds the opinion that the idea that Indian leaders are at the bottom of the disorders is baseless. It is neither wisdom nor rebellion to collect people on the plea of *Satyagraha* and make them fodder for the rifles. It follows that such a thing could not be due to the incitement of great men. No doubt it was an evil that led by distorted ideas of *hartal* some people committed outrages. But nobody had advised them to commit such deeds. These people did not set out with the idea of committing these outrages. We can never admit the charge that the so-called Indian leaders are deliberately encouraging the abovementiened deeds. People would never elect persons who want to endanger the security of Government as their leaders. Our leaders are becoming plain-spoken. They place views before Government fearlessly. They have learned the art of discussing a question with facts and figures. They do not hesitate to spread their honest views, believing that truth will conquer. All these points they have learnt from English leaders and we cannot but condemn the attempts to blame them. We admit that evil and wicked movements should be put down but we hope that Government would also condemn the attempts to harm the growth of good movements.

Indian leaders did not encourage the recent disorders.

Shubhodaya (91), 8th May.

31. The present situation must be really very anxious since war has broken out on the frontier simultaneously with risings in the Punjáb and elsewhere. It is particularly to be deplored that a man like Mr. Gandhi should encourage, by his ill-advised agitation, the rebellious spirit. What is the duty of all educated persons at this time? Is it not their duty to take care that none of their movements has the effect of distracting the attention of Government at this time? Should not these people come forward to assist Government if not out of loyalty at least out of love for their country? Would true patriots like the idea that the cruel Afghans should enter this country and repeat the horrors of the invasions of Abdali and Nadir Shah? But these considerations are not likely to weigh with those whose movements are all based more on the hatred of the English than on true patriotism. On the contrary this must be a 'golden' opportunity for them to carry on their agitation with added vigour. It was expected that the experience gained by Mr. Gandhi so far would be a sufficient warning for him not to resort to any further agitation. This, however, does not appear to be the case and he has announced his intention of re-starting the *Satyagraha* movement in July next.

Duty of educated Indians to support Government at the present juncture.

Jágaruk (45), 10th May.

32. "The question is: Will the British discriminate between their true friends and the false friends? Do they know that such a discrimination is necessary? Do they know that on the past history of India is founded the classification of India into two groups, the one bound to remain discontented with the British and the other whose primary interests lie in the continued existence of the British in India? The Englishmen who do not understand these facts are sure to make a mess of the whole situation. Their indiscriminate faith in Indian loyalty will induce them to accept such reforms as will only weaken their own cause and subject the masses to the tyranny of the upper castes. Their indiscriminate condemnation of Indian aspirations will lead to no better results. For that too will widen the circle of the influence of the discontented with very bad results on the future of our relations with the British. In the one case, they will impose upon us what they will be pleased to call democratic but what in fact will be oligarchical reforms..... An indiscriminate condemnation of Indians as disloyal and therefore unworthy of trust will be equally, if not more, disastrous and unjust. This is not all. In the future interests of India as well as the British Empire in the world, it is necessary that the people of India ought to be roused from their age long slumbers and fitted up for a more strenuous life as members of that glorious 'commonwealth of free nations'. This requires a firmer and more generous faith in Indian loyalty. This

The backward classes are the true friends of the British in India.

Deccán Ryot (5), 8th May.

further requires that that loyalty ought to be made more and more intelligent unless it is to be allowed to be duped and undermined by the Indian agitator. The only way to do it is to invite the masses to join the schemes of coming reforms by securing to them their rightful place under that scheme. The minorities in India are the best friends of Britain in this country. Because they have been given liberty and hopes of elevation only by the British. The lower classes, the ryots in fact, are equally good friends of the British for exactly the same reasons. Two paths lie open before the British to-day. They ought either to leave these friendly classes to the tender care of the upper castes from whom the British have wrested all power and influence and to whom nothing short of complete restoration to the former glory will be satisfactory, or, while keeping down their influence by repressive measures, they ought to bestow on the country such institutions as are in consonance with the traditions of India wherein powers will be shared by the minorities and the masses in their proper shares, so that their attachment to Britain will grow with the growth of more and more liberal political institutions. Which way will they prefer to go?"

33. "It is a sign of the times that the real masses of the land are awakening to the sense of their responsibilities and their interests. The non-Brahmins of Ahmednagar District met at Chapadgaon on the 4th instant to voice their feelings on various subjects of importance. The resolutions passed at the Conference show the vast divergence of views existing between the so-called leaders of the country and those that constitute the real population. It will not be too much to assert that the quiet that exists in the Bombay Deccan in these stirring times and as compared to the conditions prevailing in the Northern Division and the Sind is mainly due to the non-Brahmin movement started two years ago. It has opened the eyes of the people to the real state of things and to the benefits of peace and order. I has also taught people to think that they are essential for the country's progress and that they could not exist unless the British Rule were maintained in all its strength and prestige. The serious anxiety felt by them on the question of communal representation is not so much in their own interest as in that of the country as a whole, the peace and content ment of which can not be secured by any other method of representation."

The quiet in the Bombay Deccan is due to the activities of the non-Brahmins.
Deccan Ryot (5), 8th May.

34. In the course of an article pleading for Hindu-Moslem unity the *Gorakshan* writes:—Fate has thrown these two communities together. Both are undergoing the same hardships. Both are being equally crushed under the same grinding stone of calamities. What is the good of raking up old quarrels in these circumstances? Both should forget the past and work in unison to face the common difficulties. They should also swear before God not to wound the feelings of each other.

Need of strengthening the Hindu Moslem unity.
Gorakshan (104), 15th May.

35. Commenting upon the decision of the Ali brothers to ignore the orders of internment from the 9th of this month the *Dnyan Prakash* writes:—The Ali brothers have already waited long enough. They were obliged to resort to this sort of *Satyagraha* when they found that Government were not going to do anything in the matter of their release. Will Government reconsider the case of the brothers dispassionately and release them now? The solution of this question must not be postponed any longer and we urge Government to come to a decision as early as possible.

Duty of Government to release the Ali brothers.
Dnyan Prakash (41), 16th May.

36. The public have been disappointed in their hope of getting some relief by means of the control system. On the contrary the prices have risen abnormally high after its introduction. The control system, as introduced by Government, is certainly faulty; and so it has not proved effective in redressing the grievances of the public. The people now desire that the control system should be abolished, that

Appeal to Government to abolish the system of food control.
Jám-e-Jamshed (26), 12th May; *Praja Pokár* (75), 15th May.

the railway transport should be allowed without any restrictions whatever, that the export of food-grains should be stopped while the famine lasts in the country and that steps should be taken to provide steamers at normal freight rates for importing rice from Burma to India. We hope Government will abolish the control system without any further delay and will adopt the policy of commandeering the goods cornered by any merchant with a view to making unusual profit therefrom. [The *Praja Pokár* thinks that the control system has put the public in a very awkward position and declares that it has done a great deal of harm to the merchants of the country. It, too, prays for its immediate abolition.]

Comments on the further rise in the rupee exchange.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 15th and 16th May; *Hindusthán* (24), 17th May.

37. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* views with serious apprehensions the raising of the exchange-rate to 1*s.* 8*d.*, as it will adversely affect the Indian export trade and Indian industries. It requests Government to devise immediate means in order to counterbalance the advantage gained by the foreign competitors over the Indian industries by the rise in the rate of exchange and suggests as practical measures the abolition of the Excise Duty, the doubling of the customs tariff and the development of native industries by the State. In its subsequent issue the paper writes:—The rise in the exchange-rate has indirectly imposed a duty of 25 per cent. on all the local industries, factories, as well as agriculture. [The *Hindusthán*, while writing in the same strain further adds:—Discontent would naturally increase among the agriculturists if they would get less for their produce under the present circumstances of abnormally high prices. We do not know whether Government have consulted the commercial classes before taking this step, but it is certain that it has caused considerable alarm amongst them. Government ought to have taken into consideration the fact that many merchants will have to suffer by this sudden and unexpected rise.]

Comments on the figures of import and export by sea for 1918-19.

Kesari (109), 13th May; *Hindusthán* (24), 19th May.

38. Discussing the figures of imports and exports by sea for the year 1918-19 the *Kesari* writes:—The year was one of famine but yet foodstuffs worth 37¾ crores were exported. In 1917-18 as there were abnormal exports there was scarcity, but in 1918-19 more rice was exported than in 1917-18. It is unpardonable that more oil-seeds were exported during the year than in the preceding year. There is a famine of oil in the land and yet export of oil-seeds is taking place as if there is no need of oil for the country! Just as if we did not want manure, manures worth 61 lakhs have been exported. Nobody would believe that oil-cake worth 84 lakhs was exported while cattle are dying for want of nourishment in India; but that is the fact! Of 253 crores of exports about 60 per cent. are raw and unfinished goods. It illustrates the industrial downfall of India. Is it not possible to start factories to turn these raw materials into finished goods? 102 crores of exported finished goods include chiefly jute, tea and coffee and they are in the hands of European merchants; thus three-fourths of the profits from the finished goods go to foreigners. Cloth from England occupies the foremost place permanently in our imports. The second place is occupied by sugar. The high price of sugar is an artificial one and it appears to be due to the selfishness of merchants. Will Government adopt adequate measures if sugar merchants on inquiry are shown to be keeping the commodity back? While there is a difficulty of transport it is an unpardonable misuse of steamers that wheat worth seven crores should have been exported and one crore worth imported to make up the deficiency caused by the exported. The same thing applies to salt and coal also. The balance in our favour against England was 92 crores and 13 lakhs in 1917-18. In 1918-19, it was 84 crores and 82 lakhs. Excluding the amount retained by the Secretary of State what has become of the balance of 101 crores and 30 lakhs? Before the war the balance was met by bullion. But now private imports of gold and silver have been stopped and there are no private ways of recovering the balance. Government should

inform the public how the balance is to be met and as the war has come to a close, restrictions on imports of gold and silver should be removed. [The *Hindusthán* reproduces this article in Gujaráti.]

Comments on the boycott resolution passed at the Ahmednagar Provincial Conference.
Dnyán Prakásh (41), 16th May.

39. The Provincial Conference held at Ahmednagar has made itself ridiculous by passing the resolution on boycott. The futility of boycott as a political weapon was clearly demonstrated at the time of the agitation following the partition of Bengal. No one whould have objected to the employment of this weapon to oppose the Rowlatt law if it had had the desired effect on the last occasion. The published statistics, however, show that there was no diminution in the import of English cloth when the boycott movement was at its height. Its only effect was that it led to a policy of repression on the part of Government. It is much to be regretted that the Ahmednagar Conference should pass the resolution on boycott in spite of the previous experience.

Comments on the grant of an Air Force commission to an Indian.
Kesari (109), 13th May.

40. In 1833, a clause was inserted in the Charter of the East India Company that qualified men without consideration of caste or colour should be appointed to Government posts. The same thing was repeated in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. But till 1917 commissions were not given to Indians and last year only ten per annum were promised, five of which are to be still filled up. In the Navy Indians are not admitted and we do not know how long we shall have to wait for Naval commissions. It is susprising, therefore, that Mr. D. L. Patwardhan has been granted a commission in the Air Force in England. He had gone to England to study mechanical engineering and tried to enlist when the Great War was begun. But as he was an Indian, he could not gain an entrance. But he joined the ambulance and then gained an entrance in the army. Then he joined the Air Force and showed his mettle on many occasions. His tenacity and daring have now been rewarded with a commission. Indians are sure to win distinction in any line requiring bravery and daring, if an opportunity is given them.

Comments on the reports of the Franchise and Functions Committees.
Mahrátta (8), 18th May.

***41.** "The reports of the Franchise and the Functions Committees have been published simultaneously in England and India on Friday the 16th, and the first thing that strikes the reader is that there is no dissenting minute. The Government of India have struck a discordant note in some respects, as the summaries of their views will show, but even among them there is no unanimity, and the strong scathing condemnation of the Government of India's views on certain fundamental questions by Sir Shankaran Nair in his dissenting minute has exposed the fallaciousness of them. The Government have not thought it fit to issue to the public all the documents at once—for instance their three despatches, Sir Shankaran Nair's scheme, and the schemes in full of the Local Governments have not been issued at all—and the readers are frequently puzzled by references to these documents, and are often unable to make any head or tail of some remarks..... The Franchise Committee has discharged its duties not quite unsatisfactorily. The proportion of the elected to the nominated members in the Councils and the Assembly could have been raised from three-fourth to four-fifth as recommended by the Congress-League; women could have been enfranchised; and Anglo-Indians and Europeans, who enjoy under one pretext or the other an undue share of representation, could have been left without any special treatment. The Committee was bound by its terms of reference, and the necessity of making provision for the Grand Committees and the State Council must have prevailed upon it to lower the proportion of the elected to the nominated members. Indians do not favour the retention of these second Chambers and if they are abolished, then we think that the proportion of the elected to the nominated can be raised to four-fifth as suggested by the Congress. This is our demand..... The Functions Committee's labours seem, in view of the Delhi Congress

resolutions, to be quite superfluous. When our demand is for full provincial autonomy, it is simply waste of energy and time to decide which departments should be transferred or reserved in the provinces. Our demand is that in addition to provincial autonomy we must have some substantial share of responsibility in the Central Government. Even the Moderates have asked for this. But the Committee, by its very terms of reference, was precluded from considering this. It thus laboured where we did not want it to labour, and it was prohibited from doing what we wanted it to do. We wanted to have some departments transferred in the Government of India itself, and we do not yet understand why innocent subjects such as salt, stamps (non-judicial), central institutions of scientific and industial research and for professional or technical training, copyright, emigration and immigration (where the principle of reciprocity is now to be applied), geological survey, control of mineral development (which is necessary for our industries), inventions and designs, archæology, zoological survey, meteorology, and the like All-India subjects, which involve no danger to the peace and tranquillity of the country, should not be transferred to the charge of the Ministers..... And we do not blame the Committee for not doing what it was asked not to do. We blame the framers of the Report for hampering our progress in Responsible Government by laying down a formula which is open to dispute, and asking the Committee to be guided by that questionable formula. But even if we descend from our standpoint, and look to the proposals from the Committee's point of view, we see that the proposals of the Committee do not even come up to the recommendations of the Special Congress. Land Revenue Income-Tax, Agriculture and some other subjects have been treated as reserved subjects, along with law, justice and police. The minority consisting of Dr. Sapru, Sir Chunilal Setalvad and Sir Rahim Bux was strongly of opinion that land revenue should be consideed as a transferred subject, and Sir Shankaran Nair held the same view. But the Committee could not, even apart from this, come up to the level of the Bombay Congress, and, therefore, its recommendations would not satisfy even the Moderates.

*42. "To take the report of the Franchise Committee first, we wish at once to record our emphatic protest against the proposal to disqualify women..... The arguments with which the Committee have supported their proposal are absolutely unsound. We shall return to the subject again..... The Government of India dissent from this proposal (to give the Franchise to retired Indian Officers) on the ground that this will carry politics into the Indian Army. We are sure that the general opinion in the country will be in favour of the Committee's proposal to confer the franchise on this most deserving class of men. The interests of Indian soldiers are not at present represented in the Legislative Councils. These retired officers will be able to speak with first-hand knowledge and, therefore, with authority on the wants and aspirations of our soldiers who are as much citizens as all other Indians. We are glad that the Committee have taken a wider view of communal electorates than the distinguished authors of the joint report..... We strongly support the arguments of the Government of India in favour of giving the depressed classes more adequate representation than that suggested by the Franchise Committee. As regards the non-Brahmins of Madras, though we do not agree with all the grounds urged by the Government of India, we are entirely in favour of their suggestion to reserve a moiety of the seats of the general electorates in Madras for non-Brahmins, allowing Brahmins and non-Brahmins to contest the remaining seats without restriction. We had ourselves suggested that something of the kind should be done in the case of the Marathas in Bombay, and we hope this will be done. The new era cannot be assured of a full measure of success unless we do everything possible to start our reform scheme so as to secure the goodwill of all classes of the population. By the side of this important requiremnt, mere academical arguments are of no value..... With regard to the qualifications of candidates, we wish once again to urge what we have repeatedly urged before, namely, that there should be no residential restriction. The Committee have recommended, and the Government of India have accepted, the

Indian Social Reformer (7), 18th May.

imposition of such a restriction in some provinces. Madras and Bengal are to be exempted. The only argument we have heard advanced in favour of this restriction is that it will not do to encourage the carpet-bagger. This is really rather abuse than argument. But in any case what is right in Madras and Bengal cannot be wrong in Bombay and the Punjab..... The Government of India object to University representation on the ground—the same as that urged against conferring the franchise on retired Indian army officers—that it will carry politics into academic circles..... We trust that the Secretary of State will not lend countenance to a suggestion so retrograde and prejudiced."

Young India (16), 17th May.

43. "We cannot help observing that the Transferred List suggested for the Provinces is, on the face of it, unsatisfactory and illiberal. We are afraid that the mental indifference of some of the Local Governments to the system of dyarchy must have gone some way in making the task of the Indian minister ridiculously circumscribed and, on the whole, inconsequential. The Madras Government are, of course, tooth and nail against the structure of Government in the Reforms Report. The Governments of Bombay and the Punjáb and the Chief Commissioner of Assam seem to have offered 'alternative' schemes, while the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces merely pleaded for time and training. The impression we have gained at a glance is that the citadel of power will continue as of old, but Indians will be asked to content themselves with a wooden scaffolding on its pattern with three legs to support. While India asks for substantial reform to start with the Government of India, it will not do to ask her to wait for ten years with shadowy improvements in provincial Governments."

Sánj Vartamán (33), 16th and 17th May; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 17th May.

44. The report of the Franchise Committee is satisfactory in a large measure. The strength of the proposed Legislative Council is also satisfactory and the Committee has done well in accepting the principle of direct election. On the other hand the report of the Subjects Committee is unsatisfactory and disappointing. The portfolios to be placed under the control of the people are very few in number and are of little importance. The Revenue Department should have been placed in the hands of the people. The high hopes entertained of the Committee have not been realised. [In a subsequent issue the paper endorses the remarks made by Sir Sankaran Nair on the recommendations of the Government of India on the Southborough Committees and condemns the recommendations as narrow and reactionary. It expresses a fear that if they are accepted the proposed responsible government will be only so in name inasmuch as the resolutions of the Legislative Councils will be recommandatory in the matter of Reserved Departments and will not be binding upon Government. It, therefore, exhorts the people to protest against these recommendations which in its opinion take away with the left hand what is given with the right. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* also endorses Sir Sankaran Nair's minute of dissent and suggests that a monster petition should be submitted to Parliament supporting Sir Sankaran's views.]

Comments on the administration of Mr. H. S. Lawrence, Commissioner in Sind.

Sind Vdsi (55), 7th May.

45. As the Honourable Mr. Lawrence, who is proceeding on six months leave may not return to this province, it seems proper for us to review his administration. We must say at the outset that we cannot congratulate him on the manner in which he has administered the affairs of this Province. The following are the shortcomings of his administration which have come to our notice:—(1) His policy of making distinction between Hindus and Muhammadans and advancing the latter at the cost of the former; (2) his constant interference with the progress of Local Self-government in Sind; (3) his policy as regards Mulla schools; and (4) his recent policy of repression. As regards (1) our readers must be remembering what we have said about it before and we are not disposed to discuss this matter ag in in view of the general desire for union between the two communities and in order not to offend in any way our Muhammadan brethren. We cannot help

observing, however, that what we do not approve of is not that Muhammadans are given appointments in the public service but that the rights of those who are already in the service are disregarded. As regards (2) we must admit that the Municipalities and Local Boards in Sind have, in the time of Mr. Lawrence, been given larger rights than they had. We know that some towns have been granted municipal rights, some have been given the right of franchise and some have been given the right of electing their president. Similarly Local Boards have been given non-official vice-presidents, etc., etc. But all these favours have been conferred in pursuance of a declared policy of the Government of India and of the Bombay Government and not as the result of a direct dispensation from the Commissioner in Sind. Another thing to which we wish to refer in this connection is that in spite of these reforms, there is no improvement in local self-government in Sind. And for this Mr. Lawrence's frequent interference is responsible. The extension of the term of the Committee of Management at Hyderabad, the unseemly interference with the Municipalities of Sukkur, Shikárpur, Lárkána and Rohri, the manner in which an odious tax like the house-tax was fastened on Larkana and Rohri, all these disfigure the administration of Mr. Lawrence. As regards (3), for fear of offending some though not all of our Muhammadan brethren we prefer to keep quiet. They think that we are enemies of their education, but the fact is that the policy as regards Mulla schools has made them blind. Mulla schools are practically useless and have made Muhammadan education an unreal thing. Time will come when our Muhammadan brethren will realise the evil effects of this policy. As regards (4) it is a policy of recent growth and there is no knowing what it will lead to. There was no sedition and no revolutionary crime in Sind, and yet there have been so many house searches and arrests! And yet the Seditious Meetings Act has been extended to Sind! We cannot help saying that Mr. Lawrence did no good turn to Sind even at the time of his departure from the province. He has done the province a service which can never secure him the blessing of its people and which will always, when reminding them of him, give rise to curses in their hearts. As he is now leaving this province, our prayer is that wherever he may go hereafter, God may give him a better understanding so that he may be a friend of the people and thus serve his country and his nation.

46. After remarking that it understands the reorganisation of the Public Works Department is under consideration, the *Sind Moslem* remarks:—"In Sind, the functions of the Public Works Department consist mainly of maintaining the Canal System of the Province and distribution of water-supply among the Zamindars for agriculture. The majority of the Sind Zamindars being Musalmans, whose chief occupation is agriculture, their interests in the department in Sind are of the highest importance. The question of water-supply being the most important factor in the material prosperity of the Musalman agricultural population of Sind, it behoves the Government of Bombay to take proper steps to safeguard their interests in this matter by increasing the number of Mussalmans in the service..... Now that the reorganisation of the Public Works Department has been taken in hand and Mussalman young men are taking to this line, would it be too much to request the Government to reserve at least two places every year for Musalman graduates in engineering till their number comes to be the same as that of the Hindus. This same legitimate want of the Musalmans in the Revenue Department was felt and has been supplied by the Bombay Government last year. The necessity of safeguarding their interests in the Public Works Department is equally great, if not more."

Alleged need of employing Muhammadans more freely in the Public Works Department.
Sind Moslem (12), 10th May.

47. "The proceedings taken by the local authorities in Sind after the *Satyagraha* demontrations appear to show that they were dictated more by panic than by the necessity of the situation that had arisen in Sind after the demonstrations of the 10th of April..... We shall take by way of illustration of the truth of our remarks, one Mr. Narsinglal's case. He was arrested without warrant, bail fixed for his release was a personal bond of Rs. 50,000 and two sureties of the like sum. One of the sureties

Protest against certain steps taken by the authorities in Sind against the *Satyagraha* movement.
Young India (16), 17th May.

strangely enough received, after the bail-bond was executed, an order from the Collector of Karáchi to leave British India. Naturally he connected the notice with the surety bond and pomptly withdrew it. Mr. Narsinglal was, therefore, unable to replace the withdrawn surety. Nobody in view of the Collector's action would help him. He had to move the appellate court for reduction of the amount of bail. The prosecution presented a sorry spectacle. They had even to admit that there was no case against Mr. Narsinglal and that the whole of the proceedings against him were to be withdrawn as they subsequently were..... We do not wonder that the court quickly reduced the bail to a one-hundredth of the original amount. We wonder that it was considered necessary to fix any bail at all, in view of the damaging admissions made by the prosecuting counsels. There is yet another case demanding public attention. One Mr. Manilal Jadhavji Vyas has written to the Vernacular Press about his own case. He is a native of Káthiáwár. He seems to have resided in Karáchi for several years. On the 4th of May, under section 3 of Act III of 1884, he received notice to leave British India. He may find himself a ruined man if his liberty is not quickly restored to him. No valid reason seems to have been given to justify the extraordinary procedure. The order raises a question of great importance, *viz.*, the status of those born in protected India. There are thousands of Indians from the territories of Indian Chiefs who have settled in British India. To all intents and purposes they are British subjects. They share with the latter at least the same disabilities. Indian Chiefs are under allegiance to the Crown. They have no status save what is granted to them by the Crown. If subjects of such states are to be regarded as foreigners their position becomes absolutely insecure and they may by a stroke of the pen be deprived of their liberty to (*sic*) their possessions without any trial whatsoever. The Sind authorities have, therefore, in their panic raised a very big issue. His Excellency the Governor has shown that he at least will not act in panic. We hope that he will make personal investigations and correct the mistakes made by the local authorities in Sind and restore public confidence which has received a rude shock by reason of the overzeal of Sind officials".

48. One Manilal Jadhavji Vyas writes to the *Hindusthán* :—The Commissioner in Sind has deported Manishankar Somnath and myself from British territory on the pretext of our being subjects of Native States with a view to deal a deadly blow to the *Satyagraha* movement. From the conversation I had with the District Magistrate I learnt that he did not like my letter exhorting the *Satyagraha* Sabha of Karáchi to wake up and so he took the step of deporting me and thus crushing my newly established business. Rájkot is my birth-place but I have no house or means of living there and so by taking the step they have taken against me, the authorities have saved Government the expenses of maintaining me in prison and at the same time striking terror in the hearts of *Satyagrahis* by starving one of them. But a *Satyagrahi* welcomes pain with a smile and does not give up truth even when he stands the danger of being killed. The Native States have helped Britain in protecting the Empire in a manner known all over the world. But when the Government of India are emboldened to declare the subjects of Native States as foreigners and to deport them, what can the Native States do? [The *Gujaráti* publishes a letter from the same person in which he declares that he has done nothing wrong or any thing that could be construed as disloyal, and questions the justice of the step taken against him by the authorities in Sind. He concludes by praying that the ill-feeling between the rulers and the ruled may be removed and that Government may see their way to repeal the black legislation so that the Europeans and Indians may be welded into one nation.]

Hindusthán (24), 10th May; *Gujaráti* (20), 11th May.

49. While our Brahmin leaders lose no opportunity to denounce the Rowlatt Act, the Press Act, etc., their castemen are busy employing the same enactments to suppress the legitimate movements of the non-Brahmins. Mr. Vibhute of Tasgaon (Sátára) usually keeps aloof from politics and he has spent all his life in endeavouring to better the condition of the backward classes. But as he happens to be a *Satyashodhak*

Protest against imposition of security on a new proposed organ of the Satyashodhak Samáj.

Jágaruk (45), 10th May.

Samajist the Brahmin officials of the place demanded a security of Rs. 500 from him as the editor of the paper *Satyodaya* which he meant to start, and thus killed it while still in embryo. As this act of high-handedness passed unchallenged, the Mamlatdar of Karad apparently became more bold and has now prohibited the *Samajists* from delivering any lectures, etc., within the limits of Karad. We would ask the non-Brahmins of this locality not to be discouraged by these acts of oppression but to complain to European officials who will surely right their wrongs.

MUNICIPALITIES.

Objections to the Taluka Local Board Voters' list for Kumta (Kárwár).
Kánara Vritt (86), 7th May.

50. Referring to the List of Local Board Voters in Kumta Taluka (district Kánara) (*vide* paragraph No. 65 of Weekly Report No. 19 of 1919), the *Kánara Vritt* writes :—It would be pardonable if there were a few mistakes. But it is unpardonable that a number of names should be omitted. The Mamlatdar posted cards on the 29th April in reply to applications for being included in the voters' list that the applications bore no stamps and that applications with stamps should be made or that stamps should be sent within 30th idem. Let the officials consider when the order posted on the 29th April would have reached people in villages and how it was possible to send a reply with stamps within the 30th. The Mamlatdar or the clerk has made the mistake of not including the names in the list. Why should voters be mulcted and asked to pay for stamps? Who is responsible for all this? If the higher officials come to form the opinion that Local Board elections are not successful on account of the apathy of the people, we shall point to the Mamlatdar's office as responsible for it.

NATIVE STATES.

Comments on the heavy sentences passed by the Rájkot Durbar on the editor and the proprietor of the *Káthiáwár Samáchár*.
Gujaráti Punch (22), 11th May.

51. Commenting upon the sentence of ten years' imprisonment passed by the Rájkot Durbar on a charge of treason on Messrs. Bhat and Raval, the proprietor and the editor respectively of the *Káthiáwár Samáchár*, Ahmedabad, the *Gujaráti Punch* writes :—The public would have been able to judge of the propriety or otherwise of this sentence if the Durbar had published some account of the offence of which they are convicted. Except for a very grave offence such a heavy sentence cannot be passed. We have heard the following from the manager of that paper :—Mr. Bhat had been invited by a C. I. D. Officer of the Durbar to Rájkot for change of air. There he was all of a sudden arrested in the house of his host. Mr. Bhat had called Mr. Raval to Rájkot on some business. The detective being aware of his (Mr. Raval's) arrival at the Rajkot station at a particular time got him arrested on the station. Next day their case was conducted *in camera* before the Thakor Saheb, the Diwan and the detective officer; no evidence was taken and in a very short time the judgment was pronounced. No reply was given to Mr. Bhat's inquiry why such a heavy sentence was passed on them without any offence of theirs. The judgment was executed and their property at Rájkot was confiscated though nothing was said in the judgment about the property. The family, therefore, has now nothing to live upon. The offence of treason must be proved by open inquiry and the reasons for the confiscation of Mr. Bhat's property should be given. If these details are true we advise the Rajkot Durbar to make a really judicial inquiry into the case by giving the accused an opportunity of taking the help of counsel and by giving them a proper hearing. We fail to understand why the Durbar did not choose such a course. In the British territory a sedition case is conducted in open court and a proper hearing is given to the accused. If the *Káthiáwár Samáchár* which is always loyal to the British *raj* has written anything against the Rájkot Durbar, at least the dates of the issues in which such matter is published must be given to the public.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 23rd May 1919.

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*Reported in advance.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 24th May 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. "The Southborough Committee proposes that out of the 15 major subjects under the control of the Provincial Governments aboubt 9 should be transferred to popular control. And it must be remembered that all these transferred subjects do not produce revenue, except forests (in Bombay) and excise (except in Assam), but require expenditure and outlay to meet popular wishes as expressed in the Legislative Council from time to time..... The other transferred subjects such as education, sanitation, provincial buildings, agriculture, co-operative societies and industries come under the category of spending departments, and where is the money for these to come from? Evidently from the leavings of the reserved subjects..... The spirit of retrenchment cannot be encouraged under diarchy and the Minister's position becomes most unenviable under two masters, We know the Ministers can propose taxation but fresh taxation will only make the Minister's position most awkward."

Comments on the Functions Committee's Report. *New Times* (9), 20th May.

*2. "The head of a Department under the Minister can approach the Governor and is allowed a means of riding over the head of his minister. The I. C. S. memorial speaks of the Civilian's inability to accept responsibility to the public for the results of orders forced upon him, forgetting the fundamental fact that when obeying the orders of the Minister he is responsible to the Minister and the Minister alone. Yet the Viceroy has not told us what becomes of the reponsibility of the Minister to the public when the head of a department under the Minister has access to the Governor who is to over-ride the Minister's decision..... It will only tend to add to the strain now existing between the politically minded classes and the bureaucracy which, we are sure, every one strives not only to avoid but even to remove the chances of creation. Unless, therefore, this issue is settled to the satisfaction of both parties the Reforms will be of no avail and will perhaps tend to aggravate what they are intended to pacify..... It is but a natural consequence of the system to be adopted that the Executive Officer cannot be responsible to the public. If the Civilian had and has this responsibility before him in the discharge of his duties, there has been so far no one to call the Civilian to accouut except the higher orders of his own hierarchy whose decisions are based more on considerations of 'prestige' and fame than on public welfare..... Instead of telling the Civilians what they are meant for Lord Chemsford has given them assurances. These assurances, combined with the movements of the Indo-British Association, may have an influence upon Mr. Montagu and through him the Parliament. The Indian deputations must fight against this. It is better to have no Minister than one who is not placed so as to command the executive officers of his Department, whose decisions may be defied by them by approach to the Governor with the possible chances of their being over-ridden. This part of the Reforms will be a sham unless the Minister has full and complete powers of command over his executive officers."

Kaiser-i-Hind (27), 25th May, Eng. cols.

3. "Though every one must be disappointed with some feature or other of its [Functions Committee's] report—that was bound to be the case from the very character of its composition—there will be no one but will hail with enthusiasm a great many of its recommendations..... It would have been easy enough for each member of the Committee to have borne testimony in a dissenting minute to the faith in him and to have developed his own ideas, but it would not have advanced much further the solution of the question which he was called upon to tackle..... But it will be admitted by all dispassionate observers that, for the Committee that it was, the schemes whether of franchise or functions which it has devised are fairly progressive and afford an excellent working basis for the Reform Bill now about to be introduced. ..... The Government of India's dispatch, however, is very reactionary.

Servant of India (10), 22nd May.

It proposes the retention in the Government's hands of the department of industries and all branches of education except primary and middle vernacular..... In the matter of land revenue, even if administration were to be retained in official hands, the fixing of the level of taxation must be done by non-officials. It is only because the land tax is raised or lowered by executive action, that it has escaped from popular control; if legislative action is substituted for it, it will automatically pass into the hands of non-officials along with other 'taxation for provincial purposes'. This is a modest demand and is imperative in the interests of the country. The deputations in England will, we feel sure, press the matter on the attention of the British statesmen. For the moment, even more, perhaps, than the number of departments to be transferred, does the question of the minister and the legislative council being allowed to exercise full control over the services that may be transferred to them assume greater importance, and we are afraid the popular disappointment will be very keen as to the way in which the latter question is being dealt with. An illiberal solution of these questions may easily smash the whole of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report."

4. The *Kesari* holds the attitude of the Government of India towards the Southborough Committee's report to be reactionary and supports the criticisms of Sir Sankaran Nair directed against the bureaucracy. It further adds:—The Delhi Congress made a demand for full provincial autonomy. The non-official members of the Bombay Legislative Council were the first to make a strong demand for the reform, and the last and the present Governors of the Bombay Presidency did not vote against it and it strengthened the Delhi demand. The people of the Bombay Presidency and the members of the Bombay Legislative Council cannot but feel sorry for the absence of full provincial autonomy, at least for Bombay, in the Committee's Report. The Committee does not even come up to the Bombay Congress. It was a great mistake to make Land Revenue a reserved subject. When once there is to be a division of subjects and the navy, army, etc., handed over to the British bureaucracy, is it not the duty of Mr. Montagu to afford sufficient political opportunity to Indians? If Land Revenue is to be reserved it will make the agriculturists apathetic towards politics. That party will secure the posts of ministers which will secure the support of three to four lakhs of agriculturists out of the total six to seven lakhs of voters. The spread of education, the development of industries and the removal of the poverty of the people will be the future ideals of Indian politics, but if land revenue be kept a reserved subject it will be hard for all Indian parties to place their programme before the people and get it approved. If land revenue is reserved that party which will submit to the orders of the bureaucracy will get a majority in the Council and persons who parade as the people's ministers will have to be at the beck and call of the bureaucracy. The Government of India have withdrawn parts of departments, proposed to be handed over to the people, from popular control. The Government of India does not want the Municipalities and Local Boards to have the right of issuing loans. Medical education, higher and secondary education are to be in the hands of the bureaucracy. Even light railways and tramways are not to be in the hands of the people. That party which will convince the people that we want to remove the poverty of the people and also make them ready to bear additional burdens, will be successful. If higher education is to be in the hands of the bureaucracy and if industrial education and industries are not to be handed over, what party will voluntarily bring round the middle classes to bear additional taxes? The master keys for winning the consent of the people will be in the hands of the bureaucracy and the responsibility will be thrown upon the ministers. There will be ample opportunity for the bureaucracy in these circumstances to declare ministers to be unfit. The Government of India have ignored the Congress resolutions and followed a reactionary policy even regarding the Southborough proposals, in order to get such an opportunity. The deputations that are in England should see that these proposals do not influence the Montagu Bill and they should see that Bombay and Delhi Congress resolutions are duly honoured. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* writes:—Excepting the

Kesari (109), 20th May; *Dnyán Prakásh* (41), 18th, 20th, 22nd and 23rd May.

point of 'minor irrigation', the Southborough Committee has handed over to the people all the departments so mentioned in the Montagu reports. In some respects it has given additional departments to the people, *viz.*, higher education. In the issue of the 20th instant the paper writes:—The degree of the control over the purse and the position of the ministers are very important points in any scheme. It is desirable to have as many departments as possible transferred. It does not matter if we get some departments less; but of those given, we should possess full control. The real test of determining whether the control is real or ornamental will be the degree of control of the purse exercised. According to the Government of India scheme, Government will be able to get their financial resolutions passed by sending them to the Grand Committee. The Government of India also propose that budget resolutions of the Legislative Council should not be binding on the Executive Government, but that the Minister should resign if an adverse resolution is passed by the Council. Government have by this means, tried to kill two birds with one stone. For, by this means while Government will be relieved of the necessity for caring for public opinion, the position of the Ministers alone will be weakened. By dividing the finances, the object of the Montagu Scheme of having popular control over the administration will be frustrated. The Government of India argue that by the arrangement proposed by them conflicts between the Ministers and Councillors will be rarer, but as Sir Sankaran Nair says they will rather increase. Secondly Government say that ministers under their arrangement need not incur the odium of imposing additional taxation, but any self-respecting Minister will say that the odium *plus* control over the purse will be welcome. In its issue of the 22nd the paper says:—The Committee has adopted the system of direct elections. It would have been better if the same system had been followed in the case of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. It is satisfactory that the Committee has widened the franchise. It has adopted the Congress-League Scheme regarding Muhammadan representation. The Committee should have rejected communal representation all round, if it did not want it. It should not have conferred the right of returning members on Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians in same provinces. In the Council there will be European Officers and European members representing special interests and such communal representation was not needed. It should have adopted the system of bigger constituencies returning four or five members so that the interests of minorities could be preserved. The residential qualification is unsatisfactory, specially as it is not to obtain in certain provinces. The Government of India object to University representation. We know what value to attach to their objections in this matter. They want matters to be referred to local Governments wherever they differ from the Committee. But the effect will be, whether it is intended or not, to delay the reforms. We should all try to see how soon we can have the Reforms Bill in Parliament. In its issue of the 23rd instant the paper says that education is one and that it cannot be partitioned and that it should be controlled by one person and it holds that it is better to have it in the hands of the people than in those of Government. It further quotes the opinion of Sir Sankaran Nair that political motives have guided the policy of Government in the past and thinks at present also the same motives are at the bottom of the recommendations of Government.]

*5. The Reports of the Southborough Committees and the Government of India Dispatches in that connection furnish disappointing reading. They do not evince that liberal policy that might be expected to be embodied therein in order to redeem the promise contained in the Declaration of 20th August 1917. Unfortunately the copies of these Reports are not still available. The authorities may have forgotten to supply them to the public on account of their multifarious engagements; but all the same it is necessary that they should be made available to the public. We cannot support the complete exclusion of women from the list of electors. The

Comments on the Franchise Committee's Report. *Hindusthán* (24), 20th, 21st and 22nd May; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 22nd and 23rd May; *Bombay Samáchár* (62), 20th, 22nd and 24th May.

number of the electors, howsoever large it may appear numerically, is very small in proportion to the vast population of the provinces. The Franchise Committee has erred in excluding the literate class as such from voting. We are anxious to see political reform in this country but at the same time its foundation should be so laid as to preclude the possibility of the moneyed classes usurping all power in consequence of their wealth. As tax-payers are given a right to vote, in the same way, had the educated class, which can play a prominent part in the administration, been accorded a similar right, they would have been able to give the benefit of their knowledge to others. Have the officials a kind of prejudice against the educated class of the country that they are thrown in the background as far as possible? It is as necessary to enfranchise the educated class as it is to enfranchise the tax-payer. It is a satisfaction to note that the Franchise Committee has refused to recognise the right of communal representation in respect of various minor communities. In fact it was not possible for the Committee to do so. [In its next issue the paper writes:—The bureaucracy would not like to transfer the control of all Departments to the people and so the Montagu-Chelmsford Report recommended the transfer of some of them to the people. It is certainly regrettable that the Government of India have shown narrower a mind in this connection than even the Committee. Of the eighteen departments recommended by the Committee for transfer only two or three are really important. The present Governor of Bombay and his predecessor did not object to transferring even all departments to the popular control. Why should not then a beginning of an experiment of that kind be made in this presidency? The attitude of the Government of India in connection with the transfer of higher education is highly objectionable. The policy of treating the Universities as Government departments, adopted since the time of Lord Curzon has proved a great impediment in the progress of the higher education of this country. Sir Sankaran Nair has done a service to the country by writing his able minute of dissent in this respect. On the whole, the Reports of the Southborough Committees are disappointing in many respects but the Dispatch of the Government of India is much more disappointing. The *Sánj Vartamán* calls upon the ladies of Bombay to protest against their exclusion from voting and opines that the Committee's recommendations regarding the granting of franchise, based on property qualifications, are satisfactory and liberal. In its next issue it adds:—It is gratifying to note that the Committee has stuck to the settlements arrived at by the Congress and the Moslem League at Lucknow. We hope the Secretary of State also will not interfere with them as to do so is likely to cause some discontent among the Muhammadans. The *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—It will not be futile to hope that under the new scheme there will be effective popular control on the administration. It is good that an exception is made of the subjects of the Native States, but the public will not like the disfranchisement of the Universities. In its subsequent issue the paper declares that the Committee's decision in connection with the election of the members of the Imperial Legislative Council will scarcely satisfy those who advocate the system of direct election; but all the same the grounds on which it is based seem justifiable. It urges the Government of India to drop the idea of creating the Council of State.]

*6. *Gujarátí* (20), 25th May; Eng. cols.

"The general proposals for the franchise are based upon the principle of residence within the constiuency and the possession of certain property qualifications. A rigorous application of this principle in the case of districts, for instance, in one and the same Division is calculated to keep out really competent men without securing any commensurate advantage. It is difficult to justify the illiberal attitude taken up by the Franchise Committee on the question of the enfranchisement of women. Some of them will be found to be even more competent than men voters and we must enter our strong protest against the exclusion of women from the electoral roll. The constitution of the Universities as separate constituencies is in accordance with English precedents, and we fail to see why the Government of India should have opposed this proposal when they have acquiesced in the concession of even excessive representation to European Chambers of Commerce

and separate representation to Europeans and Anglo-Indians. If the Government of India had known fully the history of the compact arrived at by the Congress and the Muslim League at Lucknow, we do not think they would have attempted to depart from its terms and proposed a higher percentage of representation for the Muhammadan community in Bengal than that fixed in the compact..... We are sorry the Indian Government have sought to open a controversy which had been finally settled after prolonged and vehement discussions between the leading representatives of of the two communities in 1916..... Subjects like agriculture and sanitation, which had hitherto been comparatively neglected by Government and will entail enormous outlay if the insanitary and agricultural conditions in the districts are to be improved, are included in the list of transferred subjects. We are glad education and development of industries have been included in this list, but it is very disappointing that the Government of India, excepting Sir Sankaran Nair who has written an able dissenting Minute, have opposed this important recommendation. Their illiberal attitude in this connection is not a little incomprehensible and will make the public more suspicious than they already are regarding the sincerity of the intention of Government to develop Indian industries to the prejudice, it may be, of the interests of British trade and industry. The subjects proposed for transfer by the Committee could have been safely added to. In fact, the Government of India have been generous enough to add a few more subjects including Museums and Zoological Gardens to the Committee's list and we hope the Indian Ministers will be able to procure monkeys, zebras and rhinoceroses from Africa and elsewhere for the edification and amusent of little children."

*7. "The Government of India is right in holding that a considerable enlargement of the Madras electorate is necessary. Some enlargement of the Punjab electorate is also necessary, as suggested by that Government. We are of opinion that the total number of literates in each province affords a rough measure of what the total number of electors in that province should be. This is not to say that every literate person should be given the vote: some literates may not have the vote and some illiterate persons may have it on the strength of property qualifications. We accept the reasons against making literacy a principal qualification, but at the same time, in a country like India where it represents a somewhat rare achievement, literacy should not be made a disqualification, as it is when you enfranchise only about 400,000 persons in Madras where the total male literates above 20 years of age number over two millions. From this point of view, the United Provinces and Bengal get suitable electorates under the scheme proposed by the Southborough Committee. The Government of India wish to see the size of the electorates in these two provinces cut down but we think this ought not not to be done. Apart from other grounds, we hold that the Government of India and the Secretary of State should interfere only to liberalise and not to narrow down the proposals of a provincial government. In Bombay on this principle an electorate of about one million persons would be a proper one. The total number of voters proposed by the Southborough Committee is about 650,000..... The question of the eligibility of subjects of Indian States to vote at and stand as candidates for elections to the Legislative Councils, is one on which the Government of India have expressed themselves as being strongly at variance with the recommendation of the Southborough Committee..... We think a middle course between those suggested by the Committee and the Government of India will clearly be the right course to adopt. The recommendation of the Committee should be amended so as to apply only to subjects of Indian States who have lived in British territory continuously, for, say, five or seven years..... The most important point on which they (*i.e.*, the Government of India) have taken a retrograde view is the representation of the Universities in the Provincial Legislative Councils. We would like to see the Universities represented not only in the Provincial Councils, but also in the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. We trust it may yet be possible to supply this serious omission in the proposals for the two chambers of the Indian Legislature..... The work

Indian Social Reformer (7), 25th May.

assigned to the Functions Committee, which was presided over by Mr. Feetham, was more difficult and complex than even that of the Franchise Committee; and it will be the verdict of all open-minded and impartial judges that the Committee have acquitted themselves well in getting through their task. The Government of India's despatch on the Functions Committee's report is, as might have been expected, rather sharply at issue with several of the recommendations of the Committee. As against this has to be set the trenchant minute of dissent of the Honourable Sir Sankaran Nair, appended to the despatch, in which the Indian Member of the Government of India elaborates his reasons for supporting some of the conclusions of Mr. Feetham's Committee, which do not commend themselves to his colleagues."

Rashtra Hitaishi (117), 21st May; *Indu Prakash* (44), 19th May; *Surya* (new), 21st and 22nd May.

8. The Franchise Committee was wrong in not accepting the suggestion made to it by several bodies that unless a man is able to read and write he should not be considered as eligible to vote. The system of electing members directly instead of through the Local Boards and Municipalities will not, in our opinion, benefit us in the absence of an educational test. It will only result in incapable men being returned to the Legislative Councils as most of the voters will not be able to weigh for themselves the qualifications of the several candidates. The Universities are not allowed additional representation and, therefore, the educated classes cannot be said to have acquired any fresh privileges. A man convicted of an offence revealing moral turpitude is debarred from standing as a candidate for election but the Governor is empowered to remove his ineligibility. This provision is, in our opinion, ridiculous. There will be no uniformity in this respect as a Governor will decide for himself which offences come under this category and which do not. Generally people do not suppose that a man convicted of sedition is guilty of moral turpitude but a Governor might hold an opposite view and debar him from standing as a candidate. In short while a totally ignorant man will have the vote if he has some property, it will be denied to a very learned man if he happens not to have any. [*Indu Prakash* and the *Surya* express their dissatisfaction at the proposal of the Committee not to enfranchise women. In a subsequent issue the *Surya* says that the policy adopted by the Government of India in the matter of reforms is reactionary.]

Comments on the Honourable Sir Sankaran Nair's minute of disent.
Young India (16), 24th May.

9. "The standing grievance of India has been that her affairs are not in actual fact managed in the true interests of her people—whatever the intentions of British statesmen. The test of a well-governed country is the manner in which its wealth is used by the State to promote the welfare of the people. India in this respect has been the victim of a cruel irony. For, while the country is infinitely rich in resources, actual and potential, its people are on the whole, among the poorest in the world, if not the poorest. The reasons are not far to seek. They are to be found, in the main, in the fact that the country has been kept as a preserve of power and privilege for the alien bureaucrat and a happy hunting ground for the alien exploiter..... Ever since the days of Dadabhai Naoroji Indian critics of the administration have found no reason to change their view that the results produced have, on the whole, been disastrous to the people. In his evidence before the Welby Commission in 1897, the late M.r Gokhale summed up this view..... And that is the verdict which, in substance, is embodied in Sir Sankaran Nair's indictment of the prevailing bureaucratic system of admininstration, especially in regard to land revenue, industries and education. The political problem of India is the problem of the poverty of her people. And Indian poverty says Sir Sankaran Nair in his minute of dissent to the Government of India's despatch on the Southborough Committee's Report, 'is attributable to the land revenue and industrial policy hitherto followed.'..... Not less immense and painful have been the results of the industrial policy consistently pursued, since the days of the East India Company. The form of the policy has been varied and refined with the passage of time, but its main object has remained the same—to extract the wealth of Hind for the benefit of Britain and her people..... To recall what India was industrially—

the richest country in the world, at once the envy and the attraction of every people—and to contemplate the position to which she has been relegated under British rule during a period which saw the amazing rise, from almost nothing, of Japan and, still more of Germany, not to speak of other countries, in the sphere of industry, is enough to realise the paralysing effects of the industrial domination of her people by those of Britain. Sir Sankaran recalls that lost glory of India and brings home the fact how deliberate steps were taken by the East India Company to destroy the industries of the people and make room for Western manufactures with the object of reducing India to the level of a merely agricultural country, producing raw materials and how that policy was continued under the Crown, making the country more dependent than any other country on the face of the earth, on the foreign manufactures.... ..... The Government of India, for reasons which are no less deplorable than obvious, are anxious to perpetuate the policy of industrial domination, as is evident from their refusal to accept the Southborough Committee's proposal to make the development of industries a 'transferred' subject. Against this, as a patriot, Sir Sankaran Nair has raised his powerful and emphatic voice. And he demands that India must come into her own: she must control the exploitation of her resources in the interest of her own people. ..... And Sir Sankaran Nair has no difficulty in demonstating the futility of the objections raised, on self-regarding motives, to the transfer of the development of industries to the Minister..... So much for the history of India's poverty which has been, so to speak, 'fostered' by the bureaucratic system of administration. The story, as revealed by Sir Sankaran Nair, of the intellectual starvation of her people, is not less formidable and painful. Of that more anon."

*10. "About the transfer of Education to Ministerial control, there has arisen a sharp difference of opinion between the Functions Committee and the Government of India, excepting of course the present Education Member, Sir Sankaran Nair. ..... After this scathing condemnation by the Government Member himself, it is easy to assess the value of the Government's arguments about retaining the control of higher and secondary education to themselves. And the cat comes out of the bag when the Government touch that delicate point handled by the Rowlatt Committee in its report. This confirms what Sir Sankaran Nair has said openly, and the Government are not ready to leave education, higher and secondary, to the minister for political considerations. This is perhaps the chief and the most potent argument in their armoury. But the fun of the whole thing is that the Government advance exactly conflicting arguments to suit their own purposes. For, when they advocate the transfer of primary education, they do so on the ground that 'an opportunity for mistakes' must be given. But when they come to the subject of higher and secondary education, they are afraid to hand over the subject 'to untried hands'! An exactly opposite reason, is it not? Here no opportunity for mistake is to be given! To do so, they say, would be a 'dereliction of duty'! But Government need not now be so much anxious for what they call their duty. We know that during the last sixty years they have not discharged it satisfactorily. And the time has presently come to see that those who have confessed their failure and proved unfit should be removed from that duty. And even in those matters which must be reserved to the Government of India, we demand that there, too, the subject must be under the control of an Indian Minister. Indians have had sufficient experience of leaving the control in the hands of Europeans, and they are grievously disappointed in it. They, therefore, demand, and rightly demand, that Indians must have that department under their control from the highest to the lowest, and if possible a purely Indian-manned service for that department. That department, therefore, whether in the central or in the provincial Government, must be managed by Indians from top to bottom. Sir Sankaran Nair has been the head of it, and the same policy of selecting an Indian Minister can be, and should be, pursued henceforth with profit. This will give satisfaction to all. But if the views of the Government of India prevail, then the basic distrust, engendered in the minds of Indians by the political intentions of Government, will not only be heightened but even widened."

Mâhrâtta (8), 25th May.

11. "The Committee on the Division of Functions has wisely come to the conclusion that the whole subject of education, with the insignificant exception of European and Anglo-Indian education, should be transferred to the control of the ministers..... It is, however, on this very point that the Government of India are taking a reactionary attitude. They are only in favour of tranferring primary or vernacular education, but want to reserve secondary, university, professional and industrial education to what they call the more tried part of Government. Their arguments will not hold much water and have been conclusively answered by the Honourable Sir Sankaran Nair whom we respectfully take leave to congratulate on the bold stand he has made on this question. Without any periphrasis, he roundly says, 'Those who would keep education a reserved subject do so, I fear, not in the interest of educational progress, but for political reasons. They have themselves no scheme of education in view, and their predecessors have been going on making experiment after experiment, all in the face of Indian protest, which they themselves have now to acknowledge have ended in failure.' Consider this confession by the Government of India itself of the subject of primary education: 'It is very limited in quantity; there is great wastage by the way; teachers are ill-paid, poor in quality and commanding little respect; the inspection is insufficient and indifferent; as a result the course takes too long and yields but small results; and very little of the knowledge attained remains in after life.' After this candid confession of its ill-success in dealing with a department which has been almost wholly under Government control, it hardly lies with them to say that a minister will mismanange this whole subject of education. In fact, what has been the history of the last thirty years? Such popular opinion as there is has always advocated a progressive educational policy. The late Mr. Gokhale insisted upon a wide expansion of free and compulsory education and brought in a Bill which was opposed by the very Government which is now afraid of the dire consequences of transferring education as a whole. Let it be clearly understood that the following words of the Education Member clearly echo Indian feeling. 'There is no use ignoring the fact that the Indians are satisfied that all these changes were made with a sinister purpose. It is the universal belief, and there is little doubt that facts unfortunately tend to support it, that primary education for the masses and higher education for the middle classes are discouraged for political reasons. Higher professional and industrial education is discouraged to favour English industries and recruitment in England of English officials.' The facts are patent to every one. During the course of a century, Government have not established in India a single first-class university or a good up-to-date technological institute. The main object of introducing English education in India was to procure a cheap supply of clerks, and many officers even in high places are popularly believed to have become afraid of the monster which this primary step has raised and would, if they could, kill outright the whole system. But the task is beyond anybody's power. All that we can do is to see that educational progress is steady and on right lines; and this task can only be done with the full sympathy of the public whom the minister represents and whose confidence he possesses. Indians know full well that educational progress cannot be obtained on the cheap. A great deal of money has to be spent upon it, but the old Government machinery will not be able to put the requisite burden on the people. People know only too well that the agency that Government imports at such cost from abroad is not the best that can be obtained; the officials are only remotely interested in education; their own children are not going to go through the process. The Indian ministers and the member of the councils are personally interested in the result and will take care to make it as efficient as possible. The bogey of the lowering of standards is raised once again; but who is to blame for it? If careers were to be obtained only by merit and not by influence or colour of the skin, if there were open competition for all important positions, then people would feel that the education that should be obtained by their sons should be of the highest quality and that the stamp of a B.A. was not all that was required."

Servant of Inidia (10), 22nd May.

12. Sir Sankaran Nair has rightly and properly demanded the transfer of Land Revenue to popular control, and we hope the Secretary of State for India will give serious thought to his opinion in this respect. We congratulate him on his putting forth the real grievance of the public in such a bold and able manner. [In its next issue the paper writes:—The suggestion of dividing the control of education is utterly impracticable, for the branches of education,—the primary, the secondary and the higher, are all inter-related with each other. The Government of India have committed a serious blunder in differing from the Committee's recommendations in this respect; Sir Sankaran Nair, too, has convincingly pointed out the same in his able minute. He has expressed the real opinion of the public with regard to Government's policy respecting education. Had not their educational policy been so short-sighted, India would have been in a different state to-day. Government have tried enough experiments with respect to education and now the people do not want to have any more experiments in that direction at the hands of the Civil Service. The *Hindusthán* writes:—So long as the people do not possess the power of controlling the purse, it is useless for them to have departments under their control. A minister may desire to spend much after education; but if he has no control over the purse, what can he do? In provincial matters the power of imposing taxes must be with the people. Sir Sankaran Nair's arguments in this respect are weightier than those of the Government of India. So, land revenue must necessarily be under the popular control. We hope the agricultural class, which has recently commenced taking interest in political questions, will not fail to take up this question, that so vitally affects its own interests. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—That the recommedations of the committee have generally been in our favour is a good sign and so we can say that the Despatch of the Government India will not carry as much weight with the Parliament and the Secretary of State for India as the Southborough Report and Sir Sankaram Nair's minute will carry. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—Not only has the Committee not receded from the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme in the least, but it has in addition strongly recommended a few more departments for transfer. We are glad to know that Sir Sankaran Nair has made a remarkable minute on the reactionary Despatch of the Government of India. The Extremists may perhaps find it difficult to agree with the recommendations of the committee, but we can say that on the whole the Report is not so disappointing as the people had apprehended it to be. The Government of India Despatch, however, is both discouraging and disappointing, though Sir Sankaran Nair's minute has well championed the popular cause.]

Sánj Vartamán (33), 19th and 20th May; *Hindusthán* (24), 23rd May; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 19th May; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 20th May.

13. "Sir James Meston's proposals for a separate purse for the official and popular parts of provincial Governments, which have not yet been published but which are set forth in broad outline in Sir Shankaran Nair's minute of dissent, will, if carried into effect, altogether distroy the budget control provided for in the joint Report. Under the original scheme, subject only to the Governor's powers of restoration on a certificate of necessity, the legislature of a province had practically the 'power of the purse,' but the Government of India's despatch seeks to undo this cardinal feature and reduce the Legislative Council to a position of sheer impotence..... We hold that the budget procedure laid down in the Report is superior inasmuch as, providing an efficient guarantee against an inordinate inflation of the allotment for reserved services, it is likely to be more helpful in effecting retrenchments. But it is one thing to do away with the seeming one-sidedness of the arrangement proposed in the Report by statutorily limiting the allotment for reserved subjects which are placed in a privileged position in so far as they have a prior claim on the provincial revenues, and it is quite another to make the arrangement not only seemingly but really one-sided, by removing the reserved services from all budget control, while requiring the assent of a majority of the council for proposals for additional taxation brought in on account of the transferred services. Since

The power of the purse under the Reform scheme.

Servant of India (10), 22nd May.

the budget is not to be voted at all and the resolutions on allotment are to be only recommendatory, there is no pretence of popular control either over the reserved or the transferred services. What is the meaning, then, of committing the latter services to the care of a popular representative if the popularly elected council is to exercise no control over budget dispositions? With the deprivation of financial control, the administrative control also, which works through the former, disappears, and the result is that the so-called popularisation of provincial Governments becomes a hollow pretence and an empty sham.

14. "With regard to the power of intervention reserved to the Government and specially mentioned in the instructions to the Governor, so as to safeguard the interests of the Anglo-Indian and the British mercantile community and Christian missionary agencies, we have only to say that special protection is herein afforded to those who do not need it. Although, as the terms of his instructions go, the Governor's power is to be called in only when unfair discrimination is made against these bodies there is every chance of the power being used rather to secure them in their privileges and immunities, partialities and monopolies. There is no real danger of these powerful classes suffering any serious injustice at the hands of the Indian community. To single them out for special protection from the tyranny of Indians only serves as a handle to the enemies of reform to say, as a retired Madras civilian does say in a magazine, 'How can any substantial reforms be introduced into a country in which special measures are required for the purpose of 'protecting capital, credit and indeed property' from the rapacity of its educated classes?' We may point out by the way that whereas in the Joint Report the Government is bidden to interfere only when 'orthodox Hindu or Muslim zeal sought to impose disabilities' upon Christian missions or *vice versa*, the Southborough Committee and the Government of India forbid the adoption, 'without due consideration,' of any change in the educational policy affecting mission bodies. Does the enactment of a conscience clause 'impose a disability' upon mission bodies which in countries, where they do no enjoy the privileged position which they enjoy here, they do not impose upon themselves?"

The power of intervention reserved to the Government under the reform scheme regarding the safegarding of Anglo-Indian interests.

Servant of India (10), 22nd May.

15. We have never been able to share the Nationalist leaders' view that any kind of Reform Bill will be passed by Parliament. The retrograde character of the Government of India's despatch on the Southborough Committees' reports is now before the public, and the activities of the Sydenhamites are also well known. In the House of Commons our enemies like Col. Yate are harassing Mr. Montagu by asking him malicious questions. Although we need not attach too much importance to such questions we get an idea as to the direction in which the wind is blowing at present. The other day Col. Yate twitted Mr. Montagu with the remark that while English women and children were travelling third class members of Indian deputations were able to secure accommodation in higher classes. This remark was greeted with loud cheers in the House of Commons. What does this incident show? If the Nationalists suppose that this attitude of the British people is favourable to the passage of reforms in any shape they are welcome to their belief. We on our part think differently.

The prospects of the Indian Reform Bill in Parliament.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 21st May.

***16.** "It is a pity that the despatches and the revised list of transferred subjects are not enbodied in one and the same volume for handy reference and it is a still greater pity that copies of the Report together with its accompaniments cannot yet be had from the local booksellers, not even from those who are supposed to supply Government publications. It is the old tale over again and we must strongly protest against a system which places the Anglo-Indian Press at a great advantage and causes the greatest amount of

Complaint that the Government literature on the subject of the Reforms is not easily available to the Indian public and newspapers.

Gujarátí (20), 25th May, Eng. cols.

inconvenience and annoyance to the Indian public in general. Many had to wait even for copies of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and are still waiting for copies of Cotton Committee's report, but the delay caused on the present occasion can only be characterised as inexcusable in view of immense importance of the subject.

Comments on the state of affairs in the Punjáb.
Young India (16), 21st May.

17. Under the heading "Riding for a fall", *Young India* writes:—"Of all the disturbing news from the Punjáb none, since the flogging incident, has been so disturbing as the refusal of the Martial Law authorities to allow first Messrs. Norton and Roy and then Pandit Motilal Nehru to enter the Punjáb for the purpose of defending some of the accused persons, among whom is to be found Mr. Kalinath Roy, the well-known editor of the *Tribune*. We pass by the prohibition order, bad as it is, against Mr. C. F. Andrews. There may be some plausible argument to be advanced against the inquiry that was proposed to be conducted by Mr. Andrews on behalf of Indian editors. But the prohibition against eminent lawyers engaged for the defence of men accused of serious crimes is tantamount to a denial of justice; and trial of prisoners by a so-called judicial tribunal becomes almost a farce. It may be urged that the accused could always fall back upon the Punjáb lawyers. The argument might have some weight in normal times, but it is hardly possible to expect fearless independence from local lawyers when there is Martial Law of an exceptional severity going on in the country. If the local authorities in the Punjáb have any regard for the liberty of the subject, surely they must concede the inherent right of the subject to choose his own counsel. It is an insult to the intelligence of the people of India for provincial administrations to consider lawyers or others living outside their limits but practising and living in India as foreigners. This attitude on the part of men who are themselves the real foreigners in every sense of the term—foreigners, that is to say, even regarding their knowledge of the habits, customs and temperaments of the people whom for the time being they are appointed to govern—bodes ill for the future of India. The coming reforms would be a perfect mockery if the Englishmen representing the Indian Civil Service entertain utter contempt for our feelings, which the Punjáb authorities seem at the present moment to typify. The heavy sentences, including hanging, being announced from day to day, cannot fail to produce a disastrous impression upon the minds of the millions of Hindustán. There is no doubt that there are to-day thousands of Indians who take an intelligent interest in the current events. They pass on the information they gather from newspapers to the multitude. There is scarcely any doubt that the Pnnjáb authorities desire to terrorise the people into abject submission. It is significant that whilst the Punjáb Government have taken the trouble of contradicting trivialities appearing in the Press, they have contradicted nothing of an indictment of the methods of that Government printed by the Allhabad *Leader* and reproduced in these colomns in a previous issue. According to that indictment, people are reported to be forced to 'salaam' every European who may happen to pass by them. If all the damaging statements made in the *Leader* report be true, the only inference we can draw from the prohibition against the entry of Mr. Norton and other lawyers is that the Punjáb authorities dare not allow 'foreigners' to enter the Punjáb and see things for themselves, even though such prohibition may be a defiance of all constitutional procedure. We do hope that His Excellency the Viceroy will intervene before it is too late and stop the Punjáb infamy."

Mahrátta (8), 25th May.

*18. "The attitude of the Administrator of Martial Law in the Punjáb has become so intolerable now that even the Advocate-General of Bengal had to enter, as President of a meeting of the Calcutta High Court Bar, his emphatic protest against the Administrator's orders refusing permission to Messrs. Norton, Chakravarti, Gregory, C. R. Das, J. N. Roy, B. C. Chatterjee and Langford James to enter the Martial Law area in the Punjáb to defend their clients. A surer indication than this of the reign of terror in in the Punjáb cannot be forthcoming, and the British Government in India must be ashamed of these wild freaks of that administrator. If a rule of the rod

is to be established, then the British Government is not wanted for it. Any despot can establish it. We expect from our Government something akin to constitutional government, and 'Rule of Law,' and if that is not in evidence, then what is the difference between British and any other rule?"

19. The rebellion (?) of the people at Láhore, Amritsar, etc., may or may not have lasted even two days. But the commotion of military repression begun there in order to put down the rebellion (?) is still going strong though a month has elapsed, and there are no signs of its early termination. Formerly after 8 P.M. nobody was allowed to be out; now the period is extended to 10 P.M. At this rate at least four months will be required to have full freedom of going out at night. But as a matter of fact there are other matters which excite heartfelt indignation against the military autocracy. Seven years' transportation is being awarded for moving about with a *lathi*, for mimicking drill in the streets, and for stealing cloth worth a rupee or two from the bank. Barrister Dunichand and Pandit Ram Bhuj Dutt were brought to Láhore but they were not released. Along with other old, revered and virtuous leaders they are being charged under section 121 of the Indian Penal Code and they have to depend upon counsel appointed by Government for their defence as Barrister Norton and others are not allowed to go to Láhore! The Rev. Mr. Andrews had to come back to Delhi again as he was not allowed to go to Amritsar to see the situation in the Punjáb. The *Amrit Bazar Patrika* was kept out of the Punjáb! In not one or two ways but hundreds of ways the bludgeon rules there and all are asking when this commotion of the officials will cease. In other provinces also autocracy is on the increase. The Ali brothers have adopted *Satyagraha*; as yet they have not given open evidence of it; but it appears they adopted it as the only way of obtaining release when they saw that they were not released after four years' internment and that there was no prospect of open inquiry. Bureaucratic officials teach *Satyagraha* to the people by their autocratic conduct. Some censored account of the autocracy of the bureaucracy in India and its pranks in the Punjáb has reached England. But even that has given an idea of the Rowlatt Act to the Britishers and they have requested Government to rescind the Act. British public opinion is much excited over bombing and machine-gunning unarmed Indians and it is demanding that those responsible for it should be tried. The labour leaders also have made suggestions similar to the above demands. Lord Sydenham thought that if a terrible picture of the disorders is placed before the public, the Britishers would ask for the postponement of the reforms. But the discontent in India having revealed the bludgeon methods of the bureaucracy of administering India and the reward of the Rowlatt Act which India got for its loyalty during the Great War, it has destroyed the delusions about bureaucratic wisdom entertained by the British people and they have begun to think that the autocratic system should be stopped as soon as possible and that *Swardjya* on the colonial model should be granted early. It appears that our deputation to England will be very successful. [The *Surya* also condemns the steps taken by the Punjáb Government to put down disorder in the Province and asks them to imitate the wise policy followed by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd.]

Kesari (109), 20th May; *Surya* (new), 21st May.

20. The Punjáb has expressed its willingness to render loyal help to Government in the present Afghan war, but the martial law has not still been removed from that province. Mr. Andrews has been prohibited from entering the Punjáb. He is a philanthropic English missionary and no enemy of the British. The prohibition against such a man as he shows the lengths to which the Punjáb Government can go. They do not seem to have given a thought to the impression such a prohibition will create on the public mind. Mr. Norton has also been prohibited from entering the Punjáb. We fail to understand the policy of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province. There is a fear of a very sinister impression being created in the mind of the public by the denial to an accused of the right of choosing his legal adviser to

Sánj Vartamán (33), 21st and 23rd May; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 21st May; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 22nd May.

defend him. It is the duty of His Excellency the Viceroy to intervene and get the order cancelled which would adversely affect the confidence of the people in British justice. [In a subsequent issue the paper reiterates the appeal to His Excellency the Viceroy in the interests of the prestige of British justice to cancel the orders of the Punjab Government that prohibit certain Barristers from entering the Punjáb. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* also protests against the order and believes that Parliament will now intervene to vindicate the cause of British justice. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* condemns the policy of repression adopted in the Punjáb and hopes that the Government of India will take steps so that such brutal incidents as flogging in the public will not be repeated. It also hopes that Government of India will cancel the order of prohibition against certain well-known Barristers and maintain the prestige of British justice.]

21. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu contributes the following sonnet to *Young India*:—

A sonnet to martyred Punjáb.
Young India (16), 24th May.

"How shall our love console thee or assuage
Thy piteous wounds? How shall our grief requite
The hate that scourges and the hands that smite
Thy loveliness with rods of bitter rage?
Lo! let thine anguish be our battle-gage
To wreck the terror of the tyrant's might
That mocks with ruthless scorn thy tragic plight,
And mars with shame thine ancient heritage!
O beautiful! O broken and betrayed!
Endure thou still, unconquered, unafraid,
O mournful queen! O martyred Draupadi!
The sacred rivers of thy stricken blood
Shall prove the five-fold stream of Freedom's flood,
And guard the watch-towers of our Liberty!"

22. "Frantic appeals for softer methods of restoring order continue to be made to the Viceroy by leaders who have failed to grasp, or do not care to grasp, the fact that the occurrences at Láhore, Amritsar and other places in the Punjab were a great deal more than a riot and that there was an organised rebellion in certain districts. The Moderates have utterly failed to make use of the opportunity afforded them of definitely ranging themselves on the side of law and order. At a conference of the party held in Calcutta resolutions were passed which differed in little, except in the use of more temperate language, from those of the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay..... Then Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee wires to the Viceroy, making requests that reflect so little credit on the veteran politician as to cause his message to be termed 'foolish' by the *Civil and Military Gazette*, the journal best qualified to appraise rightly the state of affairs in the Punjab..... What Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee and other leaders might have done with advantage was to have placed their services unreservedly at the disposal of Government to be utilised in any way that may have been thought desirable towards the restoration and maintenance of order, instead of making vapid suggestions as to the use of nostrums which would prove worthless."

Condemnation of the appeals made to the Viceroy by Indian leaders for milder methods in dealing with the situation in the Punjab.
Sind Observer (13), 6th May.

23. People are surprised at the news of revolts and the waging of war against the King-Emperor in the Punjáb. The Rowlatt Act was instrumental in the manifestation of discontent and so was the action taken to send back Mr. Gandhi to Bombay. But people do not believe that any feeling inimical to the British has gained ground among them. People say that the high prices of foodstuffs, the restrictions imposed by the Controller, the difficulties

Alleged causes of the unrest in the Punjáb and elsewhere.
Gujaráti (20), 18th May.

is to be established, then the British Government is not wanted for it. Any despot can establish it. We expect from our Government something akin to constitutional government, and 'Rule of Law,' and if that is not in evidence, then what is the difference between British and any other rule?"

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Sánj Vartamán (33), 21st and 23rd May; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 21st May; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 22nd May.

20. The Punjáb has expressed its willingness to render loyal help to Government in the present Afghan war, but the martial law has not still been removed from that province. Mr. Andrews has been prohibited from entering the Punjáb. He is a philanthropic English missionary and no enemy of the British. The prohibition against such a man as he shows the lengths to which the Punjáb Government can go. They do not seem to have given a thought to the impression such a prohibition will create on the public mind. Mr. Norton has also been prohibited from entering the Punjáb. We fail to understand the policy of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province. There is a fear of a very sinister impression being created in the mind of the public by the denial to an accused of the right of choosing his legal adviser to

defend him. It is the duty of His Excellency the Viceroy to intervene and get the order cancelled which would adversely affect the confidence of the people in British justice. [In a subsequent issue the paper reiterates the appeal to His Excellency the Viceroy in the interests of the prestige of British justice to cancel the orders of the Punjab Government that prohibit certain Barristers from entering the Punjáb. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* also protests against the order and believes that Parliament will now intervene to vindicate the cause of British justice. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* condemns the policy of repression adopted in the Punjáb and hopes that the Government of India will take steps so that such brutal incidents as flogging in the public will not be repeated. It also hopes that Government of India will cancel the order of prohibition against certain well-known Barristers and maintain the prestige of British justice.]

21. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu contributes the following sonnet to *Young India* :—

A sonnet to martyred Punjáb.
Young India (16), 24th May.

" How shall our love console thee or assuage
Thy piteous wounds ? How shall our grief requite
The hate that scourges and the hands that smite
Thy loveliness with rods of bitter rage ?
Lo ! let thine anguish be our battle-gage
To wreck the terror of the tyrant's might
That mocks with ruthless scorn thy tragic plight,
And mars with shame thine ancient heritage !
O beautiful ! O broken and betrayed !
Endure thou still, unconquered, unafraid,
O mournful queen ! O martyred Draupadi !
The sacred rivers of thy stricken blood
Shall prove the five-fold stream of Freedom's flood,
And guard the watch-towers of our Liberty ! "

22. " Frantic appeals for softer methods of restoring order continue to be made to the Viceroy by leaders who have failed to grasp, or do not care to grasp, the fact that the occurrences at Láhore, Amritsar and other places in the Punjab were a great deal more than a riot and that there was an organised rebellion in certain districts. The Moderates have utterly failed to make use of the opportunity afforded them of definitely ranging themselves on the side of law and order. At a conference of the party held in Calcutta resolutions were passed which differed in little, except in the use of more temperate language, from those of the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay..... Then Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee wires to the Viceroy, making requests that reflect so little credit on the veteran politician as to cause his message to be termed 'foolish' by the *Civil and Military Gazette*, the journal best qualified to appraise rightly the state of affairs in the Punjab..... What Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee and other leaders might have done with advantage was to have placed their services unreservedly at the disposal of Government to be utilised in any way that may have been thought desirable towards the restoration and maintenance of order, instead of making vapid suggestions as to the use of nostrums which would prove worthless."

Condemnation of the appeals made to the Viceroy by Indian leaders for milder methods in dealing with the situation in the Punjab.
Sind Observer (13), 6th May.

23. People are surprised at the news of revolts and the waging of war against the King-Emperor in the Punjáb. The Rowlatt Act was instrumental in the manifestation of discontent and so was the action taken to send back Mr. Gandhi to Bombay. But people do not believe that any feeling inimical to the British has gained ground among them. People say that the high prices of foodstuffs, the restrictions imposed by the Controller, the difficulties

Alleged causes of the unrest in the Punjáb and elsewhere.
Gujaráti (20), 18th May.

of getting the smaller currency notes cashed, famine, want of respect for public opinion in the administration of the country, restrictions placed on educated Indians in the matter of promotion to higher posts, disabilities of petty traders as contrasted with the facilities offered to wholesale merchants and the lack of industries in the country, are also some of the contributory causes of the present discontent. The officials may assign any causes they like for the discontent, but the people think that the pressure exercised upon the people in the name of maintaining peace and for raising the War Loan and recruiting has contributed in no small degree to the existing unrest. Heavy punishments might bring about the appearance of peace, but they will keep the fire of discontent burning in the heart. It is on this account that thoughtful people urge the necessity of love, sympathy and respect for the people in the public administration. It is surprising that no public enquiries have yet been held into the causes of disturbances in the various parts of India. There is no abatement in the infliction of severe punishments upon the people. The Punjáb offered its manhood for the war, suffered hardships without a word of complaint, saw its food-grains being exported abroad, paid higher wages owing to the dearth of labour, and still repressive measures were adopted to keep it quiet. We cannot believe that there is any disloyalty or anarchy in the Punjáb. A large portion of the people are loyal, but there is a necessity for soothing their aching hearts.

Protest by Manilal Jadavji Vyas, deported to Káthiáwád from Karáchi, that he is shadowed by the police in his native place also.

Hindusthán (24), 21st May; *Young India* (16), 24th May.

24. Mr. Manilal Jadavji Vyas writes the following in the course of a letter to the *Hindusthán*:—Why do the police shadow me even in Káthiáwád, where there is peace and where there is no political activity? Wherever I go, the police trouble my hosts by enquiring how long I propose to stay, why I have come and so forth. The surveillance over even a murderer or a criminal would not be so strict as that kept over me. I do not understand why Government take so much trouble and also give so much trouble to us. We *Satyagrahis* do not keep our movements secret. I pity the poor police, who have to undergo the trouble of shadowing me. So long as our leader Mahatma Gandhi has suspended his *Satyagraha* movement, we will necessarily remain peaceful and quiet. So it is desirable that the authorities too should suspend their present conduct till then. It would be improper to be a source of trouble to one's host while enjoying his hospitality. If Government have fear or suspicion regarding our conduct, why do they not put us in prison? We would joyfully prefer jail to this kind of free life. I hope the authorities will be more frank and straightforward and will give up the policy of adding insult to injury in case of persons like me. [Commenting on this letter *Young India* writes:—"Let us examine the larger question of treating subjects of Indian States as foreigners and thus by a stroke of the pen ruining them. Sir W. Lee-Warner in his work, suggestively called 'Protected Princes of India', dealing (?) with the rights and obligations of such subjects whom he calls Protected British Subjects. The obligations of the subjects we know. They are precisely the same as those of British born subjects. Indian States supplied proportionately more recruits during the war than British India people. But the rights of the subjects of Indian States are seriously menaced if the policy and the law enunciated by the Simla authorities are not quickly reversed. Discussing the rights of the subjects of Kutch, Sir W. Lee Warner says, 'This distinction (*i.e.*, the subjects of Kutch being allowed the same rights of trial as British born subjects) confirms the view taken that beyond the limits of Kutch a subject of that State falls wholly into the general category of a British subject.' Sir Willlam's work was published in 1894. The law under which Mr. Manilal Vyas was deported was passed in 1864. Either Sir William did not know the law or it had never before been interpreted to cause the deadly consequences of bringing about, mainly by an executive order, the ruin of an inoffensive subject of an Indian State. We hope that the public bodies throughout India will take up this most important matter involving as it does issues of the highest order."]

25. An anonymous contributor writes the following in the course of a contributed article :—I am sorry to say that Mr. Gandhi's contention, contained in his Bulletin No. 18, that the teaching of the Bhagavad Gita does not support the method of violence, is untenable, misleading, capricious and even derogatory to the teachings of the Gita itself. The application to Arjun, Duryodhan, etc., of the allegory of the forces of good militating against the forces of evil, as found in the scriptures of various creeds, is also incongruous and misleading. He asks if we draw our swords against our relations and friends when they do some injustice to us. My answer is that this is too small a matter for the sword to come in. In such matters, the sword is not used even in Europe where there is no restriction with respect to the carrying of arms. Or perhaps the sword might be drawn in such matters; but the fear of punishment by the State acts as a deterrent. Many uncivilized and fiery people use the sword on such occasions. We may perhaps have swords, but people who are afraid to kill even a bug, cannot stick even a pin if they wish to do so, let alone a sword. We get faint at the sight of even a drop of blood. Even in such a state of affairs, whenever some injustice is done to us by our relations how promptly we run to take the assistance of the law court! To win over injustice by love is a very good ideal, but after all it is only an ideal! When Shri Krishna saw that Arjun was not at all inclined to fight (against Duryodhan and other relatives) he preached the Gita to him. Shri Krishna says to Arjun :— 'O Arjun, abandoning your duty as a Kshatriya, you become a coward and fear to die and to kill. Those whom you have to kill are already dead and you have merely to be an instrument in killing them. So, do not be a coward but perform your duty as a Kshatriya. If you win you will get a kingdom; if you die you will obtain heaven. Any way, fighting alone is to your advantage.' Shri Krishna on that occasion did not give Arjun the unmanly advice of *Satyagraha* in the form of love and non-violence, but as he wanted to get wicked persons like Duryodhan, etc., killed and thereby wanted to lessen the burden on the earth, he exhorted him to fight. Would Arjun's *Satyagraha* in the form of love and non-violence have any effect on a depraved man like Duryodhan? Undoubtedly not. It would perhaps be proper to resort to *Satyagraha* on the principle of 'the weak turning recluse' when we are weak while our enemy is very powerful and when there is no hope of winning; for in that case our enemy would take compassion on us and would concede our demand to some extent. In this world, the accomplishment of anything can be achieved only by force either mental or physical. It is a matter of experience that mental force cannot be had without physical force. Mr. Gandhi has referred to Ramdas and Nrisinha Mehta. As far as I know there is hardly any such equanimous *Satyagrahi* other than Mr. Gandhi, and if he (Mr. Gandhi) estimates others by his own standard he will repeat the error he has once committed. It would be enough if Mr. Gandhi were to go on lecturing before men and women with a view to attract them to the *swadeshi* vow without interfering with any other questions at present. If he means to do more good to the people and Government he should give up his *Satyagraha* movement and the observing of *hartal* so that Government may not be hampered while they are engaged in the Afghan war.

Refutation of Mr. Gandhi's interpretation of the Bhagavad Gita.
Hindusthán (24), 21st May.

26. Discussing the question of Imperial preference the *Kesari* says :— Those British statesmen who ridiculed as when we wanted to impose taxes on imports in order to encourage indigenous industries are enforcing the the same principle when they find themselves in similar circumstances. The great war has solved the question of imperial preference without any difficulty. Let us see what effect it will have on Indian trade. It will not have much influence on Indian trade. So long as England will levy on the produce of the Colonies a smaller customs duty, there is no room for India to complain. But it will be necessary to oppose it, if it is proposed to introduce preference in India. Situated as we are, we are not likely to derive any benefit from it. It is necessary to tax British goods in order to encourage Indian industries. Till we get that power, it is better to behave towards all nations equally.

Imperial preference will not benefit India.
Kesari (109), 20th May.

27. "Following upon the removal of the control of silver by the United States Treasury, the Secretary of State for India has raised the price of council drafts from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 8*d.* for Immediate Telegraphic Transfers and from 1*s.* 5 15-16*d.* to 1*s.* 7 15-16*d.* for Deferred Telegraphic Transfer Bills. The communique has caused grave anxiety among the Indian mercantile community. From the point of view of the importers and of those who remit money to Britain, the rise in exchange is, of course, a great advantage, but for a country like India which does large business in export trade, the step is fraught with adverse consequences..... The decision of the Secretary of State will cause serious damage to Indian interests, but it is of a piece with the fabric of artificial restrictions which make up the fiscal policy of India. A committee is shortly to meet in London to discuss the question and it is to be hoped that there will be a strong Indian element to check the policy of drift which has become a harassing tradition in India. The subordination of Indian interests must cease."

Comments on the rise in the exchange.
Young India (16), 21st May.

28. The people of India are surprised at their own treasury balances being deposited in England and at the raising of loans in England for the extension of railways in India. England has not paid us in gold or silver for the excess in our exports over the imports, but the money has been kept in that country and it is said that currency notes have been issued in India instead. Currency notes are being repeatedly issued in spite of the high expense that has to be incurred for printing and maintaining them in circulation. High prices in India have resulted in consequence thereof and trade has had to encounter many difficulties. Restrictions on the exports from India were placed with a view to limiting the imports of the precious metals into India, and those restrictions are still in force. Large purchases were made from India during the war, but as India's fate was connected with England the gift made by us to England has to be considered only fit and proper and so no precious metals were imported into India. Indian merchants are being paid in currency notes instead of gold and silver and so the difficulty of importing those metals has to some extent been overcome. But the question is whether India would not have rendered greater help to England by starting new industries and developing old ones if England had sent gold and silver to us. The foreigners are now trying to secure Indian raw materials at a cheap rate by advocating agricultural developments in this country. Now the rate of exchange for the shilling has been raised to eighteen pence. But this will merely add to our financial difficulties. The financiers in England are devising means to equalise our imports with the exports and so want to obviate the necessity of sending us gold or silver. The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms have not suggested any freedom to India in matters financial, and so India is not likely to get any benefit from the reforms in the absence of the grant of self-determination in our own finance.

Gujarâti (20), 18th May.

29. A Committee has been appointed by the Secretary of State for India to go into the whole question (of exchange) and to suggest a solution of the difficult problem; and in the meanwhile export merchants and industrialists in India have been left to suffer and grumble. The latter really have a serious grievance. They find themselves severely handicapped just at a time when they had thought to put their business on a satisfactory basis and also to take advantage of the post-war conditions to promote the trade and industries of India. A high exchange means loss to the exporter and a premium on imports and, therefore, keener competition for our manufacturers. There is also the atmosphere of uncertainty in which the future is shrouded, and uncertainty is a great disadvantage to industry and trade. Government must, therefore, lose no time in clearly stating their exchange policy. We feel strongly that the time has come when the whole Indian currency system should be reconsidered and placed upon a sound and stable footing. The report of the Chamberlain Commission has become out of date as the policy it advocated has been proved to be unsatisfactory. India requires a true gold standard, with a free flow of gold into the country from

Servant of India (10), 22nd May.

outside and a gold currency in circulation. No other system will now do, and there ought to be no tinkerning and patchwork in the matter.

*30. "Last year the Indian Government secured 150 million American silver dollars to convert into rupees here. This is about 45 crores of rupees, and it is said all this silver is now practically absorbed. During the next 12 months our requirements should certainly be smaller as the impetus given to trade by the war is over and this will tend to reduce demands on the currency. We have again the famine and so are unable to export as much as we did, say, last year. In fact, if we reflect that the export of Burmah rice and Punjáb wheat is now prohibited, there should be a reduction of our export by about £20 millions on these two heads alone. The exports in many other food stuffs are bound to be affected, too. But for the sake of argument, let us assume that another 45 crores of fresh rupee currency will be necessary during the next 12 months. If the Exchange had not been raised, the loss to the Government would be somewhere about 4½ crores. Is it to save this 4½ crores that the Government has put the country to many times greater loss? For, to take only one leading staple, cotton, and to take only the balance of the crop still unsold, we have about 20 lakhs of bales. The market declined about 80 rupees a candy on the news of the rise in Exchange. This means a loss of rupees 40 a bale, and on 20 lakhs of bales it means loss to our producers of eight crores of rupees on this one article alone. This is not all. Silver may go down next year and there may be eventually no loss to Government, but if the Exchange is kept at its present level there will be a similar loss on next year's crop. Taking the average cotton crop at 45 lakhs of bales, the loss to the producer will be anywhere from 15 to 20 crores. When our other important staples are considered, the total loss to the producer will amount to astounding figures. Is it just, is it right, to put all this loss on the producer just to save a beggarly few crores to the Currency Department? If the Government must needs get this prospective loss on coinage back somehow, why not do it in some more direct, more straightforward way, *e. g.*, by an export tax just sufficient to cover this prospective loss of 4½ crores? A tax of 2 per cent. on the produce exported will suffice to cover the loss and save the cultivator from the much bigger loss of 10 to 15 per cent. to which the rise in Exchange puts him."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 25th May.

31. Discussing the new rate of exchange, the *Kesari* says:—To make up the loss, exchange compensation allowance was formerly given to the Civil Servants. Now that the rate is 20*d.*, why should not they receive 4*d.* less per rupee? They made Government bear the loss till now; why should they not allow Government to share the profit ensuing from the increasing price of the rupee? If they do not want to do so, why should Government give them any allowance when the rate falls below 16*d.*? The rate is favourable to Indian merchants. Exports will be decreased and imports will be increased. It will be beneficial to India though our manufacturers are likely to suffer. From the point of view of the consumer the prices will go down a little.

Kesari (109), 20th May.

32. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* considers the raising of the exchange as prejudicial to the interests of native industries and commerce and asks Government to accept the proposal of the Indian Merchants' Chamber regarding the admission of their representatives on the Exchange Committee. In a later issue the paper declares that the reply of the Government of India to the Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber is disappointing. It feels glad that the Government of India are very earnest about adopting a better exchange policy in the near future and that an Indian is to be given a seat on the Currency Committee, but asserts that without adequate Indian representation on that Committee it will hardly command the confidence of the public. In its next issue it writes:—'When the exchange-rate was 13*d.* a rupee the Civilians demanded the exchange compensation at 16*d.* a rupee, will they now accept 4*d.* a rupee less when the exchange-rate is 20*d.* a

Jám-e-Jamshed (26), 21st, 23rd and 24th May; *Bombay Samáchár* (62), 20th and 21st May; *Shri Venkateshwar* (82), 22nd May.

rupee? If they are not prepared to give up their profit of 4*d.* a rupee in consequence of the raised exchange-rate, will they be prepared to suffer any loss that may arise in consequence of the exchange-rate falling below 16*d.* in future? We hope it will not be in vain to draw the attention of the Government of India to this question. [The *Bombay Samdchdr*, too, considers the present raising of the exchange-rate as detrimental to the interests of industry and commerce and urges that the customs tariff should be raised in order to counterbalance its effect. In its next issue the paper urges the Government of India to include an Indian representative in the committee as demanded by the Indian Merchants' Chamber. The *Shri Venkateshwar* writes:—Why do our merchants live at the mercy of the foreign merchants even in commercial matters? Nothing good can come out of this kind of commercial dependence. Under any circumstances the Indian merchant can do good to his country if he acts with firmness and co-operation. In view of the present exchange policy of the Secretary of State the Indian merchants should lay the foundation of their work in that direction.]

Comments on the Provincial Conference at Ahmednagar.
Vibhákar (38), 19th May,

33. The *Vibhakar* says that though the Ahmednagar Conference was provincial in name it was but a meeting of the Tilak party. It particularly objects to two resolutions of the Conference on boycott and passive resistance. The question is not, it points out, whether passive resistance is constitutional for it is admitted to be so by all, but whether the movement is one of advantage or otherwise to the people. It condemns such empty resolutions. As to the resolution that boycott should be adopted if the Rowlatt Act is not repealed within three months, it says that boycott on a larger scale declared in the partition days was not successful and that Mr. Gandhi particularly objects to boycott and the boycott of British goods.

The Kolába District Conference.
Kesari (109), 20th May.

34. The Kolába District Conference was a successful meeting and altogether 23 resolutions were passed. Government have to consider urgently the resolutions on khoti rights, facilities of pasture, remission and suspension of revenue, cheap grain shops and the establishment of a Government High School. Kolába has no independent Sessions Court; it is urgent that the inconvenience should be removed. It is specially regrettable that during the monsoon the District Magistrate exercises the Sessions powers. When there is a universal demand for the separation of judicial and executive functions, it is quite unpardonable that a single officer should possess revenue, civil and criminal powers. It appears that Kolába people have not complained as they ought to have done about this injustice and protested against it. The matter should be placed before Lord Sinha and Mr. Montagu. The former if he hears of it will surely advise Mr. Montagu to remove the injustice. An important resolution of declaring boycott if the Rowlatt Act is not repealed within three months was also passed.

Comments on the rumours of His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's resignation.
Rdjakáran (116), 18th May.

35. Referring to the rumour published by the *Rangoon Times* that His Excellency the Viceroy is going to resign his post the *Rdjakáran* writes:—Lord Chelmsford's departure will not give satisfaction to Indians. Although His Excellency took needlessly severe measures in the Punjab at the instance of the bureaucracy, it was he who drafted the scheme of reforms with Mr. Montagu and, therefore, unless it is proved that he actively opposed the interests of India, Indians will continue to regard him as their well-wisher. No sensible man will wish that His Excellency's term of office should come to an untimely end.

Comments on the Honourable Sir Sankaran Nair's resignation.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 25th May.

***36.** "The news of Sir Sankaran Nair's resignation of the office of Education Member of the Government of India does not come as a surprise. The attitude of his colleagues in regard to the Rowlatt legislation and constitutional reforms has not been such as to make his position in the Government tolerable to an Indian leader of Sir Sankaran Nair's acknowledged

eminence in our public life—the Honourable Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru once spoke of him in the Legislative Council as one of the makers of modern India—and of his strong and unbending personality. The one thing he cannot endure is assumptions of superiority whether by the Brahmin or the Britisher. In earlier days, he was known as a Brahmin-hater in Madras, but his antipathy has always been to the system and not to individual Brahmins who are among his best and closest friends. Sir Sankaran Nair was a towering figure in Indian public life before he accepted official preferment. He has been President of the National Congress and the Social Conference. A staunch social reformer, a believer in the sympathetic evolution of the East and the West, an undaunted patriot, we welcome Sir Sankaran Nair's resignation for two reasons. First, it is a precedent for Indian public men and a reminder to them that high office is for public ends, not public ends for high office, and that retention of office in circumstances adverse to what they regard as public ends is incompatible with a high standard of public life. Secondly, the resumption by Sir Sankaran Nair of his place in India's public life at this juncture is wholly to the good. The immediate occasion for his resignation is, probably, the order of the authorities in the Punjáb prohibiting lawyers, engaged to defend several persons accused of sedition, from entering the Punjáb. This is virtually denying the accused, in cases involving some of the severest penalties of the Indian Penal Code, the right allowed them by law to have their defence conducted by counsel of their own choosing. Both as a lawyer and as a public man, Sir Sankaran Nair no doubt found this to be the last straw, coming as it did on the top of a series of events which must have been intensely distasteful to a man of his temperament and convictions. Sir Sankran Nair's personal relations with Lord Hardinge were exceptionally cordial, but it is no secret that he has not been getting on with Lord Chelmsford with anything like equal felicity."

The Afghan War.
Kesari (109), 20th May.

37. An Afghan mission has gone to Moscow and it is awaiting the help of Lenin. Unless Russia helps the Afghan army with aeroplanes, big guns and machine guns, it cannot face even for a short time the British army The war will continue for some weeks till the Amir surrenders, tired of waiting for the Russian help. The war will continue for a few months, if Lenin helps. If he does not, the Government of India will not stop the war till they occupy the Ghazni-Kandahar region and till they are in touch with the Russian railways. The Afghan war will come to an end when the Afghan roads connecting India with Russian railways are militarily occupied and when treaty-rights of building railways in Afghanistan are acquired and an Amir under British control is installed. In order that Bolsheviks may be checked, the Kabul-Bokhara-Samarkand line should be under the control of the British forces. If Indian railways are extended to meet the Russian ones, very valuable oil-fields on the Caspian Sea will pass under the control of the Government of India and so to say India will have found oil in its backyard. Whether Lenin helps or no, till these objects are gained, the Government of India will not be in a hurry to end the war though Afghanistan may be.

Muslim Herald (141), 23rd May.

38. We cannot ascertain as to what is in store for the Musalmans in future. The ship of Muslim nationality is tossing on the waves, and none knows whether it will come out safely from the mid-stream or will be wrecked by the whirlpool of misfortune. God alone knows what treatment will be meted out by the Peace Conference to the Turks who were once the source of pride of the entire Muslim world. We admit that Government will present the problems of the Khaliphate and the security of the holy places of Islam at the Peace Conference. But the fear is that the delegates of other powers will scarcely consent to giving up what conquests they have already made during the war. Apparently the situation is full of gloom and desperation. Government are not to blame on this score, for they have not got power to force decisions at the Peace Conference. But by God's help they (the difficulties) can be easily overcome. After the Turks, came the Afghans who were like the left eye to the Musalmans of India. The murder of Amir

Habibullah Khan, the succession of Nasrullah Khan followed by Amir Amanullah's final accession to the throne, then the punishment of some persons (for the murder) and lastly the picking up of an unprovoked quarrel with the British Government, are all nature's wonders. How can such a vast Empire, which has lately humiliated a power like Germany, be brought low? Afghanistan may muster 200,000 men and may possess even a few guns, but it lacks entirely in modern implements such as machine-guns, aeroplanes, and so forth. In such circumstances the result of this boyish adventure is quite plain. We pray God to give the Musalmans wisdom to tread in the right path.

39. His Excellency the Viceroy has not entertained the proposal of peace made by the Afghan Commander-in-Chief as it was couched in insolent lauguage. We hope, however, Government will take advantage of the changed attitude of the Afghans and will not protract the war after administering adequate punishment to those that provoked it. We believe the proclamation issued by the Viceroy will have a salutary effect on the Afghan leaders and that they will use their influence for the restoration of friendly relations with the Government of India. [The *Praja Mitra and Parsi* is of opinion that Indians should be thankful for the Afghan trouble inasmuch as it has afforded an additional opportunity to prove their loyalty to the British and, while referring to the rumours of unrest that prompted the young Amir to launch upon the present hazardous enterprise, it asks the Government to take prompt measures to satisfy the political aspirations of the Indian people so that there may be no room left for discontent among them. The *Gujarâti Punch* remarks:— That the whole of India has stood by Government and not a single rising or revolt has taken place in India in consequence of the Afghan trouble is a proof positive that India is loyal to the British, and that Bolshevism has not influenced the Indian mind. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* exhorts the people to be loyal and to discharge their duty towards Government by coming forward to help them to overcome the trouble and once again asks Mr Gandhi to suspend the *Satyagraha* movement in the true interests of India and to give a hearty response to the appeal issued by His Excellency the Viceroy. The *Political Bhomiyo* is inclined to think that it is the *Satyagrahis* and Home Rulers that must have instigated the Amir to wage an unprofitable war and asks Government to bring such offenders to book. It trusts that the Amir will soon realise the folly of his action and asks Government to terminate hostilities with the Amir after convincing him of his folly and to turn their attention towards the internal affairs of this country.]

Bombay Samáchár (62), 19th May; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 20th May; *Gujaráti Punch* (22), 18th May; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (27) 18th May; *Political Bhomiyo* (74), 23rd May.

40. The Viceroy has addressed a proclamation to the "brave and honest people of Afghanistan". There is no doubt the Afghans are brave but it is incorrect to say that they are honest also. Besides, the English had good experience of the honesty of the Afghans during the previous Afghan wars and we are, therefore, surprised to see Lord Chelmsford giving them a certificate for honesty. It was these people who murdered Macnaghten and paraded the head of Cavagnari through the streets of Kabul. The expression used by the Viceroy is in our opinion more diplomatic than true. In the proclamation the Afghans are asked to dethrone the present Amir and set up another ruler in his stead. We do not share His Excellency's view. The English had promised the late Amir that they would give him an annual subsidy of 18 lakhs of rupees and would also undertake not to interfere in the internal administration of Afghanistan on the understanding that he would have no dealings with other foreign countries. Since the Amir has broken the pledge given by his father it would be right to annex the country now instead of handing it over to another ruler. The increasing annual expenditure of India on the army is due to the unsettled condition of Afghanistan. The present war is the fruit of the policy of non-intervention pursued by

Rashtra Hitaishi (117), 21st May; *Jagaruk* (45), 17th May; *Jagriti* (46), 17th May; *Rájakáran* (116), 18th May; *Sudhákar* (124), 18th May.

England during the last half century. It would not be to the interests of the British Empire to continue Afghanistan any longer under Afghan rule since the Bolsheviks are in power in Russia. Turkey is about to go to pieces. The British flag is flying today in Mesopotamia and will continue to fly there in future. Why should it not fly also in Afghanistan? [The *Jágaruk* says that during the European war the Extemists had made their loyalty conditional upon Government satisfying their demands. It asks the backward classes not to imitate them but to help Government at this time without making any stipulations. The *Jagriti* says that the question of Afghanistan should now be settled once and for all and assures Government of the whole-hearted support of Indians in any decision that they may come to. The *Rájkáran* remarks:—The ill-advised step taken by Afghanistan shows that it does not appear to be the will of God that Asiatic nations should continue to be independent any longer. The *Sudhákar* writes:—We assure Government that if they will have the magnanimity to drop the Rowlatt legislation the ambitious ruler of Afghanistan will disappear in his native mountains in no time.]

Connection between the Afghan war and the *Satyagraha* movement.

Akhbár-e-Islám (59), 23rd May.

41. The special correspondent of the *Pioneer* writes from Peshawar to say that the Afghan disturbance was connected with the *Satyagraha* movement in India. We do not know to what extent the present Afghan war is connected with Mr. Gandhi's *Satyagraha* movement, but we shall not be surprised if it is indirectly influenced by that movement in a manner unknown to Mr. Gandhi. It is likely that the present Amir interpreted the *Satyagraha* movement and the disturbances that resulted from it as a sign of the unrest and disloyalty of the Indian people and was led to take the present suicidal step. The Amir believed that he would be welcomed in India by the Hindus and the Muhammadans alike. Some of our contemporaries have ridiculed the suggestion of the special correspondent of the *Pioneer* but we are not disposed to join them.

Comments on the reported deputation of Mussalmans to the Peace Conference.

Akhbár-e-Islám (59), 22nd May; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 21st May; *Bombay Samáchár* (62), 23rd May.

42. There seems to be a great probability of a satisfactory solution of the demands of the Muhammadans in the matter of the Khaliphate. Indian Muhammadans have of late shown their readiness to take part in the political movements in the country particularly those of Home Rule and *Satyagraha* against the Rowlatt legislation. If these Muhammadans do not change their views after the opportunity given to a deputation to wait upon the Peace Conference in the matter of the Khaliphate we shall label them as ungrateful. The Muhammadans should withdraw themselves from all political activities and should concentrate their attention on the question of the Khaliphate. We are gratified at the signs of appreciation shown by Government of the unswerving loyalty of their Muhammadan subjects. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—The Imperial Government have been pleased to allow an influential deputation to wait upon the Peace Conference in the matter of the Khaliphate. We shall eagerly await the result of the deputation. We might, however, take the liberty of saying that if the Imperial Government of England take a broad view in the matter, the other Allied governments would soon be brought to the right path. Turkey no doubt committed a grave blunder in joining the enemy but in this matter the mistakes of the Allies were greatly helpful to the enemy. The Allies joined the war for vindicating justice and they should take their own mistakes against Turkey into consideration in dealing with the matter in hand. Now that a deputation is to wait upon the Peace Conference we have every hope that it will deal with Turkey in such a manner as to give satisfaction to the Muhammadan world. The *Bombay Samáchár* also hopes that the result of the deputation will be satisfactory to the Muhammadans.]

Sind Moslem (12), 24th May.

43. "The most important event of the week, from the Mussalman point of view, was the sitting of the Council of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, which on Saturday last heard the views of the Indian delega-

tion on the *Future of Turkey*. This step was taken at the *request* of Mr. Lloyd George..... It is evident from recent telegrams that the present Turkish Government has shaken itself free of Germany and the young Turks, many of whom are either driven off from the country or court-martialled, and, therefore, it is the best opportunity for Mr. Lloyd George to permanently make the Ottoman Empire his Government's intimate and grateful friend so that in time of need its valiant soldiers consider it their moral duty to form a vanguard of British Government and the whole Islamic world may feel indebted and become devoted to Great British whole-heartedly. We await the result of the above sitting of the Council of the Great Powers with anxiety."

The terms of peace.
Gujarâti (20), 18th May; *Praja Mitra and Pârsi* (31), 24th May; *Praja Bandhu* (30), 18th May; *Baroda Vartâmân* (61), 19th May; *Wafâdar* (36), 16th May; *Gujarâti Punch* (22), 18th May.

44. People say the peace terms are crushing, not because they pity Germany or because they sympathise with it. But people want peace, and so they ask how Germany will be able to observe these terms. In view of her awkward position Germany might accept the terms, but it is open to question whether the terms will ensure a permanent peace. Are the terms of peace in accordance with Dr. Wilson's fourteen points? What will happen if the German people refuse to accept the terms? [The *Praja Mitra and Pârsi* deplores the way in which the Peace Conference has been carrying out its work and blames it for not taking the nations concerned fully into confidence. It is of opinion that the Conference has not formed a League of Nations but merely a League of Governments in which certain leading powers have been given the upper hand. It refers to the disapproval with which the terms of peace imposed upon Germany have been been received by a certain section of the subjects of the Allied nations and to the unwillingness of the German people to accept the terms and is not sure whether Germany in protesting against the terms, courts upon any other help besides the sympathy it has evoked in the peoples of the Allied Powers. The *Praja Bandhu* is also of opinion that the terms of peace offered to Germany are of a harsh nature and is afraid that they will leave a feeling of discontent in the hearts of the German people and that as such they are not conducive to the establishment of a peace that will endure for ever. The *Baroda Vartamân* also expresses doubts whether Germany will accept the terms of peace. The *Wafâdar* is also of opinion that the terms of peace are not likely to ensure the peace of the world and that they might give rise to a more bloody and devastating war than the one that has been brought to an end. It, however, hopes that the world may be spared such a war. The *Gujarâti Punch* also considers the terms as harsh and doubts whether they are in accordance with President Willson's fourteen points.]

Advice to the Sind authorities to put a stop to the repressive policy adopted by them.
Al-Haq (134), 3rd May.

45. Readers of *Al-Haq* for this week as well as the last must have seen that since a week or two ago the Sind Government has adopted extremely repressive measures, although the province of Sind has never been nor is such as to necessitate the resort by Government to repression. The searches and arrests of the last two weeks have discredited Sind which is highly regrettable. There is a great uneasiness among the people, such as has never been heard of or seen in Sind. Until two or three weeks ago high officials themselves, in their speeches and on occasions of darbars, have testified to the admirable loyalty of Sind. It is certainly not proper to cast such a blot as is involved in the recent proceedings of Government on a Muhammadan province like Sind. It is not too late to mend matters; and in our opinion the best thing would be for the Government to withdraw all the cases filed by it, to stop repression and to put an end to the discontent and uneasiness obtaining among the people. The progress of the country depends on the establishment of good relations between the rulers and the ruled. The attitude now adopted by the Sind Government is calculated adversely to affect these relations. Surely no good can come out of this policy of repression. We have thought it our duty to make these observations and we hope that the ruler of Sind and other high officials will consider what we have said and forthwith put a stop to the policy of repression adopted by them.

46. "The die is cast and the hour of trial for Sind has actually arrived. Mr. Lawrence, the late commissioner, before he departed for his native shores, left his memory in Sind by applying to it the Seditious Meetings Act. The Bombay Government and the Simla Government could not wait to enquire in the affairs of Sind and said ditto to what the late Commissioner in Sind seems to have written. To our knowledge there have been held absolutely no seditious meetings which necessitated the application of this law. One would then say, as it has been and is being said, that no fear whatever need be apprehended from this Act if the meetings held are not *seditious*. We really many a time are amazed in the way this oft quoted word sedition is interpreted..... We for ourselves would like to point out that stopping the holding of public meetings would be to sow the seed of underhand revolution and discontent. Above all where was the necessity of this Act to be applied to Sind at all. So far as we know the meetings held in Sind were characterised by delivery of speeches within bounds. If inspite of it, it can be said that there were certain meetings where discussion bordering on sedition did take place, for that we believe the law of the land, section 124 A, can be applied and example set. But there is no necessity of the *Seditious Meetings Act* in Sind which is calculated to run the current of discontent from underneath and which has harmful effects."

Comments on the application of the Seditious Meetings Act to Sind.
Sind Advocate (11), 8th May.

47. "The correspondence carried on by Mr. Jinnah with the Bombay Government with regard to the revival of the *Bombay Chronicle* is now published, and any one who carefully goes through it can come to no other conclusion save that the attitude of Government is not what it ought to be in this matter. On the one hand, while they want guarantees for the proper conduct of the paper in future, they decline to give to the Board of Directors of the Indian Newspapers Company, Limited, which own the *Bombay Chronicle*, any idea as to the nature of the guarantees that will suffice to satisfy them, so that they may see their way to cancel the order of censorship passed by them in connection with that paper. Instead of that, Government have left the Directorate to guess for themselves the nature of the guarantees that would satisfy Government, which is by no means quite an easy matter to decide. Thus the attitude taken up by Government is, to say the least, not satisfactory. Moreover, now that Mr. Horniman, whose editorials in the *Bombay Chronicle* were the sole cause of the action taken by Government, is removed from his sphere of activity by means of deportation to England, there is not, in our opinion, sufficient justification for the order of censorship to continue..... In case, however, Government should think that the tone of the articles in the *Bombay Chronicle* is objectionable even after its revival, there is surely nothing to prevent them from taking such action as they may deem necessary, and no reasonable man will then have to say anything against them. At any rate nothing would be lost by giving to the Board all reasonable focilities needed to revive the paper. We trust, therefore, the Bombay Government will be pleased to reconsider this question and devise a *via media* that may result in the revival of the *Bombay Chronicle*. It need hardly be said that by so doing they will be able to give satisfaction to a section of the people of the Bombay Presidency that sorely feel the absence of the *Bombay Chronicle* from the ranks of Indian journals."

The *Bombay Chronicle* and the Bombay Government.
Praja Bandhu (30), 18th May.

48. Though our opinions are those of the Nationalist party, we shall deem it our duty to point out any mistakes which the Nationalist leaders might commit. We shall not misrepresent the opinions of those who are opposed to us, for we value nothing more than truth. It will be our aim to direct the attention of the public towards economic, industrial and agricultural questions as more than half the population of India does not get sufficient food to eat even once a day. Any one who has travelled about in the country must have seen that compared with the condition of the people about a quarter of a century back, they are getting more and more

The Aims of the *Surya* newspaper.
Surya (new), 18th May.

emaciated and that their frames are mere living skeletons. No one can be called a patriot who does not feel for this. The cause of this indifference is ignorance which it is one of our chief aims to dispel.

Grievances of Indians in British East Africa.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 23rd May; *Akhabár-e-Islám* (59), 24th May; *Gujaráti Punch* (22), 18th May.

49. The reply given by the Governor of British East Africa to the Indian deputation that waited upon him staggers us inasmuch as it is an insult to the principles for which the allies waged war against the Germans—a war in which the Indians fought on the side of the allies in all the theatres of war. The deputation has been asked to approach the Secretary of State for India and the Imperial Government. The question of the status of Indians in British East Africa primarily concerns the Colonial Secretary and he seems to have taken advantage of the present situation to have hastened to harass the Indians in that country. It was Lord Milner, the present Colonial Secretary, who after the Boer war framed repressive laws against the Indians which were more severe than any that the Boers had ever dared to enact or put in practice against the Indians. We have confidence in the British Parliament, the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India that they will not allow the government of British East Africa to pursue a policy that imposes racial disabilities on Indians and closes the doors of that country against them. We hope the Government of India will take up the question promptly in hand and help to get justice for their Indian subjects. [The *Akhbár-i-Islám* also considers the reply of the Governor of British East Africa to the Indian deputation as disappointing and hopes that the Imperial Government will uphold the rights of Indians in recognition of their services during the war and order the Governor of British East Africa to deal justly with the Indians. The *Gujaráti Punch* appeals to the Secretary of State to use his influence with Parliament to secure justice to the Indians in British East Africa and to issue orders to the Governor of the province to pursue a just and conciliatory policy towards the Indians.]

Alleged need of an All-India Criminal Appeal Court.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 22nd May.

50. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* considers the way in which the martial law is administered in the Punjáb as unsatisfactory and declares that looking to the present atmosphere of that province it is natural that serious mistakes must have been made in administering justice according to that law. Such a way of administering justice, it remarks, raises the great question of the purity of British justice, for what the public want is their trial, no matter how searching and severe it might be, through an independent court uninfluenced by the executive officials over it. It, therefore, urges the necessity of establishing an independent All-India Criminal Appeal Court, similar to the one that exists in England, in order to restore the public confidence in British justice.

Protest against an objectionable rule which places liquor licensees at the mercy of corrupt Abkari Officials.
Jám-e-Jamshed (26), 21st May.

51. An anonymous correspondent of the *Jám-e-Jamshed* requests the Excise Commissioner of Bombay to cancel the alleged most objectionable rule regarding the 8 dram bottle in the license, as it has placed the poor licensee completely at the mercy of the Excise Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors. He declares that this rule is the real source of corruption and bribery and so its abolition will make the licensee ever grateful to the Commissioner and Government.

Comments on the method of giving famine relief in a portion of the Ratnagiri District.
Bakul (95), 18th May.

52. Mr. Jayaram Vishnu Vaidya of Devrukh, Ratnágiri, writes:—On making inquiries at some villages as to what steps the village Police Patels had taken with reference to the Government orders about giving relief to utterly helpless and starving people, I found that in many villages they had not even informed the villagers of the existence of such orders, though several such cases deserving help came to my notice. The Police Patels

apparently do not like the idea of spending money in advance from their own pockets in giving relief to the poor people and then recovering it from Government; the arrangements made in this respect in Guhágar are certainly better. There a touring officer appointed for several villages examines the condition of the people needing relief and distributes doles of corn to them himself. A similar system should be introduced in this taluka, but there should be only a limited number of villages in charge of each such officer. Moreover, why should not eligible private gentlemen be also utilised for the purpose?

MUNICIPALITIES.

Neglect of sanitation in Poona City.
Dnyán Prakásh (19), 17th May.

53. The Secretary of the Poona Arogya Mandal writing to the *Dnyán Prakásh* about the visit, on 11th May, of some members of the Society, accompanied by Mr. Apte, the new President of the Poona Municipality, to some of the insanitary places in Poona City, which in the correspondent's opinion have been responsible for the spread of malaria in the City, says:—We then visited the slaughter house in Kagdipura. About two months back the Chief Executive Officer of the Municipality had published a notice that as some other place had been provided for the slaughter of cattle, anyone slaughtering them in Kagdipura would be prosecuted. But we were exasperated to see that nothing had happened beyond the publication of the notice. The place was a sink of filth worse than Hell. The horrible stench issuing would make a weak man faint. Many she-buffaloes are being slaughtered here, and the contents of their stomachs can be seen lying in big heaps near the stream hard by. The butchers stated that they had purchased many she-buffaloes from the Government Dairy. It is a shame to the Municipality that they have not yet closed this place for slaughter. The President himself felt scandalised at the state of things he saw and promised to remedy them.

The Surat Municipality and free and compulsory education.
Young India (16), 21st May.

54. The Surat correspondent of *Young India* writes:—"It will be remembered that the Surat Municipality was one of the first Municipalities that expressed its desire to introduce free and compulsory primary education. The Municipality has long since submitted a scheme for the purpose to Government for sanction. The Municipality is prepared to work the scheme from October. But the fact that the Government is still reticent on the subject makes the early introduction of free and compulsory primary education more or less improbable. The Municipality must, if it means to start work from October, issue, according to the regulations, notifications. It is impossible to do so if it does not soon get the sanction from Government. The notifications are, of course, not the only obstacles. It will have to arrange for buildings, equipment, teachers and staff. Will Government cease sleeping over the matter?"

RAILWAYS.

Grievances of third and ntermediate class passengers on the Jacobabad-Kashmore Railway.
Frontier Gazette (50), 10th May.

55. Referring to a complaint against the authorities of the Jacobabad-Kashmore Railway, received in the vernacular by the *Frontier Gazette*, the paper remarks:—"The complaint relates to the inconveniences to which the third class or even intermediate class passengers are subjected. Every body knows that third class carriages on this line are tram cars, which have no doors. When the line was being opened it was argued that owing to war, carriages could not be had. It is six months since the war is over and nothing has yet been done by the Railway authorities in this connection. The third class passengers are subjected to severe cold in winter and scorching heat in summer owing to want of wooden doors. The cloth shutters provided instead have also been torn away in many cases and have not been replaced. The fate of intermediate passengers is equally bad as the doors provided have no satisfactory locking arrangement and they are

forced open by any gust of wind. Lastly, there being no stone ballast between rails, the dust storm that is raised by the motion of the train is an unbearable nuisance. We hope the Railway authorities will pay due attention to this complaint and take early steps to remedy the evils pointed out."

NATIVE STATES.

56. A correspondent complains in the *Rájakáran* that the State officials in Kolhápur are instigating the non-Brahmins in the State to harass the Brahmins in various ways. He alleges that the former not only boycott the Brahmins, but also cultivate their lands without their consent and threaten to murder them if they try to complain. The writer says the British Government would be failing in its duty if it does not intervene and put a stop to the treatment that is being meted out to the Brahmins. [The *Rashtra Hitaishi* says that the territory where the life and property of the Brahmins is not safe simply because they are Brahmins is not a fit place for anybody to live in. It expresses its confidence that the British Government will intervene when matters have come to such a pass. A correspondent, writing in the *Indu Prakásh*, says that being tired of the persecution some Brahmins have permanently bid good-bye to Kolhápur. He also alleges that on the 14th instant non-Brahmins openly in broad daylight raided the houses of the Kulkarni and the Joshi at Tardal and looted property worth about Rs. 15,000 in the belief that the outrage would not be prevented by the State authorities. He asks the Kolhápur State to issue a Press Note to clear up the matter. A correspondent of the *Sudhákar* says that as soon as the Maharaja heard of the disturbance at Tardal he proceeded to the spot and ordered adequate steps to be taken to prevent a recurrence of the disorder. A correspondent writing in the *Indu Prakásh* says that there are half a dozen Kulkarni families living at Tardal who constantly fight among themselves and who usually have recourse to law courts. It was one of these people, says the correspondent, who, out of enmity, instigated the non-Brahmins to loot the houses of the Kulkarnis and himself decamped overnight to another place with all his belongings, thus wreaking his malice on his family foes as well as his racial enemies.]

Alleged persecution of Brahmins in the Kolhápur State.

Rájakáran (116), 18th May; *Rashtra Hitaishi* (117), 21st May; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 21st May; *Sudhákar* (124), 25th May; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 28th May.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 30th May 1919.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 31st May 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the reports of the Functions and Franchise Committees and the Government of India's Despatch.

Kaiser-i-Hind (27), 1st June, Eng. cols.,

*1. "It is but a dirty trick of Dr. Nair and his following encouraged by the Indo-British Association to imperil the reforms. The Government have elaborated upon their responsibility of the contentment of the country. If Dr. Nair is discontented he must speak out and try to reach a settlement for contentment. He cannot be allowed to block the progress of the whole country by his unpatriotic and selfish attitude. It is a move to help delay which the despatch is anxious to secure as is seen from their recommendation to invite the opinion of the Local Governments and the public on the reports..... It is a pity that the Government of India have a last say in this question of Reforms. We trust Mr. Montagu will bear in mind the bureaucratic bias by which some of the proposals contained in the Despatch are guided. We trust he will not heed the proposals for further inquiry and the recommendation for further publication and invitation of opinions and proceed straight off with his Bill. Sir Sakaran Nair has disagreed, and rightly so, from the view of his colleagues and deprecated any invitation of further public criticism in India. In his short but telling minute His Excellency Sir George Lloyd points out the danger of delay and rightly so..... The Viceroy in the minute endorses this opinion and earnestly presses upon His Majesty's Government 'the imperative necessity of action in fulfilment of their announcement.' Yet he has signed a despatch recommending delay, more inquiry, further consultations and more opinions. Lord Chelmsford's inconsistency requires explanation."

New Times (9), 24th, 27th and 29th May.

2. "Nor are we satisfied with the Government of India's views on the question of University representations and on their insistence that property qualification alone ought to entitle a person to vote. While Chambers of Commerce are given the right to elect representatives, it is ridiculous that centres of education and public spirit which up to now have enjoyed that privilege should be deprived of it. The Government of India ought to recognise that University centres in India produce sober intellectuals who are equipped to face national problems. We cannot get an intelligent and independent electorate on the basis of mere property qualification. A relieving feature of the recommendations is that Muslim representation should be in accordance with the Congress-League scheme. The Franchise proposed, though much in excess of what exists at present, is, in our opinion, much limited and ought to have been largely extended. As regards the functions, we still adhere to the Delhi Congress resolutions that except law, order and justice all other departments should be handed over to the Ministers and that certain departments in the Government of India also should be transferred. Nothing short of this would satisfy the great majority of the thinking portion of the Indian public." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—" Government of India require that proposals for taxation should be referred to the Grand Committee thus taking them away from the control of the Legislative Council as recommended by the Mountford scheme and the Functions Committee. Indians will not appreciate such a retrograde proposal. We pointed out in a previous article that the administration of transferred subjects could not be carried on without much revenue. To propose watertight compartments for the allocation of revenue, to destroy the unified feature of the budget, to take away the power of taxation from the control of the Legislative Councils would be to convert the Councils into glorified debating societies. Sir Sankaran is of our view when he says that Excise ought not to be an expanding source of revenue; and in Indian hands, he points out, 'it will not be an increasing source'. Sir Sankaran points out, as we did in an earlier article, that the first six transferred subjects in the list belong to the category of the spending departments, while the reserved subjects are potential sources of income. Unless the budget is subjected to thorough control of the Legislature and the ministers are given a commanding voice in shaping the budget, the spirit of expenditure will reign unchecked on the reserved subjects to the detriment of

police utility projects." "Referring to the Government of India's proposal to treat only primary education as a transferred subject, the paper remarks in a further issue:—"Even the Sadler Commission are not satisfied with the control of higher education by Government. They accordingly recommend the creation of a Board to control higher education in which the majority should consist of non-official members. They are of opinion that the Director should only be an expert adviser to the Minister in charge of education. But the Government of India feel it their sacred duty to 'reserve' higher education..... The Southborough Commission rightly recommend that the whole subject of education be immediately transferred to Ministers. The official control of education has not been productive of very happy results..... If during a century of education under the direction of Government the masses continue to be ignorant, if secondary education only makes young men fit to be clerks and fails to make them efficient citizens, if university education has ignored the indigenous culture of the nation, if India has not even one well-equipped Technological Institute, is it not time to give Indians a chance to control the education of their own children?"]

3. "The anxiously expected reports of the two Southborough Committees have at last come and come, we must at once say, with complete disappointment..... We are not satisfied with the list of subjects which the Government of India wish to transfer. We are not satisfied with the measure of control which the Government wish to retain on the administration connected with those subjects. The responsibility thus cast on Indian shoulders is such as few persons would like to take. Nor does it embrace a sufficiently wide range of subjects. And how are these illiberal proposals justified by Government? They obviously think that the Councils will not be sufficiently representative. Possibly the political distrust lurking in the minds of those who constitute our Government is a still stronger reason why they are so unwilling to transfer more departments of administration than they have done..... Consider the absurdity of 39½ lakhs of Mahomedans requiring 27 seats while the non-Mahomedans who are nearly four times as many being told to be satisfied with 46 seats only. Is this fair?..... Let us next take the distribution of seats in the Deccan divisions with which we are more particularly concerned. Of the 23 allotted to these Divisions, Nagar gets 2, E. Khandesh gets 3, W. Khándesh 1, Násik 2, Poona 2, Satára 3, Sholápur 1, Belgaum 2, Dhárwar 3 and the rest get one each. To whom will these seats in ordinary circumstances go? There is not the slightest doubt that the one-member constituencies will be monopolised by the Brahmans. In the 7 districts which are proposed to elect more than one member, possibly Satára and E. Khándesh may send one Non-Brahman each. Perhaps in Dhárwar and Belgaum, the Lingayets will divide the seats with the Brahmans. What is the net result?..... Half a million Brahmans represented by 18 or 19 members, a million Lingayets by 2 or 3 and the many millions of the remainder by 2 or 3 more representatives! Is this just?..... What is the lesson of past experience—experience which is wiser than any Committee or Government? Take the Council elections of these two Divisions since elections began to take place. Invariably they have returned Brahmans to the Council..... Let us again take the Belgaum District and examine its Local Boards elections of the current year. In this District, the Brahmans number 28,800 only while the Lingayets exceed 2½ lakhs and the other non-Brahmans number over five lakhs. In the recent elections we find that the Belgaum District Board got ten members in all of whom six were Brahmans, one a European, two Lingayets, and one Jain!..... That is the result of a non-communal election in one of the most agitated of the Deccan Districts where the chances for non-Brahmans ought to have been the best..... Belgaum has had to be content with such results in this year of 1919 and yet the Franchise Committee sagely tells us that there is no need for any special provision for the representation of the non-Brahmans! On what grounds does the Committee say so?..... The Government of Bombay had urged the claims of the Marathas on the ground 'that they are so subject to Brahman influence that, even where they com-

Deccan Ryot (5), 22nd May.

mand a majority of votes, they will be unable to return their own representatives.' What have the Committee to say to this? We have ransacked the large volume of their report to find not a syllable in answer to this argument. When we examine more closely the attitude of the committee towards this question, our disappointment becomes bitter to a degree. The only members of the committtee who advocated the need of some protection to the group were Mr. Hailey and Mr. Hogg. The non-Brahmans in this Presidency once more find that the only people from whom they can get justice are those of the Anglo-Indians who are traduced most by the Indian politicians. The Brahman members of the committee, Messrs. Bannerjea, Shastri and (in this Presidency Mr. Natrajan) seem to have ignored the Backward Classes and even the Resolution passed by their own Conference on this subject!..... After all Dr. Nair was right in entertaining no hopes from a committee like this..... The authorities are apparently guided by considerations more of military or other strength than of justice. As the Government of India have themselves complained 'in dealing with the various problems that came before them *they* (the committee) *have usually sought to arrive at agreement rather than base their solution upon general reasonings.*' Why? Because they cared to satisfy only those whose agitation was inconvenient and it did not matter to them what was just or reasonable. The Mahomedans are to be given a larger number of seats than they are entitled to because not to do so is inconvenient. The Sikhs must be given separate electorates, because they are a military race. The Europeans must be given their demand because their agitation is also very strong. The Marathas are only talked of, because they have enemies in their own camp. The other Backward Hindus are ignored, because they do not count among them men of political utility. The Lingayets are not cared for, because they are a docile, agricultural community. The Jains are not mentioned, because they too stand disunited and weak. *Strength and ability to give trouble is thus the test.* We have no doubt that the communities concerned will soon learn the lesson. Will the Government see the injustice or, at any rate, the impolitic nature of this conviction gaining ground?"

4. "Sir Sankaran Nair is satisfied that the future of education in this country depends upon Indian direction. There is also much truth in the suggestion that those who would keep education a reserved subject, do so, not in the interests of educational progress, but for political reasons. It is believed that education, especially liberal English education, creates political discontent. That may be so, where the political institutions are illiberal and un-English. But it has its good effect, too, upon the minds of the people. In any event, it is too late in the day to draw back. Assuming that education breeds political disaffection, it is vain to hope that the tide of unfavourable opinion will be stemmed by a narrow and suspicious educational policy now. Such a policy has been tried and has only resulted in aggravating such disaffection as existed..... But there is the people's standpoint, too, with regard to this political aspect of the matter. The political progress of the people is dependent upon the expansion of sound education; and such expansion could not be left in the hands of classes who can have no sympathy with the political progress of India. Under the present system, the impression created is that primary English education for the masses, and higher education for the middle classes, are deliberately discouraged for political reasons. It is also believed that higher professional, industrial and technical education is similarly discouraged to favour English industries, and recruitment in England of English officials. There are grounds for these beliefs; but even if there were none, a system discredited by such suspicions, could hardly be looked upon as the best of all systems."

Prája Mitra and Pársi (31), 26th May, Eng. cols.

*5. "The recommendations made by the Government of India upon the basis of the Montagu-Chelmsford report and the report of the Functions Committee are, on the whole, so retrograde in certain vital points that there is a danger of the whole scheme coming to grief if they are to be given effect to *in toto*. In view of this circum-

Gujaráti (20), 1st June; Eng. cols.

stance the question of immediate importance is not so much how further reforms can be engrafted on the original scheme but how it can be preserved in its essence and prevented from being whittled down. History is about to repeat itself with grave prejudice to the cause of Indian reform and the Indian delegates who have now gone to England have a great responsibility to face.... ..... We have said above that the recommendations of the Government of India were of a less liberal character than the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme and even reactionary. We are sorry to have to pronounce such a judgment. But facts are more powerful than our fond wishes. The three presidencies will continue to get their Governors from England, but the heads of the other provinces, although they will have the proud satisfaction of posing as 'Their Excellencies', will continue to be selected largely from the Dwyers, Craddocks and like brands from the I. C. S. That is not a point gained. Under the original scheme the number of official and non-official Indian members in the Executive Councils in Bengal, Bombay and Madras was to be equal. But it is now proposed that there should be two English official members and only one Indian member. The position of the Indian Ministers, as defined in the Despatch of the Government of India, is so anomalous and risky that it may be doubted if any self-respesting Indians will care to place themselves in such a predicament. Their status will not be equal to that of the members of the Executive Council. The Government of India see no real reason to prescribe for Ministers the scale of salaries fixed for members of Councils. But strangely enough, their pay is to be fixed by the Governor after consultation with the prospective Ministers! We do not know what is to happen if the salary proposed by the Governor is refused by the prospective Minister. The Governor, we suppose, will try to find out another aspirant with a more modest ambition. All that this process is likely to involve is not calculated to inspire the public with confidence. This provision, we are afraid, will discredit the whole experiment from the very start. Bureaucrats are deeply afraid of their salaries and pensions being interfered with under the new scheme and have obtained solid guarantees for the maintenance of their power and prestige. But Indian Ministers are to be subjected to a system of what practically amounts to bidding for their salaries or of acquiescence in the Governor's wishes from the very outset..... Under the proposed scheme, the Governor will be converted into a Dictator or an Autocrat who can interfere in a variety of ways in a variety of matters. The Grand Committees will be the reproduction of the present Councils as regard their composition and there is to be no appeal by the Council either from the Governor's original certificate or any intermediate certificate, nor any previous reference by the Governor to the Government of India before certifying a Bill. The position assigned to Under Secretaries will be honorary and informal and will not be given statutory recognition. In other words, they will be nothing like the parliamentary under secretaries with a distinct status but will simply bear a hollow-sounding name."

*6. "The opening passages of the Government of India's despatch are more appropriate to a metaphysical disquisition than to a State document. Their ingenious arguments about what is dualism and what is non-dualism in government would do credit to a professor of the Vedanta. The Government of India themselves claim that their proposals amount to a sort of *visishtad waitism*. 'We found on examination,' they observe, 'that pure dualism would be burdensome by reasons of divided councils and the results of inexperience. What we seek, therefore, is such modifications of dualism as will introduce the necessary elasticity and get rid of its worst inconveniences without confusing or disguising the responsibilities of the two parts of the Government.' The despatch abounds in sentences of this kind which may mean anything or nothing. Sometimes the despatch betrays a curious discrepancy between profession and proposal. Here are two instances. 'Pure separatism on the financial side,' we are told in paragraph 32, 'seems to us also an impossibility if the public interests are to be safeguarded.' In paragraph 57, on the contrary, it is laid down that 'within each province, each half of the Government should have a defined power of raising the

Indian Social Reformer (7), 1st June; *Servant of India* (10), 22nd and 29th May.

revenue to provide for the expenditure which it considers necessary.' Again in paragraph 46, we read, 'it seems to us inadvisable to make any general offer of a proportionate pension to men who are transferred and who may not like to serve under Ministers.' In paragraph 48, it is stated that 'an officer finding his position unendurable should be entitled to apply to the Government of India for a proportionate pension.' Contradictions of this kind (which, of course, can be explained away) are not infrequent in this extraordinary despatch. The rapid transformations of ideas in the despatch make one giddy. We frankly say that we are unable to make head or tail out of some passages. We do not seem to be alone in this disability, for Sir Sankaran Nair in his minute of dissent often finds it necessary to prefix a subjunctive to his statements of the positions of his colleagues with which he is unable to concur. The scheme recommended in the despatch has few points of contact with the opinions of the Heads of Provinces or of any non-official school of Indian politics. The only document in this collection between which and the despatch we are able to discern some similarity of ideas is the memorandum of the Council of the European Association. The question for immediate consideration in connection with the Government of India's despatch with which we are now concerned, is, what, if any, are the changes in the position of Ministers in relation to the Legislative Council, the Executive Council and the Governor personally, proposed by the Government of India, as compared with that proposed by the Viceroy and Secretary of State in their joint report; and how do these changes affect their powers of usefulness, favourably or detrimentally? To begin with, it was proposed in the Montagu-Chelmsford report that Ministers would be appointed for the lifetime of the legislative councils. The radical wing of Indian politicians who dominated the Delhi Congress demanded that, from the commencement of the first reformed Councils, the principle of the responsibility of Ministers to the Legislature should come into effect in the provinces. For quite different reasons the Council of the European Association in their final statement on the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme threw out the same suggestion, though they intimated that the majority opinion in the Association inclined to the view that this would be premature and lead to practical difficulties in working if immediately adopted. The Government of India, however, have adopted the recommendation of the Delhi Congress on the extraordinary ground that the idea of amenability to constituents rather than the legislature strikes them as strange to English political theory (as if there are not many other things much more strange to that theory in their proposals) and in view of the inexperience of the electorate compared with the legislature, and also of its communal character, as most unlikely to bear much fruit in practice. Almost in the very next sentence Government admit that it is very hard to foresee how communalism in electorates and legislatures will deflect their working in India from the ways familiar to English experience. But they lightly pass over this difficulty with the remark that they feel bound at all events to proceed on the assumption that a Minister who finds himself at variance with the views of those who are in a position to control his legislation and his supply and to pass votes of censure upon his administration will recognise that he must make way for a more acceptable successor. This easy-going way of leaving everything to chance with regard to the Minister is in striking contrast to the meticulous care with which the most remote possibilities are provided against in the case of the Members of the Executive Council and of the Public Services and certain other interests which we need not specify here. We think that the proposal of the joint report should be adhered to in order that members of the Legislative Councils as well as prospective Ministers may have time to adjust themselves to the new order of things." [The *Servant of India* publishes articles contributed by Messrs. Chintamani, R. P. Paranjpye, Lallubhai Samaldas and others on various subjects connected with the reforms.]

7. The Government of India is not willing to hand over education, industries and land revenue. Without these Departments in the charge of the people, how is it possible to frame a political programme that will have an intimate connection with the life of the

Kesari (109), 27th May; *Dnyán Prakásh* (41), 27th and 29th May.

people? How will people show that they are interested in any programme? If people are not enthusiastic about any programme, it will take very little time to brand the political leaders as unfit. In order that leaders of different parties may frame their programme as they like, all the Departments as decided by the Delhi Congress should be handed over. If that is not possible all the Departments except the Police and Judicial Departments must be handed over. The Government of India have not attached any importance to the Delhi Congress and they have also ignored the Bombay Congress. The Southborough Committee is in advance of the Government of India but as it has not handed over land revenue its report is not satisfactory. Not only is the Government of India far behind the Southborough report but even after the Departments have been handed over it has tried to make the people's control over them as lifeless as possible. If there is diarchy, the two parts of Government are likely to be in conflict. The bureaucracy in which dwell permanently haughtiness and incapacity will look upon the democracy with hostility more bitter than that of a co-wife. On the other hand, how will democracy also pay any regard to such a domineering bureaucracy? Really speaking it is necessary that a clean sweep of the bureaucracy should be made from the Provincial Government. Nobody objects to people remaining in service according to covenant for howsoever long a time. But India's good will be speedily achieved only if the power of settling policy which is in the hands of the bureaucracy is at once taken away. The Government of India want to entrust into our hands lifeless departments; on such dead food *Swarájya* cannot prosper. It is something like asking in the first place that people should not be fed and that if at all they are fed, they should be given dead food. The Government of India want to give such food to the people as would not increase the desire for *Swarájya*. If diarchy is not wanted, let all departments in the Provinces be handed over to the people. But the bureaucracy is not willing and British experts have not the courage to do so. 'The father is not willing to allow the son to beg and the mother is not willing to feed him'. In these circumstances when it was seen that the son would steal, the bureaucracy brought itself to see the face of the ministers very unwillingly. The Provincial heads were invited and induced to assent to diarchy by the Viceroy. The Government of India want the transferred departments to be managed within the allotments made and they will thus be reduced to the position of municipalities. The departments will be starved and the plant of *swarájya* will be a diseased one. It is necessary that as soon as the reserved departments are provided for, the budget should be in the hands of the people. The Southborough Committee agrees with the Montagu report and wants the budget to be in the hands of the people. If people and the bureaucracy do not agree, the Governor is to conduct the administration alone according to the Instrument of Instructions. With the Instrument, the Governor will be the embodiment of British rule and he will be a sort of king. But a British politician bred in Britain, knowing the signs of the times, would be better able to allow *swarájya* to grow than the bureaucracy which would be harassing to *swarájya* on account of its highhandedness and which is unfit on account of its age and which does not understand the times. It will never be desirable to allow the shadow of bureaucracy to fall upon *swarájya*. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* says:—If the Reform Scheme is to be according to the Government of India scheme, what we have at present would be better than what we are to get. Two things the Government of India have placed before them: that people should have no control over the purse and that ministers should be puppets in the hands of the Governor. The Government of India have rendered fruitless the desire of Mr. Montagu to hand over real power to the people. The Despatch aims at the point that people should have no power even regarding legislation. The Governor can allow or disallow resolutions as now even when they are to be only advisory. It surprises us that Lord Chelmsford who signed the original report as Viceroy should have signed the Despatch also. It only shows how the Civil Service can influence the chief authority. Arrangements also have been brought forward in the report to increase the importance of the Civil Service even more than before. The minister's pay is to be fixed by the Governor, he can be complained against direct, he cannot punish officials

under him. If he does not obey the Governor he is to be dismissed; if the Council votes against him he should resign. The Moderate leaders assented to the scheme as the minimum and they had declared that severe discontent would be caused ending in harmful consequences if it were whittled down. But it has been of no use and indignation would be roused everywhere on account of the reactionary policy of the Government of India. His countrymen will always be grateful to Sir Sankaran Nair for performing his duty in the right and fearless manner. In its issue of the 29th instant, the paper says :—Lord Chelmsford had said in one of his speeches that it was inevitable that some of the powers enjoyed by the Civilians should be transferred to the people and that the Civilians should be generous enough to make a voluntary transfer. But he himself signs the reactionary despatch that conserves all powers in the hands of Civilians! The Government of India have also taken care that their own administration should be altogether free from popular control. If we consider the things that are going on in the Punjáb out of keeping with British traditions and the fact that the Government of India have not said a word against them, we specially feel that the Government of India stand in need of popular control.]

Jám-e-Jamshed (26), 29th and 31st May; *Praja Bandhu* (30), 25th May.

8. It is now time that the British Parliament should accede to the demand of the Indian public for making the Department of Industries a transferred subject. We are sorry the Government of India have not approved of the recommendations of the Southborough Committee in this respect. There is no reason to believe that an Indian Minister would use his powers against interests of British Merchants and British Capital. The policy of giving preference to the foreign capitalists at the sacrifice of indigenous industries and to the detriment of their interests is destructive of the rights of the natives of this country and their industries. If the aim of the present Reform Scheme is to put India on the path of self-Government, the important departments of Industries and Education must be handed over to the popular control. Sir Sankaran Nair's persistence in this connection is certainly commendable. [In a later issue the paper expresses its gratification at the fact that the President of the East India Section of the London Chambers of Commerce has recognised the difficulties in the way of Indian students gone to England for getting practical training in some industrial or technical line. It draws the attention of the Government to these difficulties and requests them to remove them as far as possible. The *Praja Bandhu* writes :—The Functions Committee's Report seems to be utterly worthless. When the people demand full self-government in the provinces it is useless to discuss what departments should be 'transferred' and what should be 'reserved'. The Report does not meet the demands of even the Special Congress. Sir Sankaran Nair has exposed the official opposition to the Reform Scheme and has strongly protested against keeping any official control over the transferred subjects. On the whole Sir Sankaran Nair has done excellent service to India by his outspokenness.]

Rájakáran (116), 25th May; *Jágaruk* (45), 24th May; *Jágriti* (46), 24th May.

9. The *Rájakáran* considers the Southborough Committees' reports to be on the whole satisfactory. The Franchise Committee was right, says the paper, in not countenancing the demands of the non-Brahmins in Madras. It expresses its surprise, however, that the committee did not give the vote to women. [The *Jágaruk* welcomes the recommendation of the Government of India to give a larger representation to the depressed classes than that proposed by the Franchise Committee. The *Jágriti* expresses its satisfaction at the decision of the committee not to support the claims of the non-Brahmins for separate electorates to safeguard their interests against the imaginary influence of the Brahmins.]

Surya (new), 30th May.

10. The Government of India's Despatch on the Southborough Committee's Reports has convinced even the Moderates of the reactionary policy of that Government which is being supported by Europeans and Anglo-Indians alone. The Government of India seem to be determined to see that the

present state of things in which the people's representatives in their Legislative Council can only protest till their throats are dry and resign and public can only look on in silence, shall continue. From the obstinate resolve of the Government of India to try to satisfy the people by means of unimportant concessions, it appears that the big *sahebs* living in the cool breezes of Simla have no idea as to the height to which the aspirations of Indians have reached. The Government of India have shown a similar reactionary spirit in the matter of provincial governments and have tried to cut down the freedom given to the ministers even in the original scheme, so that their departments will be just like Municipalities on a larger scale, able to do nothing for the people. The restrictions proposed to be imposed on Provincial administrations are sure to defeat the object of the elected majority to be conceded to the legislatures. Expressions about equality of treatment occuring in proclamations and statesmen's speeches might satisfy the cringing durbaris, but not the general public. Till Government is prepared to grant to India the responsible system of government prevalent in other countries, it should not stultify itself by speaking of equality of treatment as the use of such meaningless expressions results only in the demoralisation of the speaker.

11. "We regret that the recommendations of the Government of India make the Minister's position worse than it was in the Joint Report. His constitutional position is made precarious, since he cannot afford to defy the Legislative Council, though, in the event of a conflict between the Government and the Council, he has no option but to accept dismissal at the Governor's hands. The pay and status of the Minister is to be settled by the Governor acccording to his discretion! Consider, along with this mock show of delegated power, the fact that the departments suggested for transfer are inadequate and disappointing. The Government of India's minutes on the Southborough Reports complete all the information necessary to judge of their most hostile attitude towards the Reform Scheme, narrow as it was itself in conception. It is evident that obscurantism has once more prevailed among the counsellors of the Viceroy. We do not know if it is a cruel disillusionment which is awaiting us. The Reforms, according to their criticism, will come as Dead Sea Apples. We are glad that accompanying the Despatch is a powerful minute of dissent by Sir Sankaran Nair, who exposes the unreality of the suggestions made by Government in the name of reform. This dissent requires fuller treatment, but for the present we would express our gratitude to him for having spoken at the right time and in the right spirit."

Young India (16), 28th May.

12. Sir S. Nair's minute of dissent has not only expressed disapproval of the narrow opinions of the Government of India but has stated the Indian point of view of the reform scheme with admirable skill and apt illustrations. It is to be regretted that the Government of India have once again adhered to their narrow-minded policy in holding back from publication the materials at their disposal with respect to the reform scheme. They have published their despatch on the Southborough Reports but have witheld from us their three former despatches which are referred to in Sir Sankaran's minute of dissent and Sir Sankaran's own scheme and the schemes submitted by the Provincial Governments. We fail to understand why the Government of India hesitate to take the people into confidence by publishing all the materials at their disposal and thus giving them an opportunity of forming an opinion about their own work. Would it be considered wise to withhold from the public those Government despatches which have been commented upon by Sir Sankaran? The despatch of the Government of India is not only disappointing but reactionary and we hope that the Parliament will use its influence to get the forthcoming Reform Bill framed on the lines of Sir Sankaran Nair's minute of dissent. The Franchise Committee's Report is liberal to some extent. However it is not such as to give people complete satisfaction. The Congress and the League gave their opinion against communal and special representations but both the Committee and the Government of India have sent their support to such representations.

Gujarâti (20), 25th May; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (27), 25th May.

It is, therefore, to be regretted that Government have once again given a manifestation of their reactionary policy that promotes the interests of European mercantile communities at the expense of Indian trades and industries. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* on the whole approves of the Report of the Franchise Committee and the despatch of the Government of India thereon. It is however of opinion that a great injustice has been done to the Parsi community in not giving it special communal representation.]

*13. *Marátha* (8), 1st June. "The contest is begun, and we must now all be ready to resist the Government of India's insidious attempts to whittle down the Reforms. When the Montagu-Chelmsford Report was published, it was expected that the scheme of reforms contained in that would at least be granted, and signed as it was by Lord Chelmsford himself, and as his colleagues had given their 'cordial support to the general policy' embodied in it, it was naturally thought that the Government of India at least would not go back upon it in important details. These hopes, however, are now dashed to the ground, and it is now revealed to us that the Government of India themselves have tried in their despatch to run down the scheme in material particulars. The local Governments, whose minutes have also been published, have not dared to apply their scissors so ruthlessly to some very important items as has been done by the Government of India, and the dissenting minute of Sir Sankaran Nair clearly shows that the scheme of his colleagues 'is *directly against* the announcement of the 20th August.' He further says that 'as it means altogether a negation of responsibility, it should not be accepted.' From this it will be quite plain that the Government of India, who have given their 'cordial support to the general policy' of the Report, have themselves struck at the very root of that policy! And what are the reactionary recommendations of the Government of India? The report suggested that in every provincial executive Council there should be only two Executive Councillors, one European and the other Indian. The Government of India now suggest that 'in cases where a Governor lacks Indian experience,' the council should include two European officials and only one Indian. Now according to the scheme, the Governors of the three presidencies will always be imported from England, and will thus inevitably lack 'Indian experience.' Therefore, according to the Government of India's suggestion, the Executive Councils of the three presidencies will contain two Europeans and one Indian! This is thus a perfect violation of the recommendation in the Report. Next, their proposals about the powers of the ministers and the Legislative Council are also open to very grave objections. They propose that the minister must accept unwilling officials to carry out his policy; they allow the official heads of the Departments to appeal to the Governor against the decision of the minister..... All these and some other suggestions really complete the subordination of the minister. This means that what the Government of India propose to give with one hand they take away with another. Sir Sankaran Nair, therefore, rightly says that 'the cumulative effect of all these provisions is to place the minister and the Legislative Council, in relation to transferred departments, not only in a position of no responsibility but virtually in *subordination* to the Executive Council.' The Government of India's proposals find no support anywhere, even in reactionary circles, and it must, therefore, be said that the Government of India are merely playing with the principle of 'responsibility' contained in the August announcement. Coming to their proposals about the financial arrangements, we see that, contrary to the proposals of the Report, they strongly advocate separate purses..... The proposed arrangement is positively harmful besides being opposed to the Report scheme, and, therefore, must be rejected summarily. But their most amazing suggestion, quite against the principle of the whole scheme, is that the budget should be simply discussed by the Legislature but not voted by it. Indians have been crying hoarse since long to have this one of the most precious privileges, and the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme held out promises that it would be granted..... Will not the cumulative effect of all these suggestions be to reduce the Councils merely to a farce as they are at present. Can this thus be called a *progressive* realisation of responsible Government? And if not, how can the Government of India dare to recommend this in the teeth of the declaration of August 20th 1917? Can reaction go any farther than this?

14. The recommendations of the Government of India on the Report of the Southborough Committees are on the whole such as to nullify the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. Government have recommended the appointment of Governors in place of Lieutenant-Governors in certain Provinces, but those Governors are to be appointed from among the Civilians. Why should not these provinces have the benefit of having as their rulers politicians of independent views from England? On the whole the despatch has given a blow to our expectations in the matter of gaining more rights than those outlined in the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme and it creates a fear of those reforms being greatly curtailed. In these circumstances, the Deputations in England will have a hard task before them. [The *Prája Mitra and Pársi* expresses disapproval of the Despatch of the Government of India and endorses Sir Sankaran Nair's minute of dissent. The *Bombay Samáchár* also considers the despatch as reactionary and hopes that the proposed reforms will be framed on the recommendations contained in Sir Sankaran's minute of dissent. *Shri Venkateshwar* declares that the Despatch testifies to the farce enacted in appointing the Southborough Committees. It also considers the Despatch as reactionary and looks forward to Parliament standing by the pledge given to India.]

Hindusthán (24), 26th May; *Prajá Mitra and Pársi* (31), 26th May; *Bombay Samáchár* (62), 28th and 30th May; *Shri Venkateshwar* (82), 28th May.

15. Discussing the opposition of the Government of India to the transfer of higher education the *Karnátak Vaibhav* writes:—We expected it; bureaucracies obstruct in this way whenever an opportunity arises of granting responsible powers to the people. Bureaucracies have committed to memory certain shibboleths, *e.g.*, Indians have no experience and no talents and bureaucrats alone are experienced and wise. In order that defects in education should be removed, it is necessary that the Department should be in the hands of the people. Government cannot manage the thing. As Sir Sankaran Nair says the reasons that have led to the Government proposals are political. All should congratulate Sir Sankaran Nair on his able exposition.

Karnátak Vaibhav (85), 27th May.

16. The Viceroy's indifference to the repeated appeals of the Honourable Mr. S. N. Bannerji regarding the change of policy in the Punjáb and the despatches of the Government of India in connectiion with the Reform Scheme have made the Moderates see things in their true light. From the speeches of the Honourable Sir D. Wacha and the Honourable Mr. Chintamani on the occasion of the farewell party in honor of the latter, we are convinced that there is no difference between the Moderates and the Nationalists so far as their views on the situation in the Punjáb and the Government of India Despatches are concerned. The peculiar tendency of the Moderates had led the public to doubt that they had adopted the policy of pleasing the officials; but the bold and independent expression of their views on the Rowlatt Act, on the situation in the Punjáb and on the Government of India Despatches has removed that doubt. The Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme divided the Indian leaders, but the India Government's Despatches have served to unity them once more. The united Indian public should openly declare to the Parliament that they do not want any half measures in reforms and that the Despatches have almost negatived the original scheme.

The Government of India's despatch on the proposed reforms has reunited Moderates and Nationalists.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 28th May.

17. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla's minute of dissent is really admirable. The fears expressed by the Government of Bombay about the difficulties that might arise on the reform scheme being put into practice cannot but provoke laughter. They go to show the fix into which the bureaucrats have fallen on account of the proposed reforms. [In the subsequent issue the paper gives an outline of the scheme suggested by the Government of Bombay and the Honourable Sir Ibrahim's minute of dissent and while endorsing Sir Ibrahims views asks the people to strengthen the hands of the Deputations in England by expressing public

The Honourable Sir Ibrahim's minute of dissent.

Hindusthán (24), 27th and 28th May; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 30th May; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 31st May.

disapproval of the despatch of the Government of India. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* is grieved to see that the Government of Bombay should have disapproved of the administrative arrangements suggested by the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. It praises Sir Ibrahim for the bold stand he has made in writing his minute of dissent and hopes that the Deputations in England will join in urging the claims of Indians before the British public. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* fully supports Sir Ibrahim's minute of dissent.]

***18.** "The Government of India have accepted the recommeandations of the Franchise Committee with certain exceptions. They accept proposals for Muslim representation excepting Bengal where they would give Muslims 44 seats instead of 34. The Committee's proposal is in accordance with the solemn compact arrived at between the Hindus and Muhammadans at the Lucknow Congress after vehement discussion and prolonged deliberation. The Muhammadan community of the U. P. was allotted 30 per cent only on the distinct understanding that the proportion for Bengal was to be 40 per cent. The former proportion became the subject of angry debate at the joint meeting of the members of the All-India Congress Committee and the Muslim Council, and it is well known that a crisis was saved by the Muslim League agreeing to accept a lower percentage for Bengal than what had been originally proposed and 30 per cent for the U. P. which was much higher than the Hindu representatives of that province were disposed to concede. We are sorry the Government of India has attempted to disturb *in part only* the terms of a compact which must be treated *as a whole*. Both the Congress and the League have so far loyally adhered to it in the most explicit terms. We do hope that no further attempt will be made to re-open this unpleasant controversy when it has been finally closed by the good sense of both the communities. Even under the Congress-League Scheme the Muhammadan community has obtained more than its due share, but that point must now be regarded as finally settled and the Government of India has not acted fairly or wisely in proposing to depart partially from the terms of an indivisible compact which has over and over again been publicly accepted by the responsible representatives of both communities."

Comments on the Government of India's views on the adequate representation of Musalman interests.
Gujarátí (20), 1st June, Eng. cols.

19. "The vagaries of the official charged with the duty of despatching the latest Government Blue Book containing the Government of India's despatch and the minutes of other Governments are simply inconceivable. It was sent to the Allahabad papers on Thursday the 22nd, and to the *Times of India* at Bombay on the 24th. Since then we are expecting every day that copies of the book would be supplied to us. But strange to say, we have not yet received the copies of this very important despatch, and we do not know the 'why' of it. Poona is not very far from Bombay, and postal delay would at the most account for a day of the week we were left without the book. We do not know who is at fault in this matter, but to keep newspapers for a week without such publications is simply unpardonable, and we hope that the higher authorities would soon take steps to supply us and others, if there are any, the much-needed copies of this very important publication."

Complaint by the *Mahrátta* about non-receipt of the Government of India despatch.
Mahrátta (8), 1st June.

20. "Our representatives in England will have the difficult task of bringing home to the mind of the great British democracy the causes that have helped to disturb the tranquil atmosphere of India. When Mr. Montagu came out on his great mission an appeal was made to Educated India to preserve a tranquil atmosphere and that appeal was promptly and loyally responded to by the whole country. Why was that atmosphere again surcharged with electricity? This is the question that will have to be satisfactorily answered by our spokesmen in England. The bureaucracy here have their answer ready and we have heard it repeated times out of number. It is the unreasonable agitation against the Rowlatt Bill and the *Satyagraha* movement

The task of the Indian Deputations in England.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 29th May; Eng. cols.

that have brought all the trouble. The bureaucracy are in no way responsible for it. It will be the duty of our representatives in England to convince the British public that it is not so, and that the main responsibility for the lamentable state of affairs in certain parts of the country rests with the bureaucracy. The almost contemptuous indifference with which public opinion in India has been flouted and all reasoned opposition has been brushed aside have made co-operation well-nigh impossible. As the final tribunal of appeal the British democracy must be convinced that an irresponsible and unsympathetic bureaucracy is a standing menace to the Empire, and must be early and materially modified so that India may attain the status of a real partner in the Empire."

Moderate deputation should co-operate with Congress deputation in England.

Surya (new), 29th May.

21. It appeared from what the Honourable Mr. Wacha spoke on the occasion of bidding good bye to the deputation of the Moderate party to England that he must now be regretting his secession from the Congress. Apparently the Government of India's Despatch has now opened the eyes of the Moderates. We hope that the Moderate deputation, conscious of the mistake their party committed in creating a split in the Congress, will act in co-operation with the other deputations in England, and thus have no occasion for again regretting the suicidal policy recently followed by their party.

Comments on the resignation of the Honourable Sir Sankaran Nair.

Young India (16), 28th May.

22. "We congratulate Sir Sankaran Nair on his resignation of his high office in the Executive Council of the Government of India. Sir Sankaran's Minutes of Dissent, recently published, somewhat prepared the public for the event that was to come. Sir Sankaran could not long retain independent views and still serve on the Executive Council. The martial law administration in the Punjáb could not have pleased this great patriotic Indian. The flogging incident made to appear worse with every fresh explanation offered by the authorities, and the ban against eminent lawyers retained for the defence of men charged with offences carrying even capital punishment were matters for which Sir Sankaran Nair was probably not prepared as part of the Central Government to make himself responsible. No doubt he knew far more of the Punjáb administration than the public have been permitted to know. Sir Sankaran Nair's resignation constitutes one of the strongest and most effective protests against the Rowlatt legislation and the recent, if not the more remote, affairs in the Punjáb. No amount of educative leaflets regarding this legislation, rained from aeroplanes, could possibly undo the mischief done by that legislation. The only method is repeal. Not even martial law can reconcile the people to the irreconcilable. And Sir Sankaran Nair's resignation is a fresh proof of the fact so patent to every one but the Government. Sir Sankaran Nair served the country by accepting the office of the Member for Education and using it for his country's betterment. He has served it more by resigning the office when he saw that his retention of it meant a practical surrender of his independence. Proud as India was, she is doubly proud to-day of Sir Sankaran Nair."

Servant of India (10), 29th May.

23. The news of Sir Sankaran Nair's resignation wired by the Associated Press from Simla has not yet been officially confirmed. The circumstances that could have led to such a momentous step on the part of Sir Sankaran must have been serious indeed. It could have been thought of only as a last resort and as a cumulative effect of a series of cases in which his own decision having been systematically over-ridden, the resigning member felt compelled to obtain relief from a position of utter impotence. The whole tone of Sir Sankaran Nair's dissenting minute, which has been published along with the Government of India's despatch regarding the Reforms, is suggestive of a systematic policy of obstruction on the part of the Government which Sir Sankaran must have encountered in the performance of his official duties. Rumour has it that what has brought about a crisis in Sir Sankaran's relations with his colleagues and the Viceroy is the state of affairs

in the Punjáb and the policy pursued there. If there is any truth in this rumour we still hope that the situation and Government's policy in regard to it will so change that it will be possible for Sir Sankaran to continue in office.

Kesari (109), 27th May; *Dnyán Prakásh* (41), 25th May.

24. When Lord Morley determined to appoint an Indian on the Executive Council of the Government of India, the bureaucracy took quite an adverse view of the idea of having an 'alien' in their Secret Council and if Lord Morley had not been so determined, they would not have allowed such a commendable beginning to be made. They had to yield because they were helpless and Sir S. P. Sinha was first appointed to the high post. But though the bureaucracy could not suppress Lord Morley's resolve, they must have so treated the Indian member that he must have become quite disgusted with his post. Though Sir S. P. Sinha has nowhere revealed as to why he resigned before his time, it cannot be said that the conduct of the bureaucracy was not at the bottom of the resignation. He was succeeded by Sir Ali Imam who avoided all difficulties and who was not therefore an eye-sore to the bureaucracy. Sir Sankaran Nair, the Madras statesman, who was next appointed, was from the beginning looked upon with great disfavour by the bureaucracy. He did not, however, care for it. He changed the Patna University Bill and transformed as it were an ass into a horse. It may safely be imagined that he must have had many a conflict with his colleagues on the Reforms question and he has exposed the crooked policy of the bureaucracy in his dissenting minute and it is said that he does not approve of what is going on in the Punjáb in the name of martial law. The rumour of his resignation in these circumstances cannot be said to have been untrue. Indians would ever remain grateful to Sir Sankaran for his great work. If fortunately or unfortunately the rumour turns out to be true, Sir Sankaran should go to England as a member of the Indian Deputation. He should be elected a delegate on behalf of the Congress. As he has worked as a member of the Executive Council for three years, his word would be valued in Parliament and he may by his mediation get higher education, industries and revenue transferred to Indians. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* says :—Sir Sankaran Nair is a fearless exponent of public opinion. Any one can therefore imagine what an amount of annoyance he must have had to undergo during the last three years while doing the duties of an Executive Councillor. He must have remained in office during all these years even in these unfavourable circumstances solely with the object of bringing the popular view to the notice of Government in the matter of the Reforms. He might have remained in office to the end of his term, but it appears that the impossible situation created by the matial law in the Punjáb and similar occurrences elsewhere has brought about his resignation.]

Gujráti (20), 1st June; Eng. cols.

***25.** "Sir Sankaran Nair has, it is announced, resigned his office as a member of the Viceroy's Council. We regard his resignation at this juncture in the light of almost a national misfortune..... That his sterling independence and straightforwardness had not made him a *persona grata* at the headquarters of the Indian Government has been pretty well known from the unfriendly and even hostile comments to which the *Madras Mail* and other Anglo-Indian papers have treated him. But none is in a position to state categorically the reasons of paramount importance which have compelled him to take the step he has taken at a time when the presence of a capable Indian like him in the Government of India is of supreme importance to the best interests of the country..... Sir Sankaran Nair's appointment was a powerful anti-bureaucratic dose and what might have been latterly expected any day has at last happened. Sir Sankaran Nair has not hesitated to express his disagreement with his colleagues in a spirit of fearlessness, with logical cogency and with full knowledge of all the factors of the problems he was called upon to consider..... His colleagues would very probably not be sorry to lose him nor the Anglo-Indian press which would, on the contrary, welcome his resignation with a sense of secret but supreme satisfaction.

But to his countrymen his resignation is certain to be a source of profound regret and disappointment. It will certainly not add to the moral prestige of Lord Chelmsford's Government which has already heavily suffered by the grievous events that have been allowed to happen in the Punjab and elsewhere in such tragic succession..... We are no pessimists, but we look upon the future with no little concern and anxiety.

Mahratta (8), 1st June.

26. "To those who have read Sir Sankaran Nair's minute of dissent appended to the Government of India's fourth despatch, the news of his resignation will not cause any surprise. Dame rumour also tells us that the horrible administration of Martial Law in the Punjáb gave rise to a sharp difference of opinion between him and the Government of India, and if that is true, then resignation is the only honourable course left open to a man of his convictions and self-respect. The whole Indian nation will certainly rejoice for his resigning the post; for, to remain there under such provoking circumstances was not only impossible but disreputable. Sir Sankaran Nair, we are glad, proved himself quite an honourable, and even a formidable, opponent to his colleagues as his vigorous and scathing condemnation of the Government of India's despatch shows, and we hope those who will succeed him would follow his example if unfortunately they are placed in the same predicament. Sir Sankaran Nair also will, we believe, carry on with zeal his mission of securing adequate and substantial reforms for India. It will be of immense advantage if he goes to England as a member of some deputation. His words will carry tremendous influence, and we hope that he will respond to this call of duty."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 27th May, Eng. cols.

27. "If no reason is assigned for the resignation of Sir Sankaran Nair as a member of the Governor-General's Executive Council it is because none is needed and his dissenting minute on the Government of India's despatch on the reports of the Southbrough Committees is reason enough for this announcement. It will be remembered as one of the most remarkable state documents of India and one of the weightiest pronouncements ever heard from a high and responsible dignitary..... To-day, we shall refer to only that part of Sir Sankaran's minute which refers to the system of land revenue. In this connection there is one clear-cut and uncompromising sentence which deserves to be written in gold and memorised by all Indians, young and old. 'India is the only country in the world where neither law, nor custom, nor competition determines the revenue or rent.' As a mere statement of fact this is utterly and wholly unchallengeable, but at the same time it is a tremendous indictment against the land revenue system prevailing in India. ..... In his opinion there should be 'no increase of revenue merely by executive action; the land revenue or land rent should be treated as revenue pure and simple to be imposed only by the Legislative Council'. The soundness of this view is not open to question, but none the less it is certain to be regarded as rank heresy by the Government and the bureaucracy, and that such a view should be held by a member of the Government of India will be considered astounding."

Hindusthán (24), 24th and 28th May.

28. The *Hindusthán* refers to the reported resignation of Sir Sankaran Nair and declares that he must have been driven to take the step by the scant respect paid to his opinion in the Council. [In a subsequent issue the paper suggests the name of certain Indian leaders and particularly presses the claims of the Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimatulla to the post as in its opinion his appointment as a Muhammadan will be hailed with satisfaction throughout India.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 28th May, Eng. cols.

29. "He was known to be a strong-minded man of very decided and independent views. It was believed that he would soon come into friction with his colleagues on the Council. The times, too, were very difficult, and the work of the Education Member, for the reasons indicated above, was ticklish in the extreme. With all this Sir Sankaran Nair has managed to pull on for the fairly long period of three years. That fact must do credit to his sense of responsibility and the spirit of reasonableness in which he has

tackled with his office. His resignation, at the present juncture, will do equal credit to his patriotism and his sense of duty and right..... We might say that the position of members of a close body like the Cabinet or Council must create such a constant conflict that no particular cause need be assigned for a member's resignation. In the case of Sir Sankaran Nair, if he has resigned now, the wonder would be not that he has but that he could avoid doing it so long..... Far from incurring any blame for his present step, Sir Sankaran Nair has earned the thanks and admiration of us all, by the manner in which he has stuck so manfully to his guns, in the face of overwhelming difficulties. His place in the Council would be difficult to fill; but perhaps he would be able to serve his country better, when he has shaken off the trammels of office and stepped into the freer and wider field of public life. The question of his successor will not be easily solved. Circumstances seem to point to a Bombay man..... .. At the present day, two Bombay men seem marked out for the education membership, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla and Sir Chimanlal Setalvad."

30. "Sir Michael O'Dwyer has at last laid down the reins of office in the Punjab and his strenuous and drastic administration has come to an end. Nobody will be sorry that it has; but his departure will be a matter of small satisfaction, uuless with his disappeaeance the whole character of the administration of the province is to change as well. We hope his successor, Sir Edward Maclagan, will soon take such order with the province in his charge as will remove from the people's minds all suspicion that an Amurath, an Amurath succeeds..... The great merit of the British system of Government is that it is government by law. The law may be good or bad, but it has got to be there. No law, no Government. Now, martial law is not any system of law, but rather the negation of all law..... Martial law has been resorted to most widely, and one may say, wildly in the Punjáb, under the inspiration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer..... Government have done extremely wisely in deciding upon a withdrawal of these, and thus attempting to dispel the disquiet and misgivings in the people's minds. The other odious features of 'O'Dwyerism' will also, we hope, be now speedily abolished."

The retirement of Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 31st May, Eng. cols.

31. The news that Sir Michiel O'Dwyer who has been so very closely associated with the present situation in the Punjáb has relinquished charge of his office will come as a great relief not only to the people of that Province but to the whole country. The commotion following the partition of Bengal was as nothing compared to the thrilling events of the past few weeks in the Punjáb. In his farewell message to Government officials Sir Michael declared that since the Mutiny of 1857 the authorities were never confronted with a more difficult situation. Having once pretended that a rebellion had broken out in the Punjáb he had no other alternative but to draw a parallel between the two movements. As was to be expected he was presented with valedictory addresses before his departure. Although it is not possible for the people of the Punjáb to openly declare just at present that he does not deserve any such addresses they will long remember the memories of the past few weeks and will one day give expression to their pent up feelings. [The *Indu Prakash* says that Sir Michael O'Dwyer has indirectly laid the Indian nation under obligation in that his regime helped the people to realise the evil character of an administration that is not responsible to the people.]

Dnyan Prakash (41), 30th May; *Indu Prakash* (44), 31st May.

32. Commenting on the Indian Budget debate in Parliament, the *Sáni Vartaman* writes:—We are sorry Mr. Montagu has defended the Rowlatt Act in the Parliament. Lord Morley would have never defended it. Such laws lessen the confidence of the public in British Justice and engender a feeling of discontent and bitterness amongst them. It is the duty of the Secretary of State to remove such a feeling, which, if not removed, will nullify all the good effect of the Reforms. [The *Hindusthán* adds:—the nations that have got an entry

Comments on the Indian Budget debate in Parliament,

Sánj Vartaman (33), 30th May; *Hindusthán* (24), 30th May; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 31st May.

into the League of Nations are enjoying full self-government, while it is still a question whether the control of a few departments will be handed over to the people of this country or not. India cannot be satisfied merely by getting two seats for her representatives in the League of Nations. When the Reforms of Mr. Montagu are published the public will be in a position to judge whether India is fit to be a 'sister nation' or not. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—The Indian Budget was presented to the Parliament on the 22nd May and we have received the mutilated speech of Mr. Montagu after a full week! We fail to understand the reason of this delay and curtailment of the speech. From the information received, one would suppose that no important topics, such as the high-handedness of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, etc., were touched in the debate. This would lead the public to think that both the Parliament and the Secretary of State of India are indifferent to the demands and grievances of the Indians. Who is responsible for this delay and curtailment.]

33. "After the severe indignation in the Indian Press aroused by the Associated Press telegram last month, regarding public wnipping in Lahore, an official communique dated 24th ultimo was published, wherein it was stated that in Lahore Civil area only 12 men were sentenced to the punishment of whipping, that excepting one, all of them were petty shopkeepers and menials and that since the 20th ultimo 'there have been no cases at all.' Though the baseness revealed in the statement that those who were whipped were only petty shopkeepers and menials accentuated the public indignation, the last item of information sufficiently reassured the people that whipping was at last a thing of the past. After a month of dead silence, is issued a press communique, again vouchsafing some more truth about whipping. It says that from the 15th April to 15th May only 27 persons were flogged in the Lahore Civil area, *that the average number of stripes inflicted was eleven* and that *since the 18th ultimo no person has been flogged in public*. About the absurdity of the first fact we have italicized, the less said the better. No man in his senses can think of working out averages in matters such as this. And does a stripe or two less in some instances lessen in any way the inhumanity of the act itself? The mischievous implication of the second fact we have italicised is too patent to be pointed out. It need only be mentioned that it reveals a conspiracy of silence to which the Government of India, no less than the Punjab authorities, are party. The sooner this is abandoned the better for the Government. For, in spite of the embargo on Messrs. Norton, Roy and others, the dark deeds in the Punjab are bound to be out soon or late, with the result that the public dissatisfaction will be deepened all the more."

Comments on the Martial Law administration in the Punjáb.
Young India (16), 28th May.

34. "We respectfully appeal to the Government to allay the fear entertained and the widespread rumours going about all over the country regarding the situation in the Punjáb. The fact that intercourse with that province is not free, that independent investigation is not allowed, and even the orders of the Viceroy do not get obeyed as in the case of the permission to Mr. Andrews, and that everywhere in the disturbed areas there is the reign of the martial law gives free scope to such rumours. Under such circumstances no amount of eloquence on the part of its late ruler can carry any conviction to the impartial outsider. Those who know this country are fully aware that, in a province ruled with an iron hand, any number of deputations presenting any kind of fulsome addresses can easily be got up. We do not say that they are so got up; but we only say that the situation offers a ripe field for such suspicions. It is not in the best interests of the country that such an attitude of suspicion should be widely entertained. An atmosphere of this type is almost the worst conceivable for the inauguration of a reform scheme. It is time that an independent inquiry should be held which would induce absolute confidence in the public mind. In spite of the much advertised cries of *Martial law ki jai*, one can easily see that people would not exactly welcome a regime in which the military can commandeer anything they like including

Servant of India (10), 29th May.

electric fans and lights and the motor car of an Indian Judge, where boys are not allowed to use bicycles, where going out at night is forbidden, where public whipping took place in the beginning, where the accused are not allowed to get from other provinces the legal advisers whom they want and cannot get them from their own province, as the lawyers there are dreadfully afraid of appearing to take the side of a suspect even in a professional way. If such things are welcomed, humanity in the Punjab must be something different from that elsewhere. Even if this be true, we would like an independent inquiry into the reasons which have so radically altered human temperament in that province. If all the rumours one hears be true, even if a small fraction of them are true, the state of things there must be extraordinary. The methods in which the riots were suppressed, and the people terrorised and cowed down do require investigation. If one may compare small things with great, we remember to have read in English papers violent attacks against the methods of the Germans in Belgium in the early days of the war. The Germans claimed to have pacified Belgium by their methods which were for the time quiet effective, though they involved the killing of a few thousand Belgians. We take leave to inform Government that rumour credits the Punjáb Government and its martial law authorities with having similarly shown greater concern for immediate effect than for requirements of scrupulous justice. Only we must acknowledge and gladly mention the fact that rumour does not mention the molestation of women and children in general as in Belgium. We do not wish to go into particulars, but the fact of the existence of the rumours is undoubted. The numbers of the killed at Amritsar and other places are greatly exaggerated by the rumour; the bombing of the people from aeroplanes at Gujranvala came as a great shock and outsiders wondered whether the British forgot their outcries against the German air-raiders who shot women and children indiscriminately. The Germans had made several charges against the Belgians to justify their strong measures. But the British people would not take these charges at their face value unless they were regularly investigated. Lord Bryce led a commission to examine all the evidence before them in regard to these charges and to the methods of the Germans. Should not something similar be done in the present case? We want an independent commission to investigate the matter, and we shall be very pleased if the rumours are once for all authoritatively shown to be baseless. The Commission would also find out if the situation is in any degree due to methods of recruiting. We would propose the name of Lord Bryce himself for the head of the Commission. Anybody giving evidence before it should be assured of a free pardon and full freedom from any future trouble from the police. If the military or other authorities in India oppose such an independent inquiry, they will only expose themselves to the suspicion that there is something to be hidden and that the military mind is the same all over, whether in Germany or India. We again appeal for a full, free and impartial inquiry to allay public apprehensions." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—" Happily, the regime of Sir Michael O'Dwyer has now ended and the reins of office have fallen into the hands of an administrator of a more equable temperament. We have never disguised our own firm moral conviction that the occurrences in the Punjáb, which have come to be known, did not justify the militarist regime that has been inaugurated there. When there was a talk of passive resistance in times past, Sir Michael O'Dwyer had warned agitators like Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya and others that in their own interest they should keep out of the Punjáb. We believe the temper evinced in such a threat is in a greater degree responsible for the reign of terror that now prevails in the Punjáb than, perhaps, any actual events, bad as they are, that may have happened there. The day of reckoning is, however, yet to come, for we make no doubt that after the withdrawal of the martial law, a part of the action taken under it will be judicially tested. In the meanwhile, the finding of an independent commission of inquiry is needed to satisfy the public mind that needless severities have not been perpetrated simply to strike terror into the hearts of the people. The Punjáb is not so isolated from the rest of the country that nothing that passes there can be known outside. If half of the things that it is said are happening there in the name of law and order be true, they disclose a perilous

condition of affairs. We hope Sir Michael's retirement will facilitate the speedy restoration to the normal state of affairs. In any case the Punjáb will heave a sigh of relief that Sir Michael's term of office has come to an end."]

35. "It is hoped that the Punjáb will breathe freely now after the exit of Sir Michael O'Dwyer whose regime has proved nothing but a curse to the fair province. Time and again this Irish Sultan was proclaiming from the house-tops that his policy of repression,—for conciliation he seldom practised,—nipped all political agitation in the bud, and he was never weary of extolling it. The fact, however, was that innocent and necessary agitation was driven underground by his policy and the material had become so combustible by constant repression that only a spark was enough to burst it into flames.. ..... The province was simply seething with discontent, and bitter racial prejudice, and the seeming calm was nothing but a signal of the coming violent storm. The whole province was shaken to its foundations by it; men died by hundreds under shot and shell; and sorrow and misery stalked abroard in the fairest land! And all this is to the credit of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's 'passionate love' of the province! His 'love' has branded innocent Moderates like Messrs. Kalinath Roy' Rambhuj Dutt, Harkisanlal, Narang, and others as 'seditionists' and 'rebels,' it has stamped out moderation from that province; and it has blasted many a promising career! And yet it was all for the 'love' of the province!"

Mahrátta (8), 1st June.

36. Affairs in the Punjáb are day by day getting quieter and the Punjab joins the rest of India in its outburst of loyal sentiments to help the British with all its heart against the Afghans. This proves that while it is true that the Indians are agitating for political reforms through legitimate means, they are eager to help the British in any danger that befalls them. The Punjáb, therefore, has forgotten its own difficulties and is getting quieter. However, it appears that the people of the Punjáb have become disgusted with the harsh operation of the Martial Law. The students as well as some of the leading citizens of the province have been subjected to untold hardships. Is not the order of the Military Commander of the Punjáb prohibiting Mr. Norton and other leading Barristers from entering the Punjáb subversive of the fundamental principles of British justice? What reasons have prompted the Government of the Punjáb to take such steps? Why do not they enlighten the public on the true situation? Why is not an enquiry held into the affairs of the province by a mixed committee? It is hoped that the Labour Party will succeed in its endeavours to get a parliamentary Commission appointed to enquire into the causes of unrest in the Punjáb and other similarly affected provinces. [The *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—Sir Michael O'Dwyer has become the most unpopular officer in the whole of India. However, we must thank him for the assurance he gave, on the eve of his retirement, to the effect that the Martial Law will soon be removed from the whole of the Punjáb and hope that his successor will not allow any delay to occur in fulfilling the promise. We trust that the members of the various deputations that have gone to England will in the first instance draw the attention of the British public to the affairs in the Punjáb. In a subsequent issue the paper thanks His Excellency the Viceroy for removing the Martial Law from certain districts in the Punjáb and hopes that the new Lieutenant Governor will recommend the total removal of that law from the province. It hopes that the various deputations in England will urge on Parliament the necessity of appointing a Commission to enquire into the disturbances in the Punjáb. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* thanks His Excellency the Viceroy for removing the martial law from certain districts in the Punjáb and for the orders issued in respect of the trials under that law and hopes that the popular leaders who have received ignominous punishments will now have an opportunity of getting those punishments cancelled by claiming a re-trial with permission to engage the services of those barristers who had been prohibited from entering the Punjáb. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* deprecates the highhanded policy of Sir Michael in the Punjáb and impresses upon Government the necessity of

Gujaráti (20), 25th May; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 27th and 29th May; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 29th May; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 29th May.

appointing such officers as would sympathise with the people and would try to know their views. It mentions His Excellency Sir George Lloyd as the type of such an officer.]

Kesari (109), 27th May.

37. The stars of repression are still in the ascendant. It remains to be seen whether even after the setting of the evil star—Sir Michael O'Dwyer—martial law would be given a back number and whether beneficent stars would reign in its stead. But people are afraid that before the evil period lapses, Lala Har Kishen Lal and Kali Nath Roy's cases would be decided and that the persons named would have to suffer a grievous calamity. Counsels have been prohibited from entering the Punjáb to defend the accused. As the prohibition is quite unjust and vindictive even the moderate Indian Association of Calcutta has condemned this highhandedness. The Calcutta Bar Association presided over by the Advocate-General has condemned it. On the whole the O'Dwyer administration is creating disgust even in the minds of justice-loving Europeans. It appears that even the Viceroy cannot interfere with martial law! It but illustrates what Lord Morley said: 'martial law is negation of law.' It is difficult to see what Sir Michael O'Dwyer has gained by his harsh administration which has been condemned by the London *Observer*. As he is to go within three or four days we have nothing to do with his goodness or badness. But all Indians must protest against the free hand granted to 'bludgeon rule' by the Viceroy by declining to interfere with martial law. His Excellency is the representative of the King and he must remove the injustice done to the people by any authority. To say that he cannot interfere with military powers is to introduce something like the Zabern policy into India.'

Sind Advocate (11), 22nd May.

38. "The so-called firm and strong policy of Sir Micheal O'Dwyer has converted the most loyal province into a furnace of feuds and riots..... Martial law, which is no law, is not the remedy. The law is being administered with relentless severity. Still there appear to be no signs of returning sanity. We are afraid too much importance is attached to the biassed opinion of the man on the spot and saner counsels of the gods of the Whitehall are not allowed to prevail. That the Punjab Government be allowed to go on undisturbed in its autocratic ways and that the Government in India should silently aquiesce in it, is a disheartening feature. One loses faith in the future and gloomy forebodings are created by this state of melancholy isolation from local conditions on the part of the Government of India. May we not aptly ask at this place 'Where is the Secretary of State'? We do not know what version of the internal situation reaches the shores of the English Channel. We really wonder at the ignorance of the Northcliffe Press when it believes that unrest is due to religious differences. This sort of humbug is easily swallowed by Englishmen at Home."

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 29th May.

39. Referring to the Calcutta Bar meeting of protest against the Punjáb orders refusing permission to counsel to enter the Punjáb the *Dayán Prakásh* says:—There can be no question about the legality or otherwise of the order when the Advocate General, the Legal Adviser of the Government presides over the meeting of protest. The explanation of the Punjáb Government that the prohibition was in accordance with the proclamation of the Commanding Officer, goes against them. The proclamation was dated the 14th but counsel were prohibited on the 9th and 12th instant. Moreover the prohibition is not legal according to rules 22, 81 and 83 of the martial law. If Government are determined not to withdraw from anything once they have done it, we cannot say anything. But it is necessary that the mistake which concerns the lives of the accused should be rectified.

Why the *swadeshi* movement should be shelved for the present.

Hindusthán (24), 27th May.

40. An anonymous contributor writes to the *Hindusthán*:—When *swadeshi* is given a more spirited aspect it will be converted into boycott. There is merely a difference of degree between *swadeshi* and boycott. If boycott connotes hatred, *swadeshi* can equally do the same. The mill-owners of Lancashire when they lose the means of their livelihood by our *swadeshi* will try

to do their worst to break the movement by imposing excise or other kinds of duties. We on our part shall protest against such an imposition and this will give rise to animosity. In these circumstances how can there be only feelings of love in the *swadeshi* movement? The *swadeshi* movement cannot but ultimately be turned into a boycott of foreign goods. The Labour Party of its own accord has come to our help by advocating the repeal of the Rowlatt Act without our having compelled them to do so by resort to boycott. We should, therefere, do nothing that will hurt the feelings of the Labour Party in any way. It is desirable that there should be no agitation in respect of the *swadeshi* movement as long as the Reform Scheme bas not assumed a final shape.

Withdrawal of Swami Shradanand from the passive resistance movement.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 30th May; *Hindusthán* (24), 30th May; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 30th May.; *Young India* (16), 31st May.

41. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* publishes the letter written by Swami Shradhhanand to Mr. M. K. Gandhi withdrawing his signiture from the *Satyagraha* pledge. In the course of the letter the Swami says:—The Rowlatt Bill has practically destroyed the freedom of mankind and when you appealed for concerted action I joined the movement. You ordered a fast and penance on the passing of the Bill and all are aware of what happened in Delhi on that account on the 30th March. I joined you in denouncing the mischief and terrorism practised by thoughtless persons at Ahmedabad, Viramgam, Amritsar and other places and shudder at the burning of churches and public and private buildings. I am horrified at the murder of Indian Christians and the unjustifiable outrages on women, and hope that the Hindus and Muhammadans of Amritsar and other places will try to make amends to them. But I do not approve of your silence in the matter of the cause given by Government officials to provoke the citizens of Delhi. I was not able to express to you my disapproval in time owing to the gagging of public opinion and the Press at Delhi and the censoring of letters and telegrams. You have suspended your civil disobedience for a time as according to your opinion the times were not favourable for its continuance owing to the disturbances in the country and you have expressed a wish to begin it anew on the restoration of peace. I am now convinced that there will be no peace in the country as long as the present *Sarkár* lasts and that *Satyagraha* will not be successful as said by you. On this account I am convinced that *Satyagraha* in respect of civil disobedience cannot be begun again without giving rise to disturbances in the country. I, moreover, believe that the Rowlatt Bills will have been repealed when real peace will be established in the country and that there will then be no necessity of continuing the *Satyagraha* movement. In these circumstances I beg to withdraw my pledge. As an ascetic I shall preach on the subjects of righteousness, truth, continence, *Ahimsa* (non-slaying), etc. There has been no change in my personal opinion about the Rowlatt Bill and when the Act comes into force I shall consider it my religious duty to disobey the orders issued under it and shall use all my spiritual means to get it repealed. [The *Hindusthán* publishes the same letter in the same phraseology. The *Sánj Vartamán* also publishes the letter, but in the sentence "I am now convinced that there will be no peace in the country as long as the present *Sarkár* lasts," for the words "present *Sarkár*" it substitutes "the present system of administration."] *Young India* publishes the letter in English and the words used are "the present system of Government."

Wanted a Parliamentary Committee to inquire into the present unrest.

Sudhakár (124), 25th May.

42. It is well-known the bureaucracy takes the utmost precaution in regard to the news transmitted from here to England about the present situation. This body is adept in supplying garbled accounts and in exaggerating the true facts in such a way that the authorities and the people there do not suspect it of pursuing a policy of repression. Our statement is borne out by the comments appearing in the English newspapers to hand. These papers have to content themselves with a mutilated version of all our movements supplied

to them by the bureaucracy. A glance at them shows that none of them with the solitary exception of the *Daily Herald* has the magnanimity to place the Indian case honestly before the British public. This paper is of opinion that the House of Commons should not rely on the information supplied by the bureaucracy but should demand an open inquiry into the causes of the Indian unrest. Of course the bureaucracy and its supporters in England will not approve of the views expressed by the *Daily Herald* but they are sure to commend themselves to all fair-minded and just people. We trust, therefore, the whole Indian nation will demand with one voice a Parliamentary commission of inquiry and thus oblige the Imperial Government to deal with Indian questions in a spirit of sympathy.

India and Imperial Preference.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 28th May.

43. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* warns the Indian Government against adopting the policy of Imperial Preference without carefully considering the detailed enquiry that was made during the regime of Lord Curzon into that question. In view of India's inability, it continues, to impose necessary duties on foreign commodities in order to safeguard the interests of native industries, to give preference to British goods is to give them undue and unjust advantage over Indian-made goods. It is of opinion that such a policy would prove highly detrimental to the interests of indigenous industries and that if the words 'British Goods' include also colonial goods, it would be adding insult to injury to ask India to give this undeserved advantage to the colonies.

Comments on the rise in the exchange.

Bombay Samáchár (62), 26th May; *Hindusthán* (24), 29th May.

44. The *Bombay Samáchár* thanks the Government of India for their immediate reply to the Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber in connection with their representation regarding the rise in the exchange and re-iterates its demand of granting adequate representation to Indians on the Exchange Committee. It urges Government to devise means to bring into circulation the crores of rupees that are being constantly hoarded by the public and suggests as practical measures the removal of the difficulties that the mofussil public have to encounter in encashing currency notes. [The *Hindusthán* writes:—It is certainly regrettable that the Government should have adopted a policy that would cause a loss of about 20 crores to the Indian public, simply for the sake of meeting the estimated loss of only $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores that would result to them in consequence of the high price of silver. This will no doubt serve to bring down the prices of food-grains and such other articles to some extent, but looking to the loss it will cause to Indian exports and the injury that it will do to the native industries, we cannot but say that the present exchange policy is on the whole prejudicial to the public interests.]

The grain dealers of Bombay are robbing the public.

Jám-e-Jamshed (26), 31st May.

45. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* complains that the grain dealers in Bombay are robbing the public by demanding rates much higher than those warranted by the Controller of Prices and declares that the Controller's price list published from time to time has completely remained a dead letter so far as the actual practice goes. How long, the paper asks, will such a state of things be allowed to continue and how long will the public be left to groan under it? It urges Government to remedy this evil before it is too late and for the satisfactory solution of the question demands the appointment of a Committee in which some members not connected with the grain trade must be included. It hopes the Government of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd will promptly move in this matter.

Comments on the proposed division of the Thána District.

Indu Prakásh (44), 31st May.

46. A correspondent writing in the *Indu Prakásh* says that the decision of Government to divide the Thána District into two parts and make Thána the headquarters of neither district owing to its insanitary condition has dissatisfied the people. Thana would have been a better place to live in, says he, if a part of the expenditure involved in the proposed changes

had been devoted to improving it. The correspondent hopes that Government will sympathetically consider the objections of the Thána District Conference, held recently, against the changes contemplated by them.

Government should appoint a committee to inquire into *Devasthan* management.
Shubhodaya (91), 23rd May.

47. Mr. Hanmantrao Tervi writes to the *Shubhodaya*:—As Government do not interfere with the internal management of *Devasthans* and as they have not made any arrangements for it, the money they spend on *Devasthans* generously is wasted. It is necessary to appoint a committee to inquire into the management of *Devasthans* and the following may be the terms of reference:—Though worship, etc., is stopped in *Devasthans* in uninhabited villages Pujaris enjoy the lands granted to them. Can such grants be stopped and re-granted to new temples? In famous temples, separate lands have been granted for specific objects. Is it not desirable to make some arrangement to see that these objects are carried out? Many private grants have been made to temples; is it reasonable to make some arrangements for the administration of these Inams in accordance with the objects of the donors? Many cash presents are made and ornaments given to idols. Are Pujaris entitled to them? If not what arrangements should be made? Some *ját ináms* are granted to temples. If these have been sold to men professing an alien faith, should the lands be resumed for the temple? Should a committee be appointed to see if there are encroachments? It is Pujaris who have in many instances encroached upon temple lands. So much so that there is no room left for going round the idol. What arrangements should be made in order to put a stop to these things and resume the site? Is it necessary to see that temple lands are not divided? It would be good if defects such as these are inquired into and reforms are made.

Comments on the proscription of Mr. Hyndman's book "The Awakening of Asia".
Young India (16), 28th May.

48. "The order proscribing Mr. Hyndman's latest book, 'The Awakening of Asia', cannot be excused as one of the casual freaks of Government. The book was held up in Britain for two years by the Censor, but was released for publication about three months ago. The watch-dogs of Indian loyalty are, however, not content with the example of justice given by the British Censor, since they prefer to have another season of whimsical indulgence on their own account. We have not seen the book, but we have before us a copy of the 'Times Literary Supplement' which discusses it in the course of a leading review. The criticism does not show any signs of excitement or alarm in the interests of British Rule in India and we cannot help thinking that Government, in interdicting the work, have got uneasy in the interests of something other than public safety. Mr. Hyndman is one of the staunch friends of India. His publications include 'Indian Policy and English Justice' and 'Bankruptcy of India,' and they contain criticisms of the bureaucracy that have never been relished by them. From the review, we infer that the book contains certain outspoken criticisms about their stewardship which are for the moment suppressed in India. We are told that 'the book is worth reading because with all its glaring defects it carries the perfectly true warning that the problems of Asia may eclipse those of Europe sooner than most people think'. The bureaucracy are too busy establishing their own interests to notice prognostications about eclipse or earthquake. They do not like to listen to any strong indictment of themselves and foil the critic by suppressing him altogether."

Indian masses should take public questions into their own hands.
Surya (new), 24th May.

49. The one thing that seems to be common to the Montagu-Chelmsford report, the Southborough Committee's Reports and the Government of India's Despatch is the profound ignorance as to the fitness of Indians. All seem to have persuaded themselves that Indians are not fit for self-government and that they are in a semi-barbarous state. The origin of this ignorance of Indians lies in the hearsay and interested character of the information received by the officials.

But matters are now undergoing a change, and cultivators and artizans are begining to take part in the Congress and deputations elected by the people themselves are going to England. The masses have another duty also to perform, *viz.*, to rebut by meetings held in every village the argument put forward by the bureaucracy that its rule though disliked by the middle classes is acceptable to the masses. The masses should no longer rely on the comfort-loving Zamindars or the hair-splitting middle classes who have by their internal quarrels brought India's name into contempt but take into their own hands the national questions, because the labouring classes are the real citizens of India. The Indian masses have been going down for the last three thousand years principally owing to the mutual quarrels of the comfort-loving classes and they must come forward to put a stop to this. The reforms scheme is to usher in a new era and it is a convenient time for the awakening of the masses, who should prove by constitutional means that they are fit for *swarajya*.

Comparison between commissions in the Army given to Negroes in America and to those given to Indians in India.
Rájakáran (116), 25th May.

50. The *Rájakáran* quotes figures from *Young India*, published by Lala Lajpatrai in America, and says that whereas there are in America 1,000 Negro commissioned officers in a Negro population of one crore, in India there are only nine Indian commissioned officers in a population of 31 crores. The time has come, remarks the paper, to request the British nation to give Indians, who are far more civilised than the Negroes, at least the same treatment which the latter receive in America.

An appeal to Maratha Chiefs to assist the *Bhárat Itihás Sanshodhak Mandal.*
Indu Prakásh (44), 30th May.

51. The *Indu Prakásh* bestows lavish praise upon Mr. Vishwanth Kashinath Rajawade for his services to historical research in connection with the *Bhárat Itihás Sanshodhak Mandal* and urges the Maratha Chiefs to give the *Mandal* all the help in their power. It alleges that according to its information the Maharaja of Baroda had promised the late Mr. Gokhale to give pecuniary aid to the *Mandal* and it appeals to His Highness to fulfil his promises. Some malicious persons have secretly endeavoured, remarks the paper, to bring the *Mandal*, with which Mr. Rajawade is so very closely associated, under Government's displeasure, but it hopes that their efforts will prove unsuccessful, as it has begun its work under the blessings of men like Sir Mahadev B. Chaubal and Dr. Bhandarkar.

Comments on the Labour leaders' manifesto urging grant of *Swarjaya* to India.
Rajakáran (116), 25th May.

52. The *Rájakáran* comments with satisfaction upon the manifesto issued by the three Labour leaders, Robert Williams, Robert Smillie and George Lansbury, advocating grant of *Swarajya* to Indians and remarks:—The bureaucracy are enraged if we criticise their misdeeds. They are, however, powerless to punish the Labour leaders. They would do well, therefore, to mend their ways rather than fall into disrepute throughout the whole world.

Comments on the Afghan War.
Akhbár-e-Islám (59), 26th May.

53. The independent tribes have refused to side with the Amir and some of them have shown the wisdom of expressing even their loyalty to the British Crown. The Afghans at Lahore, who together with their ancestors were a constant source of trouble to the British Government before the time of Lord Curzon, have also expressed their disapproval of the attitude of the present Amir towards the British. In these circumstances we should not be surprised if the Amir had to sustain great losses and suffer much hardship in consequence of his waging war with the British. Owing to the Amir's defeat in the present war, lakhs of rupees that were annually paid to him as subsidy will be saved. The unfortunate third son of the late renowned Amir Habibullah Khan has set himself to ruin the Kingdom of Afghanistan, immediately after ascending the throne.

54. We are sure that the Briti sh Government will not connive at the doings of the Afghans but will punish them so that they will never do such a thing again. It seems that the people of Afghanistan do not know why there has been war and what have been its results so far. To enlighten the people of Afghanistan the British Government has arranged for copies of a proclamation to be thrown from aeroplanes into that country. This proclamation reviews the favours shown to Afghanistan from time to time by the British Government and ex poses the machinations of the Amir Amanullah. Let us see what is going to be the attitude of the Afghans after the perusal of that proclamation. The war will be either against the whole Afghan nation or against Amanullah and his hot-headed associates only. In any case signs are not wanting that the throne of Amanullah is in jeopardy. If the Afghan nation stands by the Amir, there is no doubt that not only will the Afghan army be destroyed in no time but the people will suffer a great loss of life and property. We are sure that the Afghan nation will disclaim their present Amir, make an early peace with the British Government, and punish his confederates.

Sind Vasi (55), 18th May.

55. "The Amir of Afghanistan has made the folly of invading India specially at the moment when the British have emerged victorious from the recent world-wide war. Had the Afghan Amir thought of this when the recent European war had broken out, it could have been apprehended that then there was some possibility of mischief; but now, it will not be long when the Amir will get the punishment he rightly deserves..... Howmuchsoever we be surprised at the attitude of the Amir towards the English and his allies, we have no cause to be alarmed, since all necessary for the war has been done. Our duty at the present moment is as clear as the daylight. India needed not—and it does not need—the words of His Excellency the Viceroy to impress on her that she should be loyal. India (it needs no words of ours even to point out) has been loyal to the core and she will remain loyal."

Sind Advocate (11), 15th May.

56. The present war has afforded Government an excellent opportunity of freeing the poor people from a great nuisance. It is a well-known fact that the usurious Pathan money-lenders harass their unfortunate victims in various ways. The Government of India were obliged to overlook their conduct in the past owing to their anxiety to maintain friendly relations with the Amir. But since the latter has wantonly attacked India, Government should now deport all the Pathans and see that they do not return and harass the people again. We urge Government to move immediately in this matter.

All Pathans should be deported from India.

Jdgaruk (45), 24th May.

57. "This giving of the audience by the Conncil to the Indian Delegation was an act of recognition of the services rendered by the Indian Moslems during the war. We hope the Allied Powers will be able to solve the question of Turkey in a manner satisfactory to the Moslems. ..... We would at the same time request our Moslem friends to distinguish between the Suzerain of Turkey as such and the Khaliph. It is with the latter that they are concerned and so long as his status and diginity as a religious head are preserved, they have no cause of complaint left. With the Sultan of Turkey as such they have nothing to do and so long as they owe allegiance to King-Emperor they can having nothing to do. We, therefore, ask them to have a little patience and see how the things develop."

Comments on the audience given by the Council of the Allied Powers to the Indian delegation on the future of Turkey.

Gujardti Punch (22), 25th May, Eng. cols.

58. After all it is a matter of congratulation that even at the eleventh hour an opportunity has been accorded to some influential Muslim residents of London who know the feelings of their brethren and are trusted by the latter

Muslim Herald (141), 30th May.

with a view to give expression to the wishes and aspirations of the Muslim world. But we have to see in what form it fructifies. From some of the letters which have reached India, the *Hamdan* learns with pleasure that His Highness the Aga Khan is using his influence to the full in this matter and placing the views of the Musalmans before the Peace Conference frankly and fully. We hope, therefore, that His Highness the Aga Khan, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan and Mr. Abdulla Yusuf Ali, along with the Indian delegates, have urged before the Conference that the Musalmans desire that the religious prestige of the Caliphate and the complete freedom of the holy places of Islam should be maintained; that they cannot tolerate the transfer of the Muslim countries to the dominance of the non-Muslims whether Jews or Christians; that they approve of granting autonomy to the Turkish provinces under the suzerainty of the Caliph; and that they look with great anxiety at the giving away of any part of Palestine to the Jews of Jerusalem or Cyprus or any part of Asia Minor to the Greeks. A disappointing feature, however, of the whole situation is that the Greeks have taken possession of Smyrna. It is quite possible that this occupation may be like the occupation of other Turkish regions at present garrisoned by the Allied troops, which might be removed after the Peace Treaty is signed. During the last three months the Muhammadans have been assured by British statesmen to the effect that their case would be duly placed before the Conference. But we shall feel thankful only when the outcome of these labours turns out to be satisfactory.

***59.** "Another reason why India should have *her own elected* representative in the League of Nations is that India is as yet a dependency in reality, and although she is equal to the dominions and other nations in name, her position is quite anomalous. For, while the League will, by rule, call every year for a report of the administration of every subject nation from every mandatory power to whose charge it is committed, it will not do so in the case of India, on the plea that India herself will be represented, or will have a chance of being represented, in the Assembly of the League. In fact, however, under the present constitution, India will be represented by the Government of India's nominee, and he will be bound to put forth only the official view, which usually carefully glosses over the defects and puts forth only the seemingly good points before the public. Not only thus will India's grievances—and it is no use disguising the fact that they are many—be studiously hidden from the gaze of the nations, but, on the contrary, she will be represented as a fully contented and a prosperous nation. This will be far from the truth, and it is to avoid this danger that India should have, till she becomes a fully self-governing power, her own elected representative in the international League to put forth her case properly and bring to light the defects of the British administration in India. What the subject nations in charge of mandatory powers can secure by right, India too must have. In the case of India, Britain's hands are not clean, and until she (Britain) does not take care to wash them privately and promptly, there must be some one with power to wash them in the public. Without that she will not improve, and it is therefore that an Indian elected member is necessary in the Assembly of the League."

One reason why India must have an elected representative on the League of Nations.
Mahrátta (8), 1st June.

60. The terms of peace are all that could be desired from the point of view of the victors in the war but they cannot stand the test of Dr. Wilson's fourteen points. There was tall talk about the struggle of right against might. Might was ultimately defeated by the superiority of men and materials. But the blood boiling in the veins has cooled down and the motives of selfishness have begun to come together from all directions. We do not know where our truth is smothered under selfishness. They are talking of compensation, pretences, conveniences and benefits. We shall not be surprised if shortly arrangements are made for bringing in the Balance of Power. It would be foolish to suppose that there would be no parties in the League of Nations. Will not there be a rival League of Nations? The

The terms of peace.
Gujarátí (20), 25th May.

arrangements made for taking possession of enemy countries are truly admirable! Still they are talking of the rights of nations and self-determination! The Persian deputation asked for the deliverance of Persia from the division of that country in the name of Russian and British spheres of influence. But will England's influence be thus removed? If Afghanistan is under British protection why should not Persia be? It is for the victor to dictate terms and it would be futile for Germany to claim a share in framing them. We do not think that Germany will altogether refuse to accept the terms or that the Allies will press all their claims. Just as Germany is not in a position to fight there is no enthusiasm left in England or France to continue the war. In these circumstances both sides will try to get as much as possible and peace will surely be concluded by a compromise. There is no possibility of France, England and America running the hazard of taking possession of Germany.

Comments on the sentence passed on the editor of the *Tribune* (Lahore).

Young India (16), 31st May; *Mahratta* (8),* 1st June.

61. "Knowing as we do of the tone of restraint systematically followed by the *Tribune*, we have no hesitation in saying that the trial deserved to be conducted in an ordinary court and full facility given to the accused to put up his own defence. Worse than the injustice of having had the case summarily rushed through a court under Martial Law, was the denial of adequate facilities for defence. About the rigour of the sentence, we do not wish to say anything, seeing that tho accused was foredoomed to high penalties according to the severe style in which the prosecution was pursued. Justice, as we understand it, has not been rendered and we can only sympathise with the fate of the distinguished publicist to whom the Punjáb owes a debt of gratitude. The *Tribune* was not an ordinary newspaper. It was the best organ of Indian opinion in the Punjáb, with a fine record of service. In dealing with Mr. Kali Nath Roy in a summary manner, the Punjáb Government has deeply offended the people of the Punjab, indeed, the whole of India, for the influence of the *Tribune* travelled beyond the boundaries of the Punjáb. We feel confident that the wrongs being perpetrated by the Punjáb Government in the name of law and order will not be allowed by the Nation to pass by without redress being sought and obtained." [The *Mahrátta* calls the sentence "atrocious."]"

Dnyan Prakásh (41), 30th May.

62. Everyone will be sorry to hear that Mr. Kalinath Roy, editor of the *Tribune*, has been sentenced to undergo rigorous imprisonment for two years. The *Tribune* was one of the few English dailies ably conducted by Indians. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, an out-and-out bureaucrat, naturally could not brook the crititicisms of an independent journal of its type and ordered his prosecution under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code. Eminent barristers were not allowed to proceed to Láhore to defend him and he had to content himself with such legal assistance as Government was pleased to give him. Mr. Roy has been treated most unjustly and we trust His Excellency the Viceroy will order his release when an appeal is made to him.

Suggestion that a Muhammadan Judge should be added to the Ahmedabad Commission.

Political Bhomiyo (74), 30th May.

63. It is to be regretted that the Commission appointed by Government to try the criminal cases that occurred in Gujarát during the recent disturbances does not contain any Muhammadan. The appointment of an additional Muhammadan member would have been considered more proper and the Muhammadans would have been pleased by it. It is not yet too late to make such an appointment. [Elsewhere the paper writes:—Mr. Gandhi himself admits that the disturbances were the result of the *Satyagraha* movement organised by him. Why should then he be not tried and punished in the light of his own confession? The ignorant masses are of opinion that Government are afraid of Mr. Gandhi. Government should, therefore, take steps against Mr. Gandhi to dispel such a notion. They should also proscribe the *Satyagrahi* leaflets issued by him.]

64. Mr. Ratilal Desai of Surat, a member of the Indan Defence Force, applied for a license to keep a gun and obtained it after a good deal of enquiry. Within a month, however, the District Magistrate informed him that he did not consider him eligible to carry arms and that, therefore, the license issued to him was cancelled. In addressing the communication to Mr. Desai, the District Magistrate did not even use the conventional 'Mr.' before his name. Mr. Desai brought this omission to the notice of the District Magistrate and also demanded to know the reason why his license was cancelled so suddenly. The District Magistrate's reply again lacked the usual 'Mr.' and in it he informed Mr. Desai that in his opinion the mind and morals of a man who took part in the *Satyagraha* movement must be corrupt and that, therefore, he was not fit to receive any privileges from Government. We do not suppose this official's views will be shared by anyone outside the Anglo-Indian world. No sensible and self-respecting person will accept this Magistrate's interpretation that only those, who abjectly acquiesce in everything that Government does, are honest and the rest are scoundrels.

Comments on the cancellation of the fire-arms license granted to Mr. Ratilal Desai of Surat.
Dnyán Prakásh (42), 28th May.

65. Some more newspapers have fallen victims to the Press Act influenza. The *Hindu* of Madras is known for its reasonable and equable attitude. Its editor, Mr. Kasturi Ranga Aiyangar, was selected as a member of the Press Deputation. It is strange that the paper should be asked to pay a security of Rs. 2,000 soon after the beginning of Lord Willingdon's regime. We have often experienced that the Indian Courts cannot dispense justice in such cases. But the Besant appeals have proved that even the Privy Council cannot do justice in such cases. The Viceroy says he cannot do anything against military powers. The Privy Council says that it does not interfere with the decisions of local courts as they know best. Does this not mean that there is no one to save the people from military and magisterial tyranny? The *Sindhu Samachar* hitherto free was asked to pay a security of Rs. 1,000! The *Hindvásí* is to be prosecuted under 124A. In this way the Press Act is showing its powers just next to the martial law; what is most regrettable is that while there is some hope of becoming free from the grip of martial law within 6 or 12 months, the Press Act has the Indians permanently in its grasp. [Referring to the steps taken against certain newspapers in different parts of India the *Surya* says that though it is impossible for Indian papers to comment fearlessly on the measures taken by Government in the prevailing delicate circumstances, it takes the liberty to tell the authorities that both Government and the people will be losers by the publication of one-sided Government versions alone of the present day events. It advocates the reversal of the present policy in order to establish confidence between the Government and the people.]

Increasing stringency of the Press Act.
Kesari (109), 27th May; *Surya* (new), 24th May.

66. The reply given by the Governor of British East Africa that the land in British East Africa is meant exclusively for the British soldiers is quite unjust. We hope the British Government will not allow this kind of injustice being done to the Indians. But if the British Government refuse to interfere for one reason or another, then they should order the reservation of India for Indians alone. This is a just demand and for the sake of justice the rights of Indians should be recognised in India if Africa is to be reserved for the Britishers. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed*, while writing in the same strain, urges Government to change their present policy, based as it is on racial distinctions, for one based on equality and justice. It exhorts Government to take up this question as soon as possible and to arrive at a satisfactory solution thereof without any injustice to Indians. It also calls upon the Indian public to protest against the undesirable attitude of the Colonial Governments against Indians.]

Grievances of Indians in British East Africa.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 27th May; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 26th May.

67. "Times out of number we have complained as to the way in which income tax is assessed on the townspeople of Shikarpur but there seems to have been no move on the part of the responsible officials in the matter. ..... Letters of assessment figures have been forwarded to almost all assessees and a wail of sorrow prevails. Those that paid last year about Rs. 50 have been assessed nearly Rs. 200—four times..... Whether people can grow rich or their incomes can be doubled, trebled or quadrupled in days of the war and when price of every material has been high is the question which remains to be solved. We wish the Government to see that full justice is meted out to the people of Shikarpur most of whom have been highly assessed this year."

Complaint about over assessment of income tax at Shikarpur (Sind).
Sind Advocate (11), 22nd May.

68. The *Chandrodaya* objects to the honorarium of Rs. 1,000 given to the Managing Director of the Dhárwár Urban Co-operative Society and says:—The honorarium of Rs. 750 given last year and Rs. 1,000 given this year to the Managing Director has given rise to discussion amongst the people. People ask us why remuneration should be given in this society only when it is not given in S. M. Co-operative Society or the Hubli Co-operative Society. If people cannot be had to work in public institutions without remuneration, it will have to be given also to the Managing Directors of S. M. Co-operative Society and Dhárwár Bank. If the same practice continues for some time even Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Local Boards will have to be given remuneration!!

Protest against the grant of honorarium to the managing Director of the Dhárwár Urban Co-operative Society.
Chandrodaya (37), 26th May.

69. The *Kesari* says that all the income-tax appeals of the Pandharpur (Sholápur) people having proved fruitless they resorted to passive resistance as the last hope, and in the result some of them are being ruined for life. As nobody came to bid for attached goods, it continues, they are being sold for trifling prices. It adds:—In some houses goods even of the value of the income-tax cannot be found. There are some goldsmiths among the *Satyagrahis*. They had naturally in their possession gold and silver belonging to others. We understand that the gold and silver with them was attached without any inquiry as to whether it belonged to the goldsmiths or to their customers, and some poor women whose trinkets are among the goods so attached are now at a loss to know how to get their things back and whom to appeal to. Income-tax is assessed wrongly; goods worth two or four times the amount of the tax are attached on the plea that proper value cannot be realised in the auction sales; as the goods attached belong to the customers, persons who have nothing to do with the tax have to suffer; and as goods brought by the customers are attached, means of livelihood are lost: such is the crescendo of injustice. If from the Collector to the Viceroy, nowhere redress is to be had, how are the people to believe that British rule is based on justice?

Complaints of income-tax levy at Pandharpur (Sholápur).
Kesari (109), 27th May.

70. A correspondent writes in the *Surya*:—On 24th May at about 8 P.M. while I and my wife were sitting in the open near one of the Charni Road Gymkhanas, a Maratha came there and saying that he was a policeman falsely accused me of improper conduct with my wife and threatened to handcuff me. I gave him my name, address, etc., but he called out to his Pathan companions. Three or four of them at once came up, seeing whom my wife got frightened and I had to get rid of the men by paying them the 7 or 8 rupees I had with me. I write this to warn men like myself who might be going to the seashore with their wives in the evening and also to request the Police to trace and deal with the Pathans in question.

Alleged blackmailing by Pathans on the Back Bay at night.
Surya (new), 29th May.

NATIVE STATES.

71. It is a good sign that the correspondent of the London *Times* holds the meddleome activities of the Sydenham gang responsible while discussing the causes of disorders in India. Though far-sighted and liberal British statesmen keep aloof from the Sydenham gang, there are some champions of the gang in the Bombay and the Simla bureaucracy. Though generally there are no Indian followers of the gang the Kolhapur Durbar has declared its decipleship of it. Except some officials of Kolhapur and their parasites, nobody spreads the views of the Sydenham gang amongst Indians in the Bombay Presidency. It is no surprise therefore that some happenings in the Kolhapur State should be considered as indicative of Sydenhamism. All can see from the wicked deeds done a fortnight ago in the Kolhápur State as to what would be done in order to keep under the thumb of the bureaucracy Vatandars, Inamdars and Saranjamdars if the *Swarajya* movement is put down and if the Sydenham gang becomes victorious. When the Kulkarni vatans were confiscated in Kolhapur, Kulkarnis formed an association in order to protect their rights and sent complaints to the Durbar and the British Government. The Sydenham gang says that there is no sin in confiscating the vatan of Vatandars and Saranjamdars who are influential in villages, as they are unpopular with the masses. There are in the Kolhápur Durbar enough Sydenhamites to provide for the culture of such views a favourable sphere. As soon as it was seen that the Kulkarnis complained, schemes of looting their property received encouragement and a fortnight ago without any cause the houses of Kulkarnis in Tardal, Khumbhaj and other villages were looted and the Kulkarnis and their wives and children had to flee for their life and honour! The matter is being inquired into by the Kolhápur Durbar and we do not wish to write anything more on the point just now. Vatandars under the British should learn a lesson from Kolhápur and take into consideration how they would be harried like the Kolhápur Kulkarnis if Sydenhamites become successful and how the parasites of the bureaucracy would feed on them. The Montagu Bill will be before Parliament in the next month. If all the Vatandars do not help Home Rulers in order that the Sydenhamite taint be removed from the Bill, the Kolhápur dacoities and lootings have shown who would suffer from this indifference and how their property, life and honour would be harmed. We suggest to the Vatandars under the British to learn in time the lesson of the Kolhapur warning.

Alleged oppression of Kulkarnis in Kolhapur.
Kesari (109), 27th May.

72. The *Surya* referring to the accounts published in certain papers about the alleged oppression of Kulkarnis in the Kolhápur State remarks that the administration of the Kolhápur Durbar during the last 10 or 12 years shows that continuous efforts are being made in that State to suppress the Brahmins. The first attack on the Brahmins by the Kolhápur Durbar, it says, was in connection with the *Vedokta* controversy, and the misery of the Brahmin community having then begun, it has now become impossible for them to remain in the State. It goes on:—So long as the servants of the Kolhápur Durbar can carry on such an agitation in the name of the Chief himself and their action is not openly condemned by the Durbar, any one will come to the conclusion that the Durbar, if it is not the consenting party, at least connives at the agitation. It is the duty of the Durbar, therefore, to clear its own character by prosecuting those of its servants who are trying to create ill-feeling between different communities.

Surya (new), 25th May.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 6th June 1919.

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Report on Newspapers

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District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on Mr. Montagu's speech on the Indian Budget.

Kaiser-i-Hind (27), 8th June, Eng. cols.

*1. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* complains of the delay in the cabling of Mr. Montagu's speech, and then remarks:—"We are glad that in a crisis like this he has strengthened the hands of the different governments in India, and emphasised the need of restoring order. He has rendered a service to the loyalty of India by telling Parliament that the riots had shown that it was unshakable. This is a truth of which the British democracy needed to be told especially because of garbled versions of the recent disorders by interested wire-pullers..... His authoritative word on the question of the Khalifate will go far to ease Muhammadan feeling, and we are sure that our Muhammadan friends will not be slow in recognising the persistent and consistent advocacy of the Muhammadan cause by Mr. Montagu and his colleagues at the Peace Table, the Maharaja of Bikaner and Lord Sinha. We are glad to note that Mr. Montagu has not hesitated to administer a sound rebuke to the malicious campaign of the Indo-British Association. ..... He stands for a bold policy in the maintenance of order. This declaration will strengthen the hands of Government and silence their critics. It has come at a time when it is likely to produce the best result. That his policy is not confined to words may be seen from what he has maintained in regard to the deportation of Mr. Horniman."

**Indian Social Reformer* (7), 8th June; *New Times* (9), 3rd June.

2. "Mr. Montagu's speech on the Indian Budget in the House of Commons on the 22nd May was as able as it was adroit in skipping over some delicate matters. With reference to the new currency commission, we think that the composition of it, since announced, does not at all adequately provide for Indian interests. The single Indian gentleman, Mr. Dalal, who has been included in it, represents one important interest, but there are others which he in no wise represents. We should like an Indian economist and a representative of the Indian mills to be added to the commission..... Mr. Montagu significantly hoped that everybody would look forward to the eventual 'repeal' of the Rowlatt Act as unnecessary. Now, as the duration of the Act is limited to three years, the question of repeal can only arise before the lapse of that time. We cannot think that the Secretary of State used the word 'ina dvertently'." [Commenting on the committee appointed to consider the question of Indian Exchange, the *New Times* writes:—"It is regrettable that only one Indian should have been chosen to represent true Indian interests, while there are ten Europeans on the Commission."]

Mahrátta (8), 8th June.

*3. "Mr. Montagu's speech on the Indian Budget in the House of Commons was partly devoted to the Government of India's policy in recent times, and partly to the explanation of the reforms he would like to introduce in the government of India. About the first, we have no hesitation in saying that his defence was altogether a tame affair. He said he did not like to utter anything that 'would fan the flame or increase the grave responsibility of those whose duty it was to restore order.' All the same, his remark shows that doubts about the inevitability of taking severe measures in the Punjáb and elsewhere still linger in his mind. The 'prestige' of the Government of India, however, it seems, came in his way, and he, therefore, asked the House to send a 'message of "confidence" and sympathy with those on whom the great responsibility of restoring order had fallen.' But his remark quoted above betrays the feeling of doubt, and *not* of confidence in his own mind, and his insistence on holding an inquiry, which, he says, the Viceroy had always contemplated, confirms it. These inquiries, however, will do us little good; for, they will probably be held by a Committee having a majority of officials, and the Committee too, like Mr. Montagu himself, will have the prestige of the Govern-

ment of India staring in its face. Besides, the verdict of such a Committee cannot heal up the wounds caused on the minds of Indians by bombs, machine-guns, and savage sentences of the Martial Law Commissions. The whole affair has been a rotten one from first to now, and the Government of the Punjáb under Sir Michael O'Dwyer can never expect to stand in the good books of the people. Any official whitewashing can never convince the public, but if at all a serious endeavour is to be made about holding a proper inquiry, then a Committee consisting of a majority of non-official Indians, who enjoy the confidence of the people, must be appointed. Otherwise there is no use making a farce of appointing a Committee with a majority of officials, of whom people know nothing, and in whom, therefore, they can have little or no confidence."

*4. "Mr. Montagu's budget speech in the House of Commons was marked throughout by a feeling of intense earnestness and downright sincerity, though in some places one can easily discern in it distinct traces of the influence exercised upon his mind by one-sided official communications despatched from India. Apart from the question of the correctness or otherwise of his views on the urgency of the Rowlatt legislation and the justification he put forward for the deportation of Mr. Horniman, the views to which he gaye expression on two or three other important subjects will be read throughout India with the greatest interest..... He admitted that the Rowlatt Act was very unpopular but maintained that it was necessary and unavoidable. He appealed to Mr. Gandhi to exercise his influence with a greater sense of responsibility and realise in time that there were forces beyond his control ready to use the opportunities afforded by his name and reputation. We do not think Mr. Montagu has realised the Indian standpoint regarding the Rowlatt legislation and has attached exaggerated importance to the report that appeared in the *Chronicle* regarding the use 'of soft-nosed' bullets. The people at large have no technical knowledge of such military weapons and we do not think that this report which was afterwards contradicted in the *Chronicle* itself through the medium of a Press *Communique* had the slightest effect on the public mind. What attracted and impressed the public mind was the alleged use of bullets in dealing with an unarmed mob. If this was the sole justifiation for Mr. Horniman's deportation, we think that Mr. Montagu has not made out any case for the extreme step that was taken against him and the paper with which he was associated."

Gujaráti (20), 8th June, Eng. cols.

5. The *Dnyán Prakásh* says:—Till India gets the rights of *Swarájya*, the admission of India into the League of Nations and the appointment of Lord Sinha as Under Secretary have no meaning. But still they evidence the desire of the British Government to travel in that direction. Mr. Montagu's views are undoubtedly hopeful. We cannot say how far they have been included in the Reform Bill. We hope that the reactionary views of the Government of India have not influenced the Bill in the least. In a later issue the paper writes:—The Bill should have been published in full. Considering that the suggestions of the Government of India are reactionary, we are surprised that Mr. Montagu advised the acceptance of some of them. He should have asked the Joint Committee to keep the despatch at arm's length. Indians cannot but be anxious when Mr. Montagu suggests the acceptance of some of the recommendations of the Government of India, while he makes no mention of the proposals of Indian leaders. Elsewhere it says:— Mr. Montagu's speech will reassure Muhammadans. Mr. Montagu denied that Turkey would be divided amongst European nations. Muhammadans were of opinion that the question of the Khalifate should be left to them. Three Indian Muhammadans were with Mr. Montagu when the case of the Muhammadans was presented to the Peace Conference. It was necessary that a statement should be made by responsible authorities and it is highly satisfactory that Mr. Montagu should have done it. The *Surya* writes:—If England shows her determination that the question of Turkey

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 3rd and 5th June; *Surya* (new), 5th June; *Kesari* (109), 3rd June.

is to be solved to the satisfaction of Indian Muhammadans, she is likely to secure the consent of her Allies. Hindus also hope that Great Britain will succeed in securing the welfare of Turkey as far as possible. The *Kesari* writes:—Mr. Montagu's speech was as usual full of optimistic and liberal promises. All Indians will thank Mr. Montagu for his frank speech. But will his promises be only in words? Indian representatives sit by the side of Colonials in international and Imperial Conferences while Mr. Gandhi's son is prosecuted for occupying a reserved seat in a tram car in South Africa! When will such absurdities disappear?]

6. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* welcomes Mr. Montagu's speech in Parliament on the Indian Budget and writes:—We cannot agree with the explanation given by Mr. Montagu about the recent unfortunate incidents in India and would beg to point out that it would be premature to give any opinion before the atmosphere has cleared. The remarks of the Secretary of State are based on one-sided reports, but it is hoped that it will not be long before he takes a judicious view of the matter after studying the views of Mr. Norton and other responsible persons. In the matter of the Rowlatt Act we would ask Mr. Montagu to consult the Privy Council as to whether the Act does not provide any loopholes for autocratic officials to put it into operation in such a manner as to over-step the bounds laid down by himself in his speech. However, we trust that Mr. Montagu will be in a better position to judge of the merits of the Act after giving a careful consideration to the various representations made to him. The Indian public will thank Mr. Montagu for holding economic distress responsible for the present troubles and they hope that he will grant fiscal autonomy to India. We must congratulate our Muhammadan brethren on the assurance given to them with respect to Turkey and trust that it will be carried out. [The *Hindusthán* also believes that the assurance given by Mr. Montagu in the matter of Turkey will be welcomed by the Indian Muhammadans. The *Sánj Vartamán* is gratified at the assurance given in the matter of appointing a Commission to investigate the recent disturbances and considers Mr. Montagu's justification of the Rowlatt Act a mere echo of the Government of India. It is highly pleased at the announcement made with respect to the forthcoming Reform Bill. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes in a somewhat similar strain. The *Bombay Samáchár* is highly gratified at the necessity recognised by Mr. Montagu of granting fiscal autonomy to India and of appointing a Commission to investigate the disturbances. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* expresses gratification at the announcement with respect to the question of the Khalifate and while expressing its trust that the question will be solved to the satisfaction of the Muhammadans, asks them to fix a day on which congratulatory messages may be sent to Mr. Montagu from various places in India.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 4th June; *Hindusthán* (24), 3rd June; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 3rd June; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 4th June; *Bombay Samáchár* (62), 5th June; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 5th June.

7. It is indeed a mystery that Mr. Montagu should have stated in Parliament that the Government of India had generally supported the Reform Scheme, in spite of the reactionary proposals they had made. He has patted Mr. Gandhi on the back, but at the same time he has charged him with having been a victim of evil-minded men. Mr. Gandhi, however, has better knowledge of India than Mr. Montagu and he is wise enough not to be deceived by others. His failure in certain matters is due to the misrepresentations to which his noble aims are subjected in some quarters. As regards Military commissions and equality of treatment to Indians in all parts of the Empire Mr. Montagu has not gone beyond sweet words. Other British politicians do not indulge in sweet words while Mr. Montagu indulges in them as far as possible: this seems to be the only difference between them. His defence of what the Government of India has done during the last two months in connection with the Rowlatt Act clearly shows what respect he has paid to Indian public opinion. Our delegates who are just now in England will have to exercise much skill in doing their duty there. They should all

Surya (new), 5th June.

act in unison and instead of being deluded by sweet words secure the amendment of the new Scheme in important directions.

8. The *Hindusthán* asks the Government to publish immediately the Reform Bill if they have already got it, and if they have not got it, to get it from the Secretary of State as soon as possible and to publish it here for the information of the public. In a later issue it writes:—Until the power of framing and controlling the fiscal policy is handed over to the people no development of the Indian industries can be expected. Mr. Montagu's speech, at the time of introducing the Indian Budget in the Parliament, encourages us to hope that India is accorded this right in the Reform Scheme. Mr. Montagu deserves to be congratulated, if he has granted that right to the people of this country. But we have again to complain of the delay in publishing the Reform Bill as well as Mr. Montagu's speech introducing the same. Why are the public subjected to the torments of suspense? [The *Sánj Vartamán* too complains bitterly of the delay in publishing the Bill and strongly urges the Government to publish it immediately. It writes:—Not only has the Bill been presented to the Parliament sufficiently early but every arrangement is made for its rapid passage. We hope care will be taken to see that no injustice is done to the people of this country in pushing it through the Parliament so hurriedly, and that the Indian Deputations that are now in England get sufficient time to deliberate over it. In its subsequent issue it adds:—The Bill was published in England on Friday; to-day it is Monday and still we are groping on the dark as to the contents of the Bill. It is a grave injustice to Indians that they are kept in the dark regarding the Bill on which their very future depends. In a later issue it writes:—Until the whole text of the Bill is received we are unable to pronounce any opinion as to the powers of the ministers; but if Mr. Montagu has accepted the recommendations of the Government of India, their powers will be only shadowy. Reforms with such shadowy powers will certainly not be acceptable even to the moderates who are Government's favourites. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* also regrets the non-publication of the Bill and declares that beside Sir Sankaran Nair India is indebted to His Excellency Sir George Lloyd for the immediate introduction of the Bill in Parliament. In a later issue it writes:—From Mr. Montagu's statement regarding the Bill we have come to know that the Secretary of State has ignored all the objections raised by the officials in connection with the scheme and that the original scheme is maintained intact. We hope the proposed Select Committee that is to act as an appeal court between the Government and the people will not show any partiality towards Government. If India were granted the right of returning its representatives to the Parliament, this country also would get the chance of being in the Select Committee. We must now request the Government of His Majesty to introduce this reform. The *Akhbár-i-Islám* hopes that the Bill will be soon published and thanks His Excellency the Governor for its immediate introduction in Parliament.]

Comments on the Indian Reform Bill in Parliament.

Hindusthán (24), 31st May and 5th June; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 31st May, 2nd and 4th June; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 2nd and 5th June; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 4th June.

9. The *Kesari* says that Mr. Montagu apparently wants to make a secret gift of the reforms to India but expresses its apprehension that if the nature of the Indian Reform Bill is to be inferred from the Government of India despatch published through inadvertense, it will be to a great extent illiberal, reactionary and disappointing. The paper is not in favour of diarchy but thinks that diarchy will be the feature of the Bill. It adds:—Indians would not have complained if both the wheels of Government were of equal strength. But in the Government of India despatch one part of Government has been rendered stout and strong and the other weak and it cannot be said when that part will break down. The Southborough Committee curtailed the Montagu list of transferred Departments and the Government of India has gone further in the

Kesari (109), 3rd June.

same direction. We hope that the Southborough Committee will be respected more in these matters than the Government of India. The Despatch has tried to deform the original scheme under the pretext of making practical suggestions. Another reactionary suggestion of the Government of India is that about the divided Budget. It was left to the minister in the Report to issue new loans and impose new taxes; the bureaucracy wants to take the power to itself. The minister's position is not secure. The Government of India suggest that those of the Civil Servants who wish to resign being unwilling to serve under the minister should be allowed to do so and they should be granted pension for the period they have put in. No Indian minister would mind their resignations but what we are afraid of is that these Civil Servants would try to get into the reserved departments and that new posts would be created therein for these white Brahmins. If a system involving no division of departments is to be adopted, Mr. Montagu will have to adopt the Congress-League Scheme. If diarchy is to be adopted, there is no other alternative but to demand full provincial autonomy. Still the question of provincial autonomy is a minor one. The really important question is the share we shall get in the Central Government. The Montagu Report as well as the Despatch have disappointed us in this respect. How will Lord Chelmsford convince us that the August declaration applies only to the Provinces and not to the Central Government? No mention is likely to be made of a share in the Central Government in the Bill also. Though the grant of reforms is to be a secret gift it is not very difficult to make an estimate of the value it will have judged by the test of self-determination. Till the Bill is published, every Indian will anxiously inquire about its nature. We hope that the darkness of disappointment will not spread after its publication.

10. It is gratifiying to observe that the Functions Committee has dealt with its problems in a more generous spirit than the Franchise Committee. In some respects the former committee has gone beyond the recommendations as regards transferred subjects of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. Under this report only Primary, Secondary and Technical education were transferred subjects, university education being a reserved subject. The Functions Committee thinks that it is not desirable to treat these branches of education except as one whole. The Government of India however have not approved of this recommendation. They think, having regard to the critical times through which India is passing and to the fact that the future progress of the country depends upon the right type of secondary education, that this education must be in experienced hand. No one can deny that education, no matter of what grade, helps the progress of a country in every department of life. But we are not prepared to admit that the cause of education will suffer unless its administration is in the hands of Government. For a century and a half Government have held the reins but we can see with what result. There has been no progress. Even a member of the Government, Sir Sankaran Nair, has recorded a strong note protesting againt any branch of education being made a reserved subject to be dealt with by those who "have not so far redeemed their promises." It is a pity that the Government of India is not prepared to transfer its control of education to the people.

Comments on the Reports of the Functions and Franchise Committees.

Sind Vasi (55), 23rd May.

11. Commenting upon the Report of the Franchise Committee and the recommendations of the Government of India as well as those of the Government of Bombay, the *Gujarâti* writes:—The public is of opinion that both the Franchise Committee and the Government of India should have recognised the rights of women and given them the franchise. The people, therefore, cannot tolerate the illiberal attitude shown by them towards the question. The Committee has done very well in not fixing a uniform standard of income or cess for giving the franchise to people in the various districts. The franchise to the people in rural areas has been extended on similar lines. But the motive of the Government of India in accepting these recommendations is rather strange. They have welcomed the suggestions in respect of extending the

Gujarâti (20), 1st June.

franchise to rural areas with a view to allay their fears about the preponderance of lawyers and other professional men in the Councils. They have on this account failed to give representation to the Universities. The fears of the Government of India are both illiberal and out of place. We would strongly urge that the recommendations of the Committee in the matter of the distribution of the franchise in urban and rural areas should not be altered as suggested by the Government of India. The Committee has given undue importance to communal representation and has suggested the formation of two European representative bodies, one for the city of Bombay and the another for the rest of the Presidency. The Bombay Government, as appears from their despatch, have lent special support to this recommendation. The claim put forth by the Bombay Government in this respect is both preposterous and verging on partiality inasmuch as they urge no special communal representation for the Lingayets or Parsis.

Comments on the Government of India's despatch on the Southborough Committee's report.

Servant of India (10), 5th June.

12. "We would challenge anyone to mention a single departure from the Joint Scheme suggested by the Government of India which does not curtail, in greater or less degree, the power proposed to be conferred on the people in the report. The withholding of the power of the purse, the assigning of an impossible position to the ministers and the removal of all safeguards with regard to 'reserved' legislation—these nullify the whole Scheme, both in letter and spirit. They at any rate, we hope, are among the features which Mr. Montagu will direct the Committee to reject. For, if adopted, they would make the executive thoroughly irresponsible, and his scheme of 'diarchy' would be open to the very same objection which he urges against the alternative plan of local Governments. In diarchy Indians are prepared to acquiesce as a temporary arrangement if by means of it liberal application is given to the announcement of 1917. But the 'diarchy' which the Government of India propose is undiarchy except in the name, and Indians will have none of it. If Mr. Montagu is to remain true to his pledge to carry out the pronouncement adequately and to withstand any narrowing of the scope of the reforms promised in the Joint Report, he must resolutely oppose every one of the alterations proposed in the Government of India's despatch. The Joint Scheme must, at the very least, be preserved intact. A sullen mood has come upon the country; the Government of India's despatch has filled public men with gloom and alarm. A silence at this moment would be disastrous. The country must ring with an emphatic and uncompromising disapproval of the Government of India's recommendations. A special duty devolves upon the Moderates to express their unfaltering opposition to them inasmuch as they have generally supported the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. No supporter of that scheme can conscientiously do aught but resist the retrograde proposals of the Government of India. The Indian Association of Calcutta has telegraphed its strong disapprobation; but an organised expression must be given to the Moderate view in the All-India Moderates' Conference, and we hope steps will be taken forthwith to convene the second session of the Conference for this purpose..... One stands aghast at the coolness with which the Government of India dismisses the provision for budget control, which is found in the Joint Regort, as being made 'by inadvertence' (*vide* last sentence of paragraph 73 in their despatch of March 5). The Joint Report sums up its proposals regarding provincial finance thus: 'Except in so far as the Governor exercises this power (of certification) the budget would be altered in accordance with the resolutions carried in Council.' The Government of India have the presumption to explain away the scrapping of this capital provision from their despatch by representing that it was heedlessly introduced into the Reforms Report. The whole provincial arrangement has this power of the purse for its pivot, upon which everything turns, and it is inconceivable that such a vital feature of the Reforms would have been incorporated in the Report except with deliberate purpose. The Government of India may, if they so desire, remove it and smash the whole Report; but they should seek a more decent excuse to do so than by pretending to believe that the provision was not advisedly made. It

is most surprising that the Viceroy should be a party not only to the emasculation of reforms by depriving them of this cardinal feature, but to a misrepresentation of the intentions of the Report, of which he was joint author. If budget control was inadvertently provided in the Report, 'the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government' and 'substantial steps in this direction', which are promised in the announcement and on which the Report is based,—these, too, may have been possibly just the outcome of a freak of the British Parliament and the Government of India need not even be at the pains to consider the Report."

13. "We cannot but conclude that the Government of India's recommendations are of a reactionary character. In parts they go back upon the recommendations of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. They are certainly not as liberal as those of the Southborough Committee. ..... The direction of the straw clearly shows in which way the wind blows. And any effort on the part of Sir Sankaran to breast the current and change its direction must have been futile. He must have evidently felt that his presence there, in a minority of one, was worse than useless..... We are indeed very sorry for the people because they have lost in him the best spokesman in their behalf in the inner counsel of India. But we are more sorry for the Government, because we may assure them, that it is very rarely that they may secure the like of him again." [In its vernacular columns the paper says:—Every thinking Indian will be glad that Sir Sankaran did not surrender his independence of judgment. He will be better able to serve India by remaining out of the Council. The *Prakásh* says that those who were aware of Sir Sankaran's views never expected that the bureaucratic atmosphere would be congenial to him.]

Subodha Patrika (48), 1st June, Eng. and Ver. cols.; *Prakásh* (115), 4th June.

14. The policy adopted by the Government of India in regard to the Reforms is considerably reactionary. So long as the people do not possess the power of the purse it is but a mockery to say that any real increase of power is conferred upon them. Unfortunately if the suggestions of the Government of India are accepted the progress of the country will have been arrested at least for the present. The real object of these retrograde proposals is to placate the Civil Service although the outward reason assigned is the ignorance of the masses. But India must be governed in the interests of Indians and not in those of the Civil Servants. If the latter suppose that this conflicts with their interests or wounds their *amour propre* it is open to them to resign and go home. Sir Sankaran Nair has in his minute of dissent fearlessly exposed the futility of the Government of India's arguments against transferring the Industries Department to popular control. He has also supported communal representation. It is a matter for regret that this non-Brahmin patriot is required to resign his post on account of his fearless conduct. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* expresses the hope that the members of the deputations who have gone from India will be able to convince the responsible politicians in England that disappointment of Indians in the matter of reforms will lead to untoward consequences.]

Jágaruk (45), 31st May; *Dnyán Prakásh* (41), 1st June.

15. "The arguments of the Government of India are, to our mind, nothing more than beating about the bush. The real question is, 'Are you willing to transfer the subject of industrial development to Indian control?' Whether as a provincial or an Imperial subject, it does not matter at all. Is India to remain a principally agricultural country that now she is? If not, who is responsible for this present industrial decrepitude? Who killed the ancient Industries of India? Why did not the Government hitherto encourage Indian indigenous industries as they should have done? Are you going to continue to utilise India 'for the exploitation of her natural resources for the investment of English Capital and for the dumping of English goods'? These are the questions which the Government of India's

Comments on Sir Sankaran Nair's minute of dissent.

Deccan Ryot (5), 30th May.

arguments ought to have but have not at all answered. The whole minute of Sir S. Nair on this subject is frank and to the point. He says, and rightly too, that the past attitude of the Government has 'materially contributed to the unrest and disaffection in the land.' Does not the Government wish to remove a grievance like this? Do they expect to allay Indian discontent without granting the sorely-needed and long-overdue relief to India in this respect? All reforms will be like stones given to those who ask for bread. The throwing open of a few ministerships will placate the educated classes. These minsters will provide well for their own classes in the limits allowed to them. But the real people of India will remain unaffected by the reforms, except in certain respects adversely and easily amenable to the temptations of evil agitations, unless the duty of devoloping Indian Industries is assigned to Indian hands. Sir S. Nair has done a great serviee to India by placing his views on the subject fearlessly and frankly before the Home Government Unless the whole attempt is to be a sham and a farce, the issues raised by him in his Minute of Dissent on this subject must be carefully considered by the Cabinet and the Parliament. Nothing will knit India to the Empire closely and cordially which will not be accompanied by a satisfactory solution of the industrial problem; and the only way it can be so solved is by transferring the power of deciding policies and tariffs in respect thereof to Indian ministers responsible to Indian representative assemblies."

16. "The dangers of ignoring the non-Brahman agitation in the Deccan have been often pointed out to them [Government] in no uncertain terms. The undercurrents of the extremist politics in this part of the country have been disclosed by great authorities on Indian matters like Sir V. Chirol. Englishmen in India who have any claim to sense and prudence must always bear in mind the existence of these undercurrents. But as if history and experiencc did not exist for the British rulers of India, the problem of constitutional reforms in India is being pushed on in utter ignorance of the disastrous results to which their present course is sure to lead. The constitution of the Legislative Conncil as proposed by the Franchise Committee is a vivid illustration of what we are saying here..... The constitution of the Provincial Legislatures and Ministerships as proposed now will form such a decisive accession to the strength of the extremists that the already great power of the extremist Brahmans will become literally irresistible..... What will be the policy of the non-Brahmins who have as a body maintained their own aloofness from Brahmin extremism? We are afraid that they will give up all hope of emancipation under the guidance of the British Nation. The chief foundation of their attachment to British Rule in India is the faith that the British have delivered them from the social, religious and intellectual tyranny of the Brahmins. Remove this faith and the non-Brahmins will be indifferent to the issue of the quarrials between the British and the Brahmins. ..... The slightest complaint against Government which the ryots or the trading classes may have is availed of by the extremists to alienate the sympathies of these ryots and traders from the Government. The fact that they are not yet carried away by the whirlwind of extremist teachings is due to the lack of confidence in the power of the Brahmin extremists to force their will on the Government. The reform proposed will demonstrate once for all that, with all their antagonism to the British, it is they who can lead the British where they will. In all matters in which British interests are not affected, it is the Brahmin who rules supreme! That is the impression which is gradually stealing upon the minds of the masses. The Montagu reforms, with a council as constituted by the proposals of the Franchise Committee, will ripen that impression into a conviction..... The problem of the Deccan, the deep and wide chasm separating the Brahmin from the non-Brahmin in every sphere of life, will grow more difficult as power becomes transferred in ever-increasing measures. The 'series of cleavages' running through our society, and recognised by the Montford Report, will increase in virulence and extent. Extremism in the Deccan will have an added source of strength and the masses will have only one alternative to a meek submission to the forces of extremism. That alternative is obviously no less dangerous."

The dangers of ignoring the non-Brahmin agitation in the Deccan.

Deccan Ryot (5), 30th May.

17. If Government will ignore, in deference to the clamour of Brahmin agitators, the legitimate demands of non-Brahmins for separate representation, they too will suffer along with the non-Brahmins from the evil results that will ensue. The Franchise Committee has given it as its opinion that voters of the backward classes can easily return their own representatives as they will vastly outnumber the voters of the other classes. This argument is not supported by our past experience. When the reforms are inaugurated the non-Brahmins will be placed in a much more awkward position than at present and they will be quite unable to elect their own men. Even now Brahmin Extremists can easily win over non-Brahmins to their side by pointing to the selfish policy of Government in regard to commerce, etc., and the non-Brahmin will also be able to see that the British authorities and Government are afraid of Brahmin agitation. In future considerable real power will pass into the hands of councillors who will be necessarily Brahmins. The power that will be left to the British Government and the British people will be just sufficient to safeguard their own interests. If Government suppose that on the strength of this power they can safeguard the interests of the non-Brahmins also they are mistaken. On the contrary it is more likely that the British authorities and the advanced classes will further their own interests and will neglect those of the backward classes. The British Empire in this country is based on the faith of the masses in British justice. Government will forfeit this faith if they refuse separate representation to the backward classes.

Necessity of communal representation for the backward classes.
Jágaruk (45), 31st May.

18. We do not know what the intention of Government is in not publishing papers in connection with the reforms in time. The Government of India have sent five despatches to the Secretary of State but only two of them are published. A few newspapers have been given also the despatch sent on the 5th of March we have not yet received that copy. Government had no intention of publishing the despatch till the Bill was before Parliament, had not the *Leader* got a copy through a mistake. But now that it is published it should have been sent to all newspapers. The same thing is to be said about the Reforms Bill. The only thing known is that it has been placed before Parliament. But no other particulars are provided. Why this delay? Discontent is being caused needlessly on account of it. Even Anglo-Indian newspapers like the *Times of India* have complained. Will the Government of India pay attention to them at least?

Complaint that certain Despatches of the Government of India and the Reform Bill have not yet been published.
Dnyán Prakásh (41), 3rd June.

19. "The wonderful methods of work which distinguish the authorities presiding over Indian affairs to-day have kept India in suspense as to what the momentous Reforms Bill of Mr. Montagu is although it has been deemed wise to announce that the Bill has already been introduced into the House of Commons where it was to come on for the second reading to-day! Could any one initiated into the secrets of politics tell us for the sake of goodness what the object of the responsible authorities may be in thus telling India that a Bill, so pregnant with large consequences to India, has been introduced and yet avoiding the slightest reference to its contents? We welcome the desire of Mr. Montagu to be quick. But when is this shabby method of keeping people in the most unnecessary suspense to cease?"

Deccan Ryot (5), 5th June.

20. The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla's minute of dissent has shown that the defect of the recommendations of the Bombay Government lies in this that they practically deprive the Ministers of the very responsibility which the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms contemplate giving them and thus nullify the reforms. He has, moreover, shown that according to the recommendations of the Bombay Government the Ministers would have to over-ride the decision arrived at by the majority of the Legislative Council and to submit to the order of the Governor. It is, therefore, natural that the people in general will endorse the views expressed by Sir Ibrahim and refuse their assent to the recommenda-

Comments on the minute of the Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla on the proposals of the Bombay Government regarding the Reform Scheme.
Bombay Samáchár (62), 2nd June; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 2nd June; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (27), 1st June.

tions of the Government of Bombay. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* also endorses the Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla's views and declares that the Ministers will be reduced to the position of mere tools in the hands of the Governor if the recommendations of the Bombay Government come to be adopted. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* thanks Sir Ibrahim for the bold stand he has made for popular rights in his minute of dissent. It hopes that the authorities will give due weight to the recommendation of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd and give political reforms to the Indian people in a prompt manner.]

The question of Industries in connection with the Reforms Scheme.

Sind Vási (55), 25th May.

21. The Montagu-Chelmsford report recommended that the development of local arts and industries should be a transferred subject. The Committee however finds it difficult to distinguish between Provincial and Indian arts and industries and observes that if any division of responsibility under this head is possible, it can only be in the direction of making industrial progress a transferred subject and industrial legislation a reserved subject. But the Government of India is anxious to keep the entire control in its hands and suggests that the responsibility for the progress of arts and industries should rest on Local Governments and the Government of India. Indians want that they should have the entire control in their hands so far as the industrial progress of their country is concerned. They think that their lot will not improve if that control is placed in hands other than their own. The obvious reason is that the Secretary of State for India or the Executive of the Government of India disregard the interests of India at the instance of British traders and one can see with what result.

Comments on Sir R. Tagore's letter to His Excellency the Viceroy renouncing his knighthood.

Young India (16), 4th June.

22. "Sir Rabindranath Tagore has written to the Viceroy protesting against the draconian style in which Government have take action in the Punjáb, and renouncing his knighthood as a mark of remonstrance. We congratulate him on the step he has taken. For an ordinary man to think of the state of the Punjáb is to give way to despair. Till the *bona fides* of British justice is vindicated in the Punjáb, it is useless to compose people with the assurance that all is well. All is not well. And we are not surprised that Rabindranath Tagore has after mature reflection come to think that his title is to him an oppression and a mockery, when hundreds of his fellow-subjects are crying for justice. For a poet of his eminence, a title was never worth having or worth retaining. We wonder if the Government would find some leisure to think and realise the sense of alienation that has come over the people and would persevere till all those who were instrumental in the working of the trouble are brought to justice—irrespective of their high office. The wrong must be undone so far as it is possible to-day. It is significant of the topsy-turveydom prevailing that on a day when eager aspirants jump at honours, there should have come the announcement that one of the foremost Indians of the time has resigned his own title."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 8th June.

***23.** "Some time back Dr. Subrahmanya Iyer of Madras felt bound to surrender his Knight Commandership of the Indian Empire on account of the aspersions cast on him for having addressed a letter to President Wilson calling his attention to the demands of Indian political reformers. Sir Rabindranath Tagore has followed his example and, in a letter to the Viceroy, the poet has requested His Excellency to relieve him of his knighthood which, in view of the disproportionate severity of the punishments inflicted upon the unfortunate people of the Punjáb, he feels he could not continue to appropriate consistently with his duty to his country and countrymen. There is a widespread belief that the methods of restoring peace and order in the Punjáb have been disproportionately severe. We do not know as yet the full extent of these measures. We are glad that Mr. Montagu has, in his speech on the Budget, promised an independent enquiry into the happenings in that province and elsewhere. Nobody, least of Sir Rabindranath, condones or minimises the heinousness of the murders and arson committed by the mob at Amritsar and elsewhere, but can it be said that to sentence twenty persons to be hanged for sacking a bank and killing two

Englishmen is not disproportionate? Let it be remembered that these judicial punishments are in addition to the considerable number of persons shot down by the military and the police at Amritsar. The exact number of these is not known. We have heard estimates which run from hundreds upwards. Anyhow there is no doubt that a large number were killed on the spot. Apart from the disproportionate character of hanging twenty men for the offence—a very serious one—of sacking a bank and killing two men, we doubt whether such wholesale executions are calculated to inculate a wholesome respect for the law in the common people. Sir Rabindranath's action can hardly fail to arrest attention throughout the civilised world. There are scores of knights whose acceptance or renunciation of titles is of little significance, but Sir Rabindranath Tagore is not of this class. Wherever his poems are read and admired, there it will be known that he has felt bound to give up his knighthood, and people will hardly fail to ask why."

*24. *Mahrátta* (8), 8th June.

"Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's letter to the Viceroy of India, denouncing the horrible, detestable and extraordinarily severe measures taken by the Punjáb ex-satrap in quelling the disturbances there, and renouncing his knighthood, is a severe condemnation of the attitude of the Government of India, and we are sure his strongly-worded protest against the policy of Government will be heartily endorsed by all his countrymen Mr. Montagu said that there would be an inquiry, and that the Viceroy always contemplated an inquiry into those affairs; but we have had sufficient experience of such inquiries which we suppose, will, as before, be held by officials or a majority of them, and we can, therefore, very easily imagine what the result of that inquiry would be. Poorer (*sic*) palliatives such as these cannot console and will never convince the afflicted souls of Indians, and the deep wounds will scarcely be healed up by all that the Government may offer in the nature of questions and cross-questions in a Blue Book. The machine-guns and bombs dropped from aeroplanes upon the masses and the disproportionately severe punishments meted out to the accused have severely strained the faith in the magnanimity of British satraps in India, so much so that an impartial hermit like Rabindranath was stung into flinging back the honour of knighthood at the Government which hardly respected the methods of civilised administration. Rabindranth has done his duty at the very moment when honours are showered upon people, most of whom are little known to the public for what are called their 'public' services, and we hope all his suffering countrymen will honour him still more for the magnanimity shown by him in renouncing his title. Dr. Subramanya Iyyer led the van in this respect, Dr. Tagore followed, and we hope more will join this new order of renounced kinghthoods."

25. *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 7th June, Eng. cols.

"The letter which Sir Rabindranath Tagore has addressed to the Viceroy, declaring his desire to be relieved of the title of Knighthood, is a painful document..... This is the second instance in which a distinguished Indian has thought fit to renounce a high title, conferred upon him by the King-Emperor, for political reasons. Only a short while ago Sir Subramania Ayyar (as he then was), a distinguished judge of the Madras High Court, renounced his title of Knighthood, dissatisfied with the political situation of the country. His example has now been followed by Sir Rabindranath Tagore, a man no less distinguished in another sphere of excellence. The moral effect of the protest of such a man conveyed in such a signal fashion, is bound to be great. The people would feel that, when a man of letters and a teacher of youth, in his seclusion in a corner of the country, feels so forcibly 'the enormity' of certain measures of Government recently taken, there must be something rotten in the state of Denmark..... Sir Rabindranath's dissatisfaction with the plight of his country does not arise from the vague and general political discontent which a subject nation always feels but something much more concrete and definite. It is the new policy in the Punjáb, devised to meet a situation serious enough, but which many people consider unduly harsh. It has certainly caused much disquiet in the minds of Indians..... A policy which has invoked such emphatic

disapprobation from such distinguished quarters, cannot be regarded as very safe or statesmanlike..... We hope this protest, so solemnly worded and sincere, coming from a poet who is no professional politician, will command the weight and respect to which it is entitled. At the same time, it may be doubted if it is quite necessary to make a parade of patriotism in this somewhat ungracious and flamboyant fashion of renouncing one's titles. Sir Rabindranath's Knighthood was purely a mark of appreciation of his poetic achievement, and literary talent, and there seems to have been no call upon him to offer to renounce his well-won honours. He might have been better advised to keep his poetry and his politics distinct. Apart from this, "O'Dwyerism", which we might hope has now finally departed from this country, has well-deserved, among the protests which it has provoked, to call down upon itself this most indelible form of all obloquy, a ministrel's malison."

Hindusthan (24), 4th June.

26. Most of the recepients of the Birthday Honours are Government officials. For the past few years titles have been reserved only for those who serve the Government. How can the public appreciate titles when they are conferred especially on those who are very unpopular? Looking from the Indian point of view, this year's list of Birthday Honours is quite disappointing. Educated Indians, therefore, are growing indifferent towards titles. The case of Sir Rabindranath Tagore is a fresh instance in point. That learned poet could not tolerate the incidents in the Punjáb and so he has protested against them by addressing a letter to the Viceroy, in which he has asked to be relieved of his knighthood. Owing to the return of Government titles by Dr. Subramania Iyer and Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Government will perhaps think twice before conferring such titles on educated Indians.

Surya (new), 5th June.

27. Sir Rabindranath Tagore's letter to His Excellency the Viceroy requesting to be relieved of his knighthood shows the extent of his grief for the sufferings of his countrymen. His allusion to Lord Hardinge in his letter shows that in his opinion a different policy would have been adopted if he were at the helm of affairs now. There are many men in England and in the British Empire who hold Sir Rabindranath in high esteem and we hope, therefore, that his expression of sorrow will help to ease the present situation.

Sunday Tatler (15), 8th June.

***28.** "Tagore's action in resigning his Knighthood was a dishonourable and wanton affront to His Majesty the King-Emperor. The Knighthood was conferred on Tagore as a mark of His Majesty's appreciation of contributions to literature. Neither Lord Hardinge in recommending nor His Majesty in approving the conferment of the Knighthood on the Bengalee dreamed of *his* conferring a favour by the acceptance of the title. Really, Tagore's impertinence is of rare quality. At any rate, at the time he accepted the Knightood, he knew perfectly well that the British Government possessed all the powers of enforcing order, the exercise of which now moves Tagore to excessive if childish wrath. The only difference is the Government knows when to exercise them, whereas Tagore is no more competent to form an opinion on the point than any baby in existence. As for his renouncing his Knighthood, all that need be said is that the great and ancient order of British Knighthood is well rid of this braggart politician."

Withdrawal of martial law in the Punjáb.
Kesari (109), 5th June.

29. The *Kesari* does not attach much importance to the withdrawal of martial law in the Punjáb on the recommendation of Sir Michael O'Dwyer who, it says, probably wanted to earn a good word on the eve of his departure. It points out that martial law still obtains in certain places and that respectable people like Pandit Rambhaj Dutt and Lala Harkishanlal are being prosecuted in these places and that they will not get the benefit of the withdrawal. It regrets that Lord Chelmsford does not pay any attention to the fact that counsel from other provinces are not allowed in the Punjáb.

30. Mr. Montagu's speech in Parliament foreshadows an inquiry into the genesis of the present unrest in the Punjáb. Our leaders have all along been maintaining that some such inquiry was needed and therefore we welcome this belated recognition on the part of Government. It is generally supposed that though the present unrest only reached an acute stage now, it had its origin in the rigorous methods of recruiting followed during the war. [The paper next refers to the account of the present situation published in the *Truth* based on the information supplied to it by its correspondent in India.] Allegations have already been made in several quarters that the recruiting methods were mainly responsible for the uneasiness in the Punjáb and that the Rowlatt law, only supplied the spark which produced the present explosion. Whether this assertion is true or not can only be found out by appointing a commission of inquiry. But this commission must be a mixed one and should include Indians known for their independence.

Proposed inquiry into Punjáb affairs.
Dnyán Prakásh (41), 4th June.

31. Owing to the war lakhs of Indians have had an opportunity of seeing the conditions prevailing not only in England but in other countries as well. For the British Empire to have at such a time officers after the Tartar or Hun model will only cast the stain of barbarism upon it. We demand *swarájya* only to enable us to appoint officers befitting the fair name of the British Empire. We would not have officers of barbarous tendencies. Is it not a fact that the Germans have come to be characterised as barbarous for destroying whole towns without distinction by means of bombs thrown from the air? Then, if there are thoughtless British officers in Egypt or India acting similarly, will it be wrong to say that they are inspired by the German spirit? Men in whom such German evil spirit can enter are a disgrace to humanity. Such officers will never be able to receive addresses in England which enjoys responsible government. [Elsewhere the paper gives a report of Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar's recent lecture before the Vyapari Club at Poona on the King's Birthday in the course of which the speaker is reported to have said:—At present if any one indulges in intemperate speaking, there is section 124A; if not, there is section 108. At least there will be an increase in the Income Tax assessment. If one escapes even these then at last there is the Police pressure. (Laughter and cheers.) As to martial law, it is extremely terrible! Sentence of death for the theft of a small brass vessel! Once a Patel was beaten by some boys at Lonavla and eventually he died. But the boys were European and the High Court fined one of them Rs. 50 and acquitted the rest. In the Punjáb, however, boys of 18 or 19 have been sentenced to be hanged. Any one's heart will be moved by these sentences. I will conclude by saying that the commercial classes have been totally destroyed. Everything has been lost by them. Then why are you after mere phantoms?]

Comments on the enforcement of martial law in the Punjáb.
Surya (new), 7th June.

32. Indians will long remember the painful incidents connected with Sir Michael O'Dwyer's arbitrary regime. Although his person which reminded us of Nadir Shah will soon be out of our sight, the dark shadow which it cast on the fair name of British rule will endure for long. We trust his successor, Sir Edward Maclagan, will carry on the administration in conformity with the wishes of the people and thus wipe out the stain attached to British rule. [Elsewhere the paper expresses its satisfaction at the withdrawal of the martial law from the greater part of the Punjáb and says that Government should have taken this step much earlier in view of the sufferings the martial law entailed.]

Sir Michael O'Dwyer's resignation.
Sudhákar (124), 1st June.

33. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* refers to the resignation of Swami Shraddhanand and Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas from the *Satyagraha* Sabha and requests Mr. Gandhi to give a careful consideration to the reasons assigned by the aforesaid followers of his in withdrawing their pledges and strongly urges upon him the necessity of putting an end to the passive resistance movement or the civil disobedience of laws which he means to

Advice to Mr. Gandhi to give up the *Satyagraha* movement.
Jám-e-Jamshed (26), 6th June; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 6th June.

revive after some time. The paper warns him of the harm that will be done to India by the resumption of this campaign on his part. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* ascribes the recent disturbances in India to the passive resistance movement and, while dwelling upon the harm done to this country by that movement, it praises Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas for the courage he has shown in withdrawing his pledge.]

Advice to *Satyagrahis* to leave politics alone.
Hindusthán (24), 6th June.

34. "R. L." continues his criticism of Mr. Gandhi's *Satyagraha* movement (*vide* paragraph 40 of Weekly Report No. 22 of 1919) and writes:—What qualities are requisite in a political leader will be seen by reading Morley's "Compromise". Is Mr. Gandhi ready to act according to that book? I doubt it. Unfortunately at this critical juncture we are in need of a leader possessing foresight, presence of mind, a practical insight into the present condition of the public, etc. Some leaders of the Home Rule League who have joined the *Satyagraha* movement have plainly told me that in the absence of any other leader they had to accept Mr. Gandhi as one in order to gain their object, in spite of a certain difference of opinion on the question of *Satyagraha*, and that they had to obey him willy-nilly. I told them that they would never succeed in their political agitation by means of *Satyagraha*, and I firmly believe that the *Satyagraha* movement is of no use for gaining political rights; not only so, but it is positively harmful. For, the real political movements that ought to be continued are put a stop to by this movement. Ever since it has been started, all such activities as meetings at French Bridge and Shantaram Chawl, the business of the Home Rule League, publication of political pamphlets, etc., have been put a stop to. What have the *Satyagrahis* done so far in respect of the outrage and oppression not becoming a civilised Government that the Punjáb Government has spread by establishing martial law under the pretext of maintaining law and order? If there had not been the *Satyagraha* movement and the gospel commands of Mr. Gandhi, political agitation would not have been dormant in our city to-day. It is to be hoped that those who have joined the *Satyagraha* movement with the object of using it as a political tool will prove their *bonâ fides* by resigning from it, and will again begin to take the zealous part in political agitation that they used to. It is to be hoped that the religious minded *Satyagrahis* will also openly declare that they have nothing to do with political agitation and that they will not take part in political movements like the anti-Rowlatt Act agitation, so that they may have no occasion to make a civil breach of unjust laws and thus create a state of anarchy.

Mr. Tilak on the Indian unrest.
Mahrátta (8), 8th June.

*35. The *Mahrátta* publishes an address delivered by Mr. Tilak at Caxton Hall recently. After describing the impoverishment of India under British rule, the speaker proceeded:—"That is the present position of a country holding one-fifth of the population of the globe—a condition of utter helplessness of the thinking classes, and of abject poverty and illiteracy of the masses with the attendant ills of famines and plagues. Can you wonder that there is discontent throughout the length and breadth of the land? Is there any need for agitators to picture imaginary ills in lurid colours to rouse the people? Yet how did the people behave when put to the supreme test in this war? All sections of the people agreed to sink their differences, and India provided a million and a quarter men, of whom the casualties numbered a hundred thousand. She supplied immense quantities of war material some of which could hardly have been got elsewhere. Poor as she was, she made a free gift of £100 million sterling to England, and Princes and people alike helped to win the war for freedom and liberty of the world. Had Indians been genuinely trusted, had Indian industries not been left to die, she could have easily put forward an army of ten millions and equipped it in every way. But even as it was, it was her sons who fought in Gallipolli, who guarded the Suez Canal and won Palestine and Mesopotamia, and helped to win German East Africa. Indians believed that they were fighting to crush Prussian militarism, 'to make the world safe for democracy.' What have they found? No sooner is the armistice signed, than the bureaucracy in India,

arming itself with a report based on one-sided evidence taken in camera, brought forward in the Supreme Legislative Council Bills of the most reactionary character that were ever conceived in Czarist Russia, Imperial Germany, or Imperial Austria. I refer to the now famous Rowlatt Bills one of which has been passed through the legislative machine. All Indians, Nationalists and Moderates, Hindoos and Muhammadans, rich and poor peasants and landlords, held meetings all over the country and put in strong protests against this bestowing of the unlimited despotic powers on an already irresponsible executive. The twenty-eight Indian members of the Viceregal Council, elected and nominated, all alike stoutly opposed the Bill in all its stages; they pointed out how the vast powers, already possessed by the executive in peace time, and the unusually stringent emergency powers added to these for the duration of the war and six months thereafter, were more than enough for the alleged object in view; but all to no purpose. At the final stage eight of the Indian members absented themselves in disgust, and the mockery of giving the Bill a legal sanction was enacted by thirty-five official votes against the remaining twenty. One Indian member immediately resigned his seat on the Council as a protest, and others have since followed the example. Meetings of protests were again held all over the country, and the day on which the Bill passed into law was observed as a day of humiliation and mourning, shops were closed, and Stock Exchange transactions suspended. Mr. Gandhi, the saintly champion of the Indian struggle in South Africa, advocated the use of Passive Resistance against the new reactionary measure, and, on his advice, mute demonstrations were held all over the country. Hindus and Muhammadans fraternised, and the Sikhs joined in numbers. The unarmed crowds were dispersed in many places with the use of rifles by the military; and the bureaucracy made a display of its brute-force by bringing aeroplanes into action against people, at the most armed with stones or sticks not measuring more than an inch or two in diameter. (Figure not yet accurately known.) The whole Rowlatt Bill tragedy strikingly illustrates the political situation in the India of to-day. It proves the utter helplessness of the Indian members on the Viceroy's Council, and thus exposes the hollowness of the much applauded Morely-Minto Reforms. Lord Morley himself frankly admitted that as far as he could see into the future, there could be no responsible Government in India. The increased Indian representation on the Councils and increased power of interpellation and discussion conferred on members were intended by Lord Morley to put the Indian point of view on each question more clearly before the bureaucracy so that the latter might take the warning in time. The bureaucracy have flouted those intentions in the most flagrant manner by their passage of the Rowlatt Bill with the help of the official votes. The bureaucracy wants to defend its act by raising the cry—usually intended for home consumption—that there are revolutionaries in India and that the British Empire in India is in danger. In other words, they frankly declare to the whole civilised world that they, acting as representatives of the British people, can only govern India by sheer brute-force. Junkerdom is dead in Germany, it is now legalised in India."

36. We are told that the first instalment of self-government was given to us in the shape of the introduction of the local boards; but up to this time we have brought a slur on our reputation by sending dishonest persons, who may be enemies of the public good, as our representatives therein. We must now try hard to remove that slur. Who is best fitted to administer such little *swardj* that we have got? Only those who try to get more *swaraj* for us—those who always serve us in one way or the other and not those who try to show their greatness to the world by pleasing and flattering the officials. At the time of the next election every village must form an association of electors for this purpose. There should also be an association of all the elected members in the district. If any officer should try to bring undue pressure on the elected members beyond the scope of his powers, such an association can bring it to the notice of the Government. If the Government were to pay no heed to it and were to insult all the members, all of them can tender

What must be done to acquire *swarajya*.
Anavil Sevak (60), 30th Apl.

their resignations at a time, and if the people determine, they can keep those seats vacant till the Government yield to their demand. All this is not difficult, but the defect of these people is that they do not carry on their work in an organised manner. It is futile to depend on English Civilians; for, it has been demonstrably proved by our leaders that these Civilians have left no stone unturned in impeding our national development. Government officials may try to lead us astray, may threaten us, may bring undue pressure on us; still, however, if we mean to demonstrate that we are fit for *Swaraj*, we must dauntlessly elect our real representatives for these self-governing institutions. Even the Government agree that the education that we have been receiving up to now has failed to achieve its real object. The present system of education, therefore, must undergo a change. If education were handed over to the popular control, our work in this direction would be quite easy. But if it is not made a 'transferred' subject, we must take up the propaganda of national education as recommended by Mahatma Gandhi, Mrs. Besant and others. The most important part of education is to make our children acquainted with the life and teachings of our great men like Messrs. Gandhi, Dadabhai, Tagore, etc. It is necessary to carry on independent propagandist work in this direction, without any help from the Government. The more independent we are, the better we can work. It is now necessary for the people to understand that under the authority of officials no good man can work as a teacher. The more we are independent of them, the better for us. Even for advice and suggestions, we must consult the heads of some private institutions, for Government servants being themselves restricted in a thousand and one ways cannot direct us to the proper path.

***37.** "*India* has quoted the views of an I.C.S. from the *Times*. He says: 'Fortunately there are now no signs of weakness in the treatment of the present situation in India. Sir Michael O'Dwyer's prolonged term of office is quickly drawing to a close, but it is easy to see that the strong hand of one of the ablest rulers the Punjáb or India has ever known is still at the helm. We may hope that in the Punjáb at any rate the outbreak will be extinguished quicker even than it blazed up. The difficulty will be afterwards to explain things to the Indian. Why do we deal so strictly with him when we are so lax with Sir Michael's own countrymen? Is it because there is one law for the Sahib (whiteman) and another for the *desi admi* (native Indian)? If so, why do we pretend that all are equal? Such thoughts are likely to cause much bitterness and to widen the gulf, already deplorably wide, between the European and Indian races in India.' It is exactly the same difficulty which has gagged the Government of India. They have not explained and cannot explain why Indians, unarmed Indians, were bombed and machine-gunned from aeroplanes in the Punjáb while Sir Michael O'Dwyer's refractory countrymen were leniently dealt with! It is this differential treatment in the case of Ireland which makes the blood of an Indian hot with indignation. He is led to think that all men, though equal in the eye of law, are not dealt with equally. The I. C. S. is quite right when he says that 'such thoughts are likely to cause much bitterness, and to widen the gulf, already deplorably wide, between the European and Indian races in India.'"

Contrast between the treatment of Indians and Irishmen.
Mahrátta (8),. 8th June.

38. "Mr. Montagu's references to Mr. Horniman bear out the remarks we made in our last issue about the difficulty of getting justice at the centre, where only one side of questions presented there is really represented. Mr. Montagu made out a complete case for Mr. Horniman's deportation on statements which he assumed to be true, but which in reality are not true. 'When Mr. Horniman began to use his paper, in the midst of riots, to fan the flame and published an accusation that British troops had used soft-nosed bullets in Delhi and his paper was distributed free to British troops in Bombay, hoping to excite insubordination, it was high time that he left India. In normal times he would have been tried, but in view

Mr. Horniman's deportation and its causes.
Young India (16), 7th June.

of the riots, prompt, swift action for restoration of order was necessary.' It would be difficult to pack more misstatements into two sentences than Mr. Montagu has managed to into the above two. There were no riots in Bombay, he never fanned the flame, he actually advised suspension of civil disobedience when it was in danger of being unscrupulously used. The statement regarding soft-nosed bullets, as Mr. Jinnah's cable to Mr. Montagu shows, would have been promptly withdrawn had the Censor allowed the telegram correcting the error to be sent or delivered without delay; lastly, the *Chronicle* was not distributed free, or at all, to British troops, and there could be no question of hoping to excite insubordination. That Mr. Montagu, when he uttered the misstatements, did not know them to be such, does not lessen the severity of the punishment inflicted on Mr. Horniman and the public of Bombay. His Excellency the Governor can, and we hope he will, at least correct the gross misstatements into which Mr. Montagu has been unknowingly betrayed. It is the clear duty of the Bombay public not to rest satisfied until the wrong done is righted by the order against Mr. Horniman being withdrawn."

There is no likelihood of Mr. Horniman ever being returned to India.

**Kaiser-i-Hind* (27), 8th June, Eng. cols.

39. "From the scathing remarks of Mr. Montagu in his Indian Budget speech at the House of Commons in Mail Week there appears to be no likelihood of Mr. Horniman ever being returned to India or taking over the Editorship of the *Chronicle*. Mr. Horniman will have to thank himself for it, as extremism never pays and he as a White man ought to have realised his responsibility as a journalist better, but he failed to do so. The remarks of Mr. Montagu convey the impression that Mr. Horniman was an agitator in the extreme sense of the word and the Secretary of State for India has given facts of which the public hitherto had not been aware. It is no wonder he was deported as a quick means of getting him out of the way. Under other circumstances he would have been tried and probably convicted."

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya should not consent to get himself re-elected to the Imperial Legislative Council.

Sudhàkar (124), 1st June.

40. The *Sudhákar* says that the elected members of the United Provinces Legislative Council acted improperly in requesting Pandit Manan Modan Malaviya to consent to be returned again to the Imperial Legislative Council where no weight is attached to the views of non-official members and their disinterested services to the Empire are requited with intolerable humiliation, and writes:—The obstinacy of Government in regard to the Rowlatt legislation compelled the non-official members to tender their resignations. The Rowlatt law produced deep discontent in almost all the parts of the country, but Government are as unmoved as ever. We do not think, therefore, that the time has come for the non-official members who withheld their co-operation from Government and thus showed their mettle to adopt a different attitude now. Indeed in view of the severity of the measures adopted by Government to suppress the disorders in the Punjáb the members who have already resigned should not only not seek re-election but should induce their former colleagues to resign as well and thus show the power of passive resistance. Our self-respecting leaders cannot possibly be of any service to the country by remaining in a Council which is not guided by reason or commonsense. The disinterested efforts, outside the Council, of men like Messrs. Malaviya, Haq and Jinnah will alone secure us our birth-rights.

Complaint that people in Dhárwár are getting no sufficient rice.

Chandrodya (37), 2nd June.

41. Rice and kerosene oil have become very rare things in Dhárwár. Gold and silver can be had but a rupee's worth of rice and a bottle of kerosene oil cannot be had. Kerosene oil can be had only through agents and as agents have to sell according to controlled rates they do not order more tins. We understand that one agent has applied to the Huzur Deputy Collector that he will supply as many tins as needed if he and his brother agents are allowed, instead of giving them licences, to sell kerosene oil, or if they are allowed to charge 4 annas more per tin than the fixed rate. We suggest that agents should

be allowed to sell half tins and that the system of licence-holders should continue. Scarcity of rice has created more distress than that of kerosene oil. Mr. Adamset and Mr. Parappa Joshi only have been allowed to supply Dhárwár District with rice. Mr. Adamset sold rice for three weeks in Dhárwár but not even 20 per cent. of the people seem to have got any rice. When 4 to 5 thousand people assemble it is impossible for any one shopkeeper to make satisfactory arrangements. Three-fourths of the people went away without any rice for fear of getting blows. [Elsewhere the paper says that one man died in the Civil Hospital from the blows he received in the rush.] Mr. Adamset, we understand, has sent about 700 to 800 bags of rice to the mofussil under Government orders. He gave 300 bags to the licence-holders and 50 bags to the cheap grain committee and 50 to the Urban Bank. Some bags he gave the officials and clerks of different offices. We do not know for certain how many bags he had ordered, some say 2,400, others say 4,000. But we do not think he has sold more than 300 bags himself over and above the 100 he gave to the licence-holders. It can be said safely that the bags sold were quite inadequate to the needs of Dhárwár. Government should not give the agency to one man. At least there should be about 20 agents and 100 licence-holders. Bags should be distributed equally between licence-holders in presence of the Huzur Deputy or the Personal Assistant. Agents should be allowed to sell in half-bags. At present clerks and officials and influential people get rice and poor people cannot get it. They fast for four days at a time. We strongly suggest it to Government to give the agency to 20 and licences to sell rice to 100 people in Dhárwár.

42. While the great war continued, the people of this country quietly put up with the inconveniences caused by the Controller's restrictions. But their forbearance is now being put to a severe test by the continuance of those restrictions even after the victory of the Allies and the prevailing famine has added to their distress. Government should therefore remove most of the restrictions placed upon the free movement of foodstuffs in the country. The inferior quality of the stuffs which poor people have to purchase under the present circumstances explains the rise in their death rate and the wider prevalence of disease among them and also the high rate of infant mortality. Can no means be found to save poor people from purchasing rotten things to eat? As in England, Government themselves must take steps and also call upon well-to-do men to co-operate to relieve the situation. They must make the welfare of India their first duty, before everything else.

Duty of Government to mitigate the severity of the Controller's restrictions.
Surya (new), 31st May.

43. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* draws the attention of the Government of Bombay to the elaborate programme laid down by the Government of Great Britain for erecting sanitary dwellings for the labouring classes. It refers to the solicitude expressed by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd for the welfare of the mill-hands in Bombay and for the urgent need he recently expressed for providing adequate and sanitary dwelling accommodation for them and hopes that the steps contemplated by the Government of Great Britain will stimulate the Government of Bombay to take prompt steps to meet the requirements of the mill-hands in Bombay. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* refers to the tardy methods of the Bombay City Improvement Trust in providing sanitary dwellings for the poor and urges upon His Excellency the Governor the necessity of appointing a Committee for suggesting means for meeting the urgent requirements of the mill population in the city.]

Appeal to the Bombay Government to take up the question of providing sanitary dwellings for the labouring classes.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 6th June; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (27), 1st June.

44. The *Jain* raises a strong protest against the decision arrived at by the Collector of Bombay to acquire the vacant piece of land adjoining the Jain temple at Byculla for erecting huts for the use of labourers coming to Bombay from the mofussil. It urges that the Jain religion requires that no nuisance or act of impurity be committed in the vicinity of its temples, and it appeals to Government to refrain from wounding the

Protest against the acquisition by Government of certain land adjoining a Jain temple at Byculla (Bombay).
Jain (79), 1st June.

feelings of the Jains by acquiring the land in question against their wishes. It asks the Jains to wake up and to uphold the purity of their religion by removing gutters, urinals, latrines, etc., from the vicinity of their temples in Bombay.

Comments on the recent operations of the Press Act in India.

Hindusthán (24), 2nd June.

45. The last month has seen such a rigorous operation of the Press Act as was never seen since the passing of the measure during any single year. The Act has been most rigorously applied in the Punjáb. The editor of the *Tribune* is being tried for sedition and so far as we know, he has merely criticised the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb. Every newspaper has a right to criticise the actions of Government officials, and if they are not allowed to indulge in such criticism there is no freedom left to them. The Government of Lord Willingdon has also demanded security from the *Hindu* in the Madras Presidency. The way in which the Press Act is being put into operation of late throughout India will tend to diminish the number of newspapers and so Government will not be able to remain in touch with public opinion in the country. Political reforms will be of no avail so long as the Press is not accorded full liberty.

Comments on the demand of security from the Rander Printing Pres, Surat.

Young India (16), 7th June.

46. "Actions under the Press Act have become matter of almost daily occurrence. The latest instance we have heard of in our Presidency is that of the Rander Printing Press, which has been asked to deposit security of Rs. 2,000 in connection with the *Anavil Sevak*, a monthly paper printed thereat, and published in Surat. We have had an opportunity to look at the order demanding security, from which it appears that the action has been taken because of the diaries of important world-events published in the paper from month to month during the last year. It will be seen that the matter against which action has been deemed fit to be taken is very much different from the common run of stuff that is proceeded against. These are not angry articles condemning the action of the authorities. They are not correspondence full of inflammatory news. They are mere diaries of historical facts. We will admit that even mere diaries can be objectionable if they record events of a repulsive nature—such, for instance, are police diaries. But in the case in point the diary had been before the public for a long time, and has long been discontinued. The sane course would have, therefore, been to have drawn the attention of the author to the possible harm it might do and to have asked him publicly to correct the error. This would have saved Government all the odium of their action and the poor Press interest on Rs. 2,000. But no. The policy of rigorous repression must be continued without a break! And the result would be public sympathy for the publisher—a result the Government least contemplate."

Anavil Sevak (60), 30th Apl.

47. At last our fears regarding the operation of the Press Act against us have come true. According to the Press Act if any writing is found objectionable, at first a warning should be issued to the owner of the paper in which it appears; if after that it appears again he should be asked to furnish security. In our case the Government do not directly say that the items under the calender are objectionable. It only appears to Government that the said calender "is likely or may have a tendency" to create a particular effect. We cannot believe that the provisions of the Press Act warrant the demand of security merely on the inference of a likelihood of a particular kind. It is Government who have to decide whether what they say is proper or otherwise, and so one can easily understand the extent of the possibility of effecting a change in their decision. The question, therefore, before us is whether to furnish this security or not. It is more desirable that this question should be decided by the suscribers of the *Sevak* than by us. If it be a question of making any bodily sacrifice in continuing the *Sevak*, we are prepared to make it. But in the case of a

financial question we have to give it up. This financial question may be solved by a few friends; but if two thousand persons contribute towards making up the necessary sum, a great part of the public would get a particular kind of training while doing so. The *Sevak* has 2,600 subscribers; if every subscriber would understand it to be his duty to sacrifice a rupee for the continuation of the *Sevak* it would create a particular feeling among them, and the very creation of that feeling would prove the usefulness of the *Sevak*. [In another article the paper writes:—The country which does not enjoy freedom of speech and writing, cannot claim to be called a civilized country and it is evident that the Government of such a country also cannot put forth a similar claim. The people of this country having remained for thousands of years under autocratic rule cannot value self-respect and free opinion, but the pity is that even Englishmen, who are brought up in the free atmosphere of England and who are conversant with the history of its freedom, fall victims to the contagion prevalent in this country. When even the independent Anglo-Indian journalists and merchants catch the contagion, then no wonder the officials do? If any Englishman, a true votary of liberty and independence, comes forward to expose the defects of the administration, Anglo-Indians do not hesitate in the least to revile him. In the country, which lacks freedom of speech, people have to tell a lie at every step. To the short-sighted it would appear that complete control over a people can be had only when they can be made to speak and to do as the man holding that control likes. But on deeper thought he would find that in reducing them to that state, he invites a similar one for himself.]

48. "After a period of suspension extending over a month, the *Bombay Chronicle* made its appearance on Saturday last. The publication of the *Chronicle* came as a relief to thousands of its admirers who were looking forward to its reappearance with feelings of keen anxiety. The general feeling is, further, one of congratulation that the paper has been able to stand the weight of the troubles heaped upon it. The enemies of the journal hoped for its extinction. It is evident that the *Chronicle* has not turned the corner yet. It has to face the hardships of a censorship which, in the interests of 'public safety,' is so elaborte and meticulous in its control that we are surprised at the mere fact of its daily appearance. For a morning paper which sets for itself a high ideal of public usefulness, censorship, be it ever so lenient, operates as a hardship which is almost fatal in its effect. For the drastic action taken against the *Bombay Chronicle* and its editor, under cover of a war-measure, the public have found no justification, as the influentially signed memorial to the Governor amply indicates. Right can be done only by the reversal of these unjust steps. The continuance of the pre-censorship is, however, the continuance of a wrong which, it is impossible, even from the official standpoint, to justify. In accepting the burden of the order, the *Chronicle* had to choose between strangulation and escape. We welcome the reappearance of the *Chronicle* and congratulate it on its efforts to cope with the burden of the censorship, and we trust that the Government would soon regain its balance and begin by repealing the censorship order, which is as ridiculous in its results as it is onerous in its operation."

Comments on the reappearance of the *Bombay Chronicle*

Young Indian (16), 4th June.

49. "We believe the general public of Bombay will have noted with pleasure the reappearance of the *Bombay Chronicle*, after a suspension of more than a month..... In deciding to resume the paper, instead of continuing in a course of impotent protest, the directors have taken a very sensible 'step.' An element of protest is still there in the manner of publication resolved upon. The *Chronicle* reappears without any editoral or other expression of views..... Even without editorial comments, the *Chronicle* can serve a useful purpose. But we are confident that its present disability will be of a short duration only. Such a drastic restriction upon the freedom of the press canot be tolerated; and from the nature of things it cannot last long. We feel sure the *Bombay Chronicle* will soon recover its power of serving the public cause, and

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 2nd June, Eng. cols.

educating the people in politics and public affairs. It may be hoped, for the interest of all parties, that care will be taken to avoid any matters calculated merely to inflame the public."

50. Government have ordered that the *Bombay Chronicle* should be pre-censored and therefore the conductors have decided not to publish any editorial comments and print only news and extracts. We are extremely surprised at the wisdom of the censor, judging from yesterday's issue. Opinions of the *Indian Social Reformer*, the *Leader* and *Young India* on Sir Sankaran Nair's resignation are published in it. The readers of these papers know these opinions and they have caused no rioting in the country. But our censor is greatly afraid that if the *Chronicle* publishes these opinions in full there would be riots, murder and looting! Therefore, he has cut them out at his sweet will and tried to give them altogether a different shape. We do not know whether we should feel surprised at his wisdom or laugh at his stupidity.

Karnátak Vaibhav (85), 3rd June.

51. The issue of to-day's *Bombay Chronicle* is a noteworthy incident in the history of the Press. We recommend it to the Directorate of the *Chronicle* to send one copy of to-day's *Chronicle* to each member of the Parliament, so that they may have an idea of the freedom the press enjoys in this country. Government officials are often over-fond of their prestige. The *Chronicle* ceased publication for one month and during that period many important events have taken place. The Punjab is quiet. Even Sir Michael O'Dwyer has made some changes in his orders. Why then should the censorship be continued over a paper of so distant a place as Bombay? The order of censorship over the *Chronicle* should be forthwith withdrawn. If the Government refuse to do so, we suggest that even the leading articles should be sent to the censor and the space for the censored portion should be kept blank. The censored portions should also be printed in some other press on each Sunday and should be distributed among the public as a supplement to the *Sunday Chronicle* so that the public may be in a position to know how the censor does his work. If Government wanted to appoint a censor, they ought to have appointed one, either a European or an Indian, who was conversant with papers and the Press.

Hindusthán (24), 31st May.

52. "In the latest issue of the *New Statesman* received with the last mail, there is a reference to the severity of the Egyptian censorship. It quotes the *Times* which, in a leading article on April 28th, referred to the 'past extraordinary folly of the censorship in Egypt, which ever since 1914 has been the most incompetent, the most inept, and the most savagely ruthless censorship in any country under British control, not excepting Mesopotamia'. This, says the *New Statesman*, is strong language, but not stronger than deserved, and instances the action of the Bombay Government in imposing precensorship on the *Bombay Chronicle* and thereby virtually strangling it. The words in the *Times* were evidently written before the 'ruthless censorship' exercised in the Punjáb, and which is still exercised in Bombay. The *Bombay Chronicle* from the first instant has begun to reappear without any articles or notes. Its exclusion of all notes and comments could, to all intents and purposes, have hardly left any room for the use of the Censor's pruning scissors. But those who are bent on it, 'always find some mischief still to do'. And it appears that the Censor has not scrupled to score out paragraphs and phrases from articles reproduced by the *Chronicle* from the *Indian Social Reformer*, the *Leader*, and *Young India*. Where is the sense of this insolent exercise of his authority, unless it be that the Censor means to warn these other papers against writing 'objectionable' stuff? But these freaks of the Censor are not without their funny side. We observe that whereas in the dak edition of the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 3rd instant Mr. Arthur Henderson's article on the Industrial Unrest reproduced from the *Contemporary Review* has been thoughtlessly mangled, the same article is allowed to appear entire in the city edition of the same

Young India (16), 7th June.

day's issue! What manner of censorship is this? Evidently the Censor, always ready with his pruning-scissors, exercised them on what appeared to him to be unpardonable criticism of British Industrial policy, but within a few hours he realised that it was too great an impertinence on his part to have tampered with the writing of one who, after all, is an *ex*-Cabinet Minister and hastily corrected the mistake by permitting it to be produced entire in the city edition. Needless to say, such censorship stands self-ridiculed and self-condemned."

Comments on the decision in the *Tribune* case.

Kesari (109), 3rd June.

53. In British India many good things are becoming rare; among them the administration of justice is to be reckoned. We know fully that it is almost impossible for an Indian accused to get justice from the jury in a sedition case; but the accused had the freedom till now to have a counsel of his choice, and it was the height of repression that Mr. Kali Nath Roy was not allowed even that small concession. He is known for his cool-headed writings and even his opponents praise him for his balanced articles. It is a bad sign that he should be charged with the dangerous crime of sedition and that he should be tried by a military commission and not by the ordinary law courts and given a terrible sentence. Many of the articles tendered as objectionable were written long before the riots. What greater lack of justice can there be than that such articles should be dragged before the military court, that the accused should not have had the assistance of a jury and counsel and that military authorities should decide the articles to be seditious and sentence an honest, reasonable and straightforward editor to rigorous imprisonment for two years?

New Times (9), 3rd June.

54. Referring to the sentence passed on the editor of the *Tribune*, the *New Times* remarks:—"The news will be received with profound grief and resentment in Indian political circles..... We are of opinion that if he had been tried in an ordinary Court of law with an appeal open to the High Court he could not have been convicted. Every man accused of sedition is entitled to prove his innocence; but Mr. Roy was not allowed to have the services of eminent Counsel who, in his opinion, would have defended him with ability and success. It is difficult to understand how the proceedings against Mr. Roy can be justified by any Englishman who appreciates the spirit and traditions of freedom. The Parliament should be moved to look into the question of the operation of Martial Law in the Punjáb, and it is necessary to test in England the validity of the jurisdiction exercised by the Martital Law Court in the Punjáb. To speak frankly, recent events in the Punjáb give a rude shock to an admirer of British traditions of justice and humanity."

Mahrátta (8), 8th June.

***55.** "The special tribunal which tried the *Tribune* sedition case has strained the law of sedition to almost a breaking point. They hold that innocent sentences such as, 'the action of the Punjáb Government was both unjust and unwarranted,' and 'the Punjáb Government has exposed itself to the severest criticisms at the bar of public opinion', are indefensible! To say that the second sentence is indefensible or objectionable is extremely difficult, if not ridiculous. It is simply a statement of fact, and it shows that the measures of the Punjáb Government are disapproved by the public. We do not know where sedition lurked in this. And if such sentences are to be held as seditious and if respectable men like Mr. Kalinath Roy are to be sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment for this, then it must be said that there is no freedom of the press. The law of sedition then becomes as dangerous a weapon as the Rowlatt Law or the Press Act, and the so-called freedom of the press is nothing but a sham."

Rájakáran (116), 1st June.

56. Commenting upon the recent trials under martial law in the Punjáb and the orders of Military authorities refusing permission to outside barristers and pleaders to proceed to Láhore to defend the accused the *Rájakáran* writes:—After all what is the good of these eminent lawyers

going to the Punjáb to take part in the trials, or rather in the farce of trials, under Martial law? Mr. Kalinath Roy of the *Tribune* has been convicted and sentenced and we shall soon read in the newspapers that the other leaders also have shared the same fate. It is the misfortune of us all that we cannot do anything to help them beyond merely expressing our sympathy.

Comments on the decision in the *New Call* case.
Kesari, (109), 3rd June.

57. It is not that repression is to be seen only in the Punjáb. In Madras under the rule of Lord Willingdon securities are being taken from papers and presses and Dr. Subramanya and others are going to condemn these actions of His Excellency publicly. Does this not prove that instead of putting a stop to agitation by the use of the Press Act, Government have given a fillip to it? In Sind also this repression is being resorted to. In the case of Durgadas Advani, intention could not be established, but still he was sentenced to two years though in such cases the High Court has acquitted the accused. It was argued on behalf of the prosecution that if the offence was not proved to the satisfaction of the court it should be taken into consideration that Durgadas was a pledged *Satyagrahi* and that *Satyagrahis* used to sell in Bombay prohibited literature and that all *Satyagrahis* were seditious and that therefore Dugadas had committed or encouraged sedition. We are reminded of the story of the wolf and the lamb. Such arguments prove only the hollowness of the charge against Mr. Advani.

Appeal to Government to move in the matter of the grievances of Indian labourers in the Fiji Islands.
Bombay Samáchár (62), 7th June.

58. When the Imperial Legislative Council passed a resolution asking the Government of the Fiji Islands to release those indentured labourers who had finished their term of indenture it was hoped that the Government of those islands would give prompt attention to the question. But unfortunately no action has yet been taken by the Government of the Fiji Islands on the resolution referred to above. It appears from the report recently issued by the Rev. C. F. Andrews that the moral condition of the women labourers in those islands is getting worse day by day. We hope the Government of Lord Chelmsford will take as firm an attitude in the matter of indentured labour as was taken by the Government of Lord Hardinge and will bring pressure to bear upon the Government of the Fiji Islands to safeguard the interests of the Indian people.

Comments on the promotion of certain members of the Provincial Educational Service to the Indian Educational Service.
Young India (16), 7th June.

59. "The Government of India announced last week that the Secretary of State had selected for admission into the Indian Educational Service a few Indians holding already either high rank in the Provincial Educational Service, or acting appointments in the cadre of the Indian Educational Service. We are glad that more Indians will thus get a chance of being able to serve their country in the highest educational positions, but we are constrained to point out that the principles of selection Government had in view are not sound. Putting aside the merits or demerits of candidates from other provinces, we confess to a feeling of disappointment when we look on the list of names sanctioned for promotion to the Indian Educational Service cadre in the Bombay Presidency. It is true that Indian officers in the Provincial Educational Service of this Presidency, who have served Government with distinction in the 'administrative' line, should be given a chance of promotion in the Indian Educational Service. It is natural that with the unfortunate distinction between the method of recruitment and the rate of emolument to the same Indian Educational Service cadre, which the Public Services Commission sanctioned, the bureaucracy should hasten to satisfy the demand for promotion on the part of subordinates..... There are, however, foreign-trained Indians already in the teaching branch of the Provincial Educational Service in Bombay; now that they have accepted service they have a right to be given first consideration. We are amazed to find that their claims have been totally ignored."

60. "Our readers will remember that amongst most of the principal men of Hyderabad who were arrested about the 27th of April last, appeared the name of the Honourable Mr. G. M. Bhurgri, Barrister-at-Law. It will further be remembered that for some reason, then unaccountable, the news of Mr. Bhurgri's arrest was afterwards contradicted. His house, however, was searched on the strength of a search-warrant issued in connection with offences said to have been committed under sections 116, 117 and 141 of the Indian Penal Code. Even that part of his office which was sealed was also searched, the reader will be surprised to learn, in his absence. It so happened that on the day that the warrants were taken out, Mr. Bhurgri left for Bombay and was on his way thereto, when his fellow-accused, Mr. Jethmal, Dr. Choitram, Mr. Mukhi Jathanand, Swami Govindanand (lately Professor Joharmal Mansukhani), and Shaikh Abdul Majid, all well-known in Hyderabad, were arrested. Mr. Jethmal is undergoing trial at the present moment, not however on the charge upon which he was originally arrested, but for writings in his newspapers alleged to be seditious. It is highly likely that all these gentlemen would have been tried, and for aught we know, even convicted in the surcharged atmosphere then raging in Sind and which has by no means yet quite subsided, but for the timely intervention of His Excellency the Governor who, it is stated, sent Mr. Strangman for local investigation. ..... The offence or the offences were said to have been committed between the 28th and 30th day of March last, and the information against the accused was lodged on the 26th day of April; that is, nearly a month after the commission of crimes of the serious nature described by us. We may state that the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri and his friends have been trying to get a copy of the information lodged with the Magistrate, on the strength of which the warrants were granted. But their request has so far gone unheeded. Let us now consider a few further facts which go to show that nothing but malice or madness could account for the extraordinary proceedings of the authorities at Hyderabad. Mr. Bhurgri was 65 miles away from Hyderabad on his farm at Dengan, and Swami Govindanand was lecturing at Karachi on the 28th day of March. Mr. Bhurgri did not return to Hyderabad before the 4th of April. We have met him and he states that no meeting was held at his office on the 28th March and that he is not a member of the Satyagraha Sabha. But the strangest part of this painful episode is yet to follow. On the 12th day of April the District Superintendent of Police held a conference at his office at which, with the exception of Shaikh Abdul Majid, all who were charged on the 28th April were invited and were present. Elsewhere will be found the minutes of this meeting. In this minute the District Superintendent of Police states 'You mean to prevent disorder but I am not satisfied that you can control the mob'. Now this was a meeting of a friendly nature for mutual consultation and assistance. If the charge alleged against Mr. Bhurgri and his co-accused were true the District Superintendent of Police could never have invited to his office those whom he believed to be criminals, in order to discuss the manner of preserving public peace. The inference, therefore, is obvious that something must have happened between the 12th April and 26th April to warrant the laying of a charge accusing Mr. Bhurgri and his companions of a crime said to have been committed on the 28th day of March. Indeed, rumour has it that the District Superintendent of Police went to see the Commissioner of Sind at Karáchi and returned to Hyderabad on the morning of the 26th April, the day on which the information was lodged by the police, on the strength of which the warrants were issued. This is clearly a matter for investigation by the Government. If the facts set forth by us are correct, the proceedings of the police must be considered to have been high-handed and even malicious. The liberty of those whom Indian society considers to be its best members was at stake. With the exception of one they were all arrested, their houses were searched and they were all thus publicly dishonoured. That they were subsequently discharged is poor comfort for the agony caused to their families and friends. The least reparation that can be done to them is a public investigation or an acknowleg-

Comments on some recent arrests and house searches in Sind.

Young India (16), 7th June.

ment of the serious blunder committed by the authorities and punishment of those who were found to be guilty of making unfounded charges against public men."

Alleged unsafety of women on the Sangli-Kolhapur Railway.
Surya (new), 6th June.

61. Shrinivasacharya Kangalekar writes to the *Surya*:—I left Londha for Kolhápur on the 31st May with my wife and on the next day at about noon some non-Brahmins also going to Kolhápur got into the railway carriage at Sangli. After some time these men began to sing indecent songs and to make uncomplimentary remarks against Brahmins and next began to speak in the same way about Brahmin women. They indulged in such indecent and outrageous language that it was like living in hell to hear them. They then tried to come close to my wife and I was afraid of seeing her modesty outraged in my prerence. But that was prevented by an old non-Brahmin gentleman giving her a seat near him at the end of his bench. A mason from Sangli in this carriage openly said, 'We are now within Kolhápur limits; who will now dare question our doings?' He then roughly handled a non-Brahmin woman passenger. I failed to draw the attention of the Police to this owing to my confusion. But it will be seen how unsafe it is for gentlewomen to travel alone by the Miraj Kolhápur Railway. I request the Railway Police to take steps to protect the modesty of women.

Comments on the arrest by mistake of the editor of a Cawnpore newspaper.
Prakásh (115), 4th June.

62. Commenting upon the arrest, through error, of the editor of the *Pratáp* newspaper published at Cawnpore and his subsequent release by the Police with an expression of regret the *Prakásh* writes:—The editor, Mr. Mishra, was handcuffed, was not allowed to see his pleader, was refused bail and was taken handcuffed all the way to Cawnpore by rail. It is indeed painful that such incidents are possible under a civilized Government. Those Police Officers who are found guilty of abusing the unlimited powers which the Defence of India has placed in their hands must be punished. The confidence of the people will not fail to receive a shock unless suitable action is taken against the officers in question.

Comments on the Press Note on the Honourable Mr. Patel's resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council empowering Municipalities with regard to liquor shops.
Dnyan Prakásh (41), 4th June.

63. Commenting upon the recent Government Press Note on the Honourable Mr. Patel's motion passed in the Bombay Legislative Council in March 1918, that the Municipalities be empowered to determine the number and location of liquor shops within their limits, the *Dnyán Prakásh* writes:—It is much to be regretted that Government could not accept this important resolution although it had the support of the majority in the council. It is satisfactory to note, however, that Government intend to establish advisory Abkari committees even in small villages. But these committees will not be of much use in curtailing the drink habit since Government officials will be in the majority on them and, besides, their decisions will not be binding on the authorities. Government do not make it clear in their Press Note why the Municipalities are considered incapable of controlling the liquor traffic while they are discharging their duties satisfactorily in regard to education, sanitation, etc. If the Municipalties are performing their other duties with due regard to the needs, sentiments and interests of the people, why should they be considered unfit to control the sale of liquor also? Would it not have been better to confer this right on some Municipalities and watch the results rather than arrive at definite conclusions beforehand?

Comments on the Viceroy's Proclamation regarding the Afghan war.
Sind Vasi (55), 13th May.

64. Every peace-loving Indian must be sorry that, after so many years of bloodshed, Afghanistan should declare war with the British Government. We invite the attention of our readers to the proclamation of the Viceroy. We hope that the people of India will realise the spirit of that proclamation and assist the Government in every way. We are glad of this proclama-

tion. It is free from any trace of ill-will or repression. The spirit of the proclamation is the spirit in which the rulers should meet the ruled. At the same time the duty of the people is clear. It is now our duty to show that if we are ready to demand rights we are also ready to face the enemy. At the same time we will request the Government of Lord Chelmsford to conciliate the people of India. While we admit that it is the duty of Government to check internal disorder, we must say that the general idea in the couutry is that Government has exercised more repression than was necessary. First of all, the Rowlatt Act which has caused so much trouble in the country should be withdrawn. Then the repressive measures adopted in the Punjáb should be abandoned.

A letter of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Afghanistan, to the Afghan Envoy in India urging propaganda work to win over Hindus and Muhammadans to the side of the Amir.

Muslim Herald (141), 6th June; * *Mufid-e-Rozgár* (140), 8th June.

65. The *Muslim Herald* publishes a Persian letter dated 27th Rajab 1337 (corresponding to 29th April 1919) together with its Urdu translation over the signature of Mahmud Beg Tarzi, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Afghanistan, addressed to Abdur Rahman Khan, Afghan Envoy with the Government of India, urging him to proclaim that Afghanistan loves peace and liberty, and protests against the passing of the Rowlatt Act. The writer asks the addressee to unite Hindus and Musulmans, and to make them swear allegiance to the Amir of Afghanistan. Lastly he advises the Envoy to launch a press campaign and not to shrink from spending money. While commenting on this letter the *Muslim Herald* states that the Government of the Amir were informed that the people of India were so much dissatisfied with the British Government that they would take the oath of fealty to the Amir on the slightest pretext; and points out that the Sardars of the Frontier Province and the Chiefs of India have, as a matter of fact, renewed their expressions of loyalty to Government, while the Afghans of Láhore and Bombay have assembled in public meetings where they have acknowledged the benefits conferred on them by the *sarkar* and given vent to their views about the absurd notions of the Afghan authorities. The paper indicates the attempt of making capital out of the so-called Hindu-Muslim union, and disbelieves the notion that the Hindus would invite illiterate roughs like the Afghans to rule over them. It concludes by hoping that the people of Afghanistan may estimate realities at their true value, and form a correct notion about their own power. [The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* publishes the Persian letter prefacing it with this remark only that it has received it from the Political Department, and that it publishes it for the readers' information.]

The Afghan War.

Sind Vasi (55), 9th May.

66. Referring to the Afghan War and the hallucination of the Amir about the disturbance in India, the *Sind Vasi* remark:—There can be no idea more absurd than this. If owing to some misunderstanding Indians have caused disturbances, it is certain that all sections of the population will rally to the side of their Government when they find the enemy at their door. Even in the war against Germany, Indians gave their all. In spite of the disturbances in the country every Indian, of whatever caste or creed, is in favour of the British connection. No body blames the British Government itself, and no body desires to turn away from it. It is true that there is disaffection in the country but the disaffection is the result of the doings of some short-sighted officials. Every one is true to Government. There is none amongst us who wishes to have Afghan or Bolshevik rule established in this country. There is none amongst us who believes that the Afghan or Bolshevik Government if established in this country will confer Home Rule on India for which Indians have been agitating. On the other hand a heavy responsibility lies on the Government and its officers. The enemy now is at our door. The Government should now conciliate the people and secure their goodwill. To this end all repressive measures must be withdrawn, all prosecutions revoked and all deported leaders repatriated. This will soothe the hearts of the people who will then cheerfully co-operate with their rulers and bring the enemy to his knees.

67. Commenting upon the desire for peace expressed by the Amir of Afghanistan and the terms of armistice proposed by His Excellency the Viceroy, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—The Amir has realised his mistake and now that he has suspended hostilities and has expressed his desire to negotiate an early peace, it is hoped that the British Government will not in any way be unduly harsh and will respond to the wishes of the Amir. No one will ever dare to hold the Afghans responsible for the war and the responsibility for it solely devolves upon the Amir. The terms of armistice suggested by His Excellency the Viceroy are of a mild nature and go to prove that the British Government do not mean to be harsh either with the Amir or his people. We hope the Amir will give a hearty response to these terms. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* believes that the Amir will accept the reasonable terms of armistice offered by His Excellency the Viceroy and hopes that peace will soon be concluded with the Amir and that the present war will be considered in history as the last Afghan war. The *Musáfir* writes:—The Amir has made a great blunder if he has been misled by the recent disturbances in India. Does he not know how completely these disturbances have been put down by the British Government? Does he not know that even those who during the war never appealed to people to forget all their differences and stand by the British Government have now given unsolicited proofs of their loyalty by their advices to people? At the same time we hope that the British Government will, with forbearance and wisdom, overlook the folly of the inexperienced Amir of Afghanistan, convert him into a friend and thus release itself from troubles on the frontier. The *Mirpurkhas Gazette* writes:—The Amir must understand that Indian Muhammadans who did not refrain from fighting against Turkey will never be disloyal to their Government for his sake. Again, the Sikhs, however dissatisfied they may be with the rule of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, will never be untrue to the British Government and accept Afghan rule. [The *Lárkána Gazette* writes:—The Amir of Afghanistan should be taught a lesson such as Germany has been taught. We need not think of our differences with the Government. It is certain that the Government will ultimately grant us *Swaraj*. The British are lovers of justice and freedom and are a people who always grant freedom. In its issue dated the 24th May, the paper writes:—Every Indian is prepared to lay down his life for his king. It is hoped that the Amir will receive such a defeat that his army will turn against him and deprive him of his throne.]

Sánj Vartamán (33), 6th June; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 6th June; *Musáfir* (137), 17th May; *Mirpurkhas Gazette* (136), 22nd May; *Lákárna Gazette* (52), 10th and 24th May.

68. The work of the Peace Conference is being prolonged from day to day and the news that we are receiving in this connection is such as would justify our fears regarding a renewal of the war. We wish the world will not be again subjected to the troubles and hardship that it has experienced during the last five years and the Allies will be able to reconcile matters in such a way as would not necessitate the resumption of the war. Unfortunately the differences among the Allies are not still made up and the attitude of America is quite discouraging. In view of such attitude of America, we would not be surprised if it tries to withdraw its army and navy from the side of the Allies. The enemy means to resort to 'passive resistance' for the time being, thereby compelling the Allies to keep their army ready on the frontier for a long time. Can the Allies afford to do so? Can they prevent the entry of food-stuffs and other necessaries into Germany from Russia by blockading the former? In view of America's disagreement with the Allies can there be any security for Germany's not being able to break the peace in the near future?

Comments on the Peace Conference.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 2nd June.

69. Referring to the several independent states that are being carved out of Russia and Central Europe by the Peace Conference, the *Surya* remarks:—To enter into alliance with mighty Empires in the first instance and then to claim equality with them is opposed to the laws of nature. The small Indian states that first became independent of the Moghul and Maratha Empires, and for securing which independence they formed friendship with the English,

The new independent states in Europe must some day lose their independence.
Surya (new), 31st May.

had within the next fifty years to become tributaries to the British Crown. Egypt which some years back was on friendly terms with the British Empire has now become a Protectorate. Similary the new independent nations now being created will have, one day or other, to go under the protection of one or other of the big Powers.

RAILWAYS.

70. Mr. Balwant Ravji Kulkarni of Dhulia (West Khándesh) writes :—In these extremely hot days passengers do not get water to drink on up-country stations of the G. I. P. Railway including big stations like Jalgaon (East Khándesh). Some charitable provision for distributing water free is made at some stations but the people entrusted with the work demand money for water even from the poor people. As the railway passenger traffic has become most irregular, passengers have to wait long at stations and to spend as much as four annas for water alone. Moreover, the railway compartments are so overcrowed that there is no standing room even for passengers which causes much suffering. [Mr. V. G. Javdekar writing to the *Khándesh Vaibhav* calls attention to the fact that some days back a third class passenger carriage on the Chalisgaon-Dhulia line caught fire after the train had started from Chalisgaon and was burnt down and that a disaster was avoided only owing to the train having stopped in time. In this connection he condemns the practice of locking up passenger cars prevailing on the line as in case of a fire it is likely to prove most disastrous and he asks Honourable Members to move in the matter and get the practice stopped.]

Some Railway Complaints.
Árya Vaibhav (93), 29th May; *Khándesh Vaibhav* (110), 26th May.

NATIVE STATES.

71. Commenting upon the strained relations between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins in the Kolhápur State and the consequent looting at Tardal in that State the *Jágaruk* writes :—We are constrained to say that we cannot approve of the biased view the Kolhápur Durbar has taken of the disturbances at Tardal. The inquiry should have been entrusted to officials who belonged to neither party instead of to Brahmin officials. The present arrangement is likely to lead to the persecution of non-Brahmins and, according to our information, this has already commenced. We are sure the Brahmins who are jealous of their supremacy will not fail to abuse their power given to them by the Maharaja. We trust His Highness will realise the danger betimes and see that the poor rayats are not needlessly harassed by the Brahmins.

The anti-Brahmin disturbances in the Kolhápur State.
Jágaruk (45), 31st May.

72. Even a bitter enemy of the Kulkarnis of Kolhápur cannot argue that they have broken any law in fighting for their lawful rights in a constitutional and orderly manner. And therefore there is no reason for the poor loyal subjects of Kolhápur to give up their sympathy for the Kulkarnis! If the Kulkarnis ask for their ancient and due rights, it entails no loss of the rights of the other subjects, nor does it mean that they are disloyal to the Kolhapur Durbar. Vatandar Kulkarnis are not doing anything more than asking for the restoration of their due rights unjustly destroyed. It does not befit anybody to pervert matters and say that Kulkarnis have caused discontent amongst other people. It is reprehensible to hold, with the aid of perverted imagination, the Kulkarnis themselves directly and indirectly responsible for the situation. One has gone to the length of saying that Brahmins themselves in order to satisfy their private grudge have incited ignorant non-Brahmin rustics to commit the outrage! The fact is that not a word in support of the charge has been uttered by the accused though the inquiry has been proceeding since the 15th of May. There is not the slightest hint in support of the above idea in the notification of the Kolhapur Durbar issued on the 23rd instant over the signature of the Huzur Chitnis. On the contrary the Patil is held responsible for the outrages and he is dismissed. To say that Kulkarnis are responsible would be to let off the thief and hang the Sanyasi. If the responsible authorities will not inquire why the present dangerous

Alleged oppression of Kulkarnis in the Kolhapur State.
Kesari (109), 3rd June.

situation in Kolhápur has arisen, why riots like those of Terdal occur, why particular Brahmins are particularly harassed and who is at the bottom of this injustice, loyal subjects of Kolhápur taking pride in the state will have to ask for redress at the hands of higher authorities. The Government of India do not interfere in the internal administration of the state ordinarily. But will the state officials wait till injustice accumulates necessitating such interference?

Comments on the sentence passed by the Chief of Rájkot on the proprietor and the editor of the *Káthiáwár Samáchar* of Ahmedabad.

Praja Bandhu (30), 1st June, Eng. cols.

73. "A few weeks ago it was reported that the proprietor of the above paper, Harilal Kevalram Bhatt, and its editor, Bhaishanker Chhaganlal Rawal, were sentenced by the Thakor Saheb of Rajkot to suffer rigorous imprisonment for ten years, and their property was ordered to be confiscated. After waiting for a few days for more light in connection with the above case and as it did not come, we requested His Highness to send us a copy of his judgment and proceedings per V. P. Post, but they have not still come. In the meantime it appears from inquiries made that both the accused were arrested under peculiar circumstances. Not only that, but the trial of these people can scarcely be called a trial, for it is reported that His Highness held his court with closed doors to which the pleader of the accused was denied access. The accused were ushered in the presence of the Royal Judge one by one, and the show of trial at which no witnesses were examined was over in about three hours. The Thakor Saheb is said to have been in the company of the Dewan and one Mr. Bhaishanker Manishanker. This story, if true, could have hardly occurred in a civilized State. Notwithstanding this, we shall be very glad to publish the State version of this incident if it is supplied to us. In the absence of any explanation, however, from the State authorities, it must be said that this whole affair has a very ugly look. In the meanwhile, we understand that an application has been submitted to the Agent to the Governor in Káthiáwár requesting his interference in this matter, and we trust that officer will do the needful to satisfy himself that no injustice is done to these people. If we get a copy of the judgment and the procedings we shall probably revert to this subject in a future issue."

Hindusthán (24), 4th June.

74. The punishment inflicted by the Rájkot Durbar on the proprietor and the editor of the *Káthiáwár Samáchár* (Ahmedabad) is such as would make one shudder at the first glance. Not only was there no open inquiry regarding their offence, but the haste with which the inquiry was concluded during the short space of three hours would hardly vouch for the purity and regularity of the judiciary of that state. We are aware that certain wretched papers of Ahmedabad have been harassing the Native States from time to time, by critisizing them with a view to extorting money from them. We do not mean to give importance to the reports that have been circulated among the public in connection with this case; but all the same, we again request the Thakor Saheb to publish the judgment and the true details of this case, for the sake of his good name if for nothing else, so that the public may be convinced of the justice of the Rájkot State. This will put a stop to all comments in future.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 13th June 1919.

*Reported in advance.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY
For the week ending 14th June 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. "It is a long time from 16th April to 7th June; but the time seems to have been well spent by some of the prominent public men of Bombay. They have issued a manifesto with the spirit of which we beg completely to associate ourselves. It ought to have seen the light of day a month ago. It reflects on the irresponsible character of our public men that they prefer the easy asylum of the hills to the heat of jarring passions and nature in the plains. If we disagree with the text of the declaration it is not that we are at one with the sentiments attempted to be expressed. To us the language seems bordering on the undignified and we wonder who had the actual drafting of it. Hundreds have subscribed to a determination to adhere to the cause of law and order, but many would demur to the martial alacrity of the inflated and needlessly irritating resolution 'to trample under foot the twin demons of lawlessness and disorder'. Moreover, much as we respect the names of Messrs. David, Aitken and Proctor we wish that they had not headed the list of signatories. The cause of peace and the intense desire to support the authority are a special prerogative of leading Indians..... We respectfully suggest that the whiteman is not in his right place when he comes forward to speak as a mouthpiece of the Indian intelligensia who desire the perpetuation of the British connection first and the initiation of political enlargement thereafter."

Comments on the loyalist manifesto of the Citizens of Bombay.
Jám-e-Jamshed (26), 11th June, Eng. cols.

2. "One cannot help noticing the great delay that has occurred in taking this right step..... Yet better late than never. And it is so gratifying to find the citizens of Bombay taking the lead in this momentous matter. Of course signatures in thousands will follow, for no sane man can object to declare that he remains a loyal and law-abiding citizen. But the manifesto does not stop there..... Assistance to the Government by word and deed in the preservation of order is solemnly pledged. We have all had our word and surely the Government are expecting the deed to follow. It must be confessed to the shame of our people that they have done precious little to assist the Government. The Moderates still continue in a state of inaction and the word of condemnation against the disorders has been a timid one indeed. Men of culture, of art and elegance have lost their heads in their zeal for opposing the Government and a mistaken notion of popular liberties..... We repeat, words are of no avail and every citizen of India worthy of the name must make a positive attempt to remove the misunderstanding and enlighten the misguided masses."

Kaiser-i-Hind (27), 15th June, Eng. cols.

3. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* refers to the manifesto recently issued by certain loyal citizens of the Presidency and writes:—We shall urge upon Mr. Gandhi the necessity of accepting the advice, to give up the *Satyagraha* movement in the present circumstances, given to him by those who have signed the manifesto. We believe that Mr. Gandhi after careful consideration will admit that reviving the *Satyagraha* movement after knowing the favourable tendencies of the Government of this Presidency would be tantamount to taking a ridiculous step and passing an undeserved vote of censure of the Government. The paper then praises His Excellency Sir George Lloyd and adds:— We shall again ask Mr. Gandhi to bear in mind the good policy of the Government of Bombay and to give up the *Satyagraha* movement for the present and to think of reviving it only when all efforts at carrying on political agitation in a legitimate manner are frustrated. [The *Bombay Samáchar* endorses the arguments advanced in the manifesto against the *Satyagraha* movement and asks Mr. Gandhi not to revive it at an early date but to postpone it *sine die*.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 10th June; *Bombay Samáchár* (62), 10th June.

4. Those who understand the spirit of the *Satyagraha* movement will find nothing objectionable in the manifesto. Every well-wisher of his country disapproves of acts of lawlessness and it cannot be said that the signatories to the manifesto alone are the persons who condemn such acts. The soul of India is on the side of law, peace and good order, but the Indian people will not tolerate bureaucratic high-handedness in the name of law. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* lends its full support to the manifesto and remarks :—We hope His Excellency Sir George Lloyd will derive some satisfaction from this manifesto. It is an additional guarantee of the loyalty and good faith of the citizens of Bombay and we eagerly look forward to the Government of His Excellency according it the recognition and appreciation it deserves.]

Gujarátí (20), 8th June; *Jám-e-Jámshed* (26), 9th June.

5. The contents of the recent manifesto issued over the signatures of prominent citizens of the Bombay Presidency will be approved by most people. All are united in their condemnation of the disturbances in Bombay, Ahmedabad and other places, but some will not be able to agree with the disapproval of *Satyagraha* expressed in the manifesto. It should be noted that the manifesto makes no mention of the Punjáb disturbances. People here feel that the Police and the military were prevented from committing excesses in this Presidency owing to the wise policy of His Excellency the Governor. But that was not the case in the Punjáb. As the policy of the Bombay Government has all along been praiseworthy, we hope the manifesto will be extensively signed to support the cause of peace and order. [The *Gujaráti* writes :—" We agree generally with the views and sentiments expressed in the manifesto. But we wish it had been less dramatic in its tone, more temperate and dignified in its language and less ostentatious in its desire to proclaim to the world that the manifesto had been got up to order."]

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 8th June; **Gujaráti* (20), 15th June, Eng. cols.

6. "We are grieved to have to criticise the manifesto of loyalty issued by a number of well-known citizens of Bombay. With deference to the signatories, we feel constrained to observe that it is not a document that reflects any credit on Bombay, the first city of India. Our loyalty must be a very indifferent virtue if it requires periodical protestations. Englishmen, for instance, never protest their loyalty. They show it in their deeds. We hold that it should be above suspicion. Every Indian who asks for, agitates for reforms is loyal to the British connection because he seeks not to destroy it, but to alter its nature. He wishes to rise from the status of a serf to that of and equal partner in the Empire—by no means a mean or an unworthy ambition. We believe that the King's representatives will be better advised if they will not foster the spirit of protesting loyalty. This constant protestation debases both parties—those who desire protestation and those who indulge in it. Action is the only true test. And we submit to all concerned that our atmosphere will be all the purer for being cleared of the cant of loyalty..... Let us examine the Manifesto. The citizens of Bombay who have signed the document 'view with horror and detestation the atrocious deeds of lawlessness recently committed in certain parts of the Presidency and elsewhere in India.' Every sane man must share the view. But what use can its expression be nearly two months after the outburst? ..... Of the Punjáb, the true causes have yet to be known. Evidence is daily coming in to show that probably the provocation given at the time to the mob was so great that it would form an extenuating circumstance of no mean importance. Any way, the unreserved condemnation of the Punjáb disorders at this time of the day is as uncalled for as it is ungracious..... We submit further that this one-sided condemnation represents but a partial truth. What was the cause of the sudden fury of people who have rarely, if ever before, been known to have taken part in such organised disorder? Have not Governmental acts and measures contributed to the resentment of the mob that found expression in deplorable lawlessness?..... A part of the last paragraph of the Manifesto is a repetition of the first, and the remainder gives

Young India (16), 14th June.

the reason for issuing it which, to say the least, puts His Excellency Sir George Lloyd in a bad light before the public. For they say, 'we make this declaration in response to the address made to us by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd in his speech of April 16th last, wherein he appealed to all leading citizens to make clear their determination to uphold the cause of law and order and to trample underfoot the twin Demons of Lawlessness and Disorder.' We should be sorry to think that His Excellency could ever have approved of the wording of the Manifesto, as the quotation would lead one to suppose. His Excellency appealed for help whilst the fire had hardly died out. He would be a bad helper who, when hailed to bring a bucketful of water to quench a fire, brought it after even the ashes had been removed. *Then* they could have responded by prompt action in the shape of condemnation and going amongst the people to appease them and to understand their grievances. The response *now* can best be made by suggesting preventive methods such as the removal of known causes of discontent, *e.g.*, the Rowlatt legislation and the Moslem grievance. An additional method would be to suggest the appointment of a committee of enquiry for investigating the other causes of discontent referred to by Mr. Montagu, as also the immediate cause of mob-violence. We regret to say that the authors of the Manifesto have failed either to act promptly, as they might have, on the outbreak of violence, or now to suggest, as they ought to have, preventive methods."

Loka Sangraha (new), 12th June; *Kesari* (109), 10th June.

7. It was in April last that His Excellency the Governor appealed to the Bombay leaders to help him in quieting the disturbances then prevailing and the answer comes now in the shape of a manifesto. This is indeed a sorry exhibition of a drowsy sort of loyalty. Nobody, however, would have cared if the signatories had stopped at this. But they have gone further and pledged themselves to put down the *Satyagraha* movement for opposing oppressive laws. Many Moderates have declared themselves in favour of opposing the Rowlatt Act in that manner. Suppose one of them takes that step, are the signatories going to get him punished? If that be so we are afraid we shall have to declare Sir D. Wacha, Mr. Parekh and others simply our enemies. It appears as if God alone is to be the shield of the poor *Satyagrahis*! O Mahatma Gandhi and his followers! These your brethren have come forward to chastise you! May God bless them! We are unable to write anything more. [The *Kesari* ridicules the signatories of the manifesto and declares that in 'advertising' their own loyalty they have tried to create misunderstanding about the aims of Mahatma Gandhi and his *Satyagrahi* followers. It goes on:—We have to tell these pleasure-loving gentlemen who were nowhere to be found when order had to be restored, that the importance of preserving peace and order is recognised by Mr. Gandhi a hundred times more than by themselves, and he has given proof of this in South Africa. There is no need, therefore, for pseudo-loyalists to preach a sermon to him. If they really feel for the country let them try to bring about the repeal of the Rowlatt Act. But if instead of doing so they only indulge in false charges against Mr. Gandhi they will only stultify themselves like a man spitting at the midday sun.

Appeal to Mr. Gandhi not to resume the *Satyagraha* movement.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 10th June; *Loka Sangraha* (new), 12th June.

8. Referring to the possibility of the resumption of the *Satyagraha* movement next month by Mr. Gandhi, the *Dnyán Prakásh* makes an appeal to him not to resume it. It acknowledges the harmlessness of the principle underlying the movement but points out that there is no guarantee that the evil effects arising from the ignorant masses participating in it, which compelled its suspension on the last occasion, will not recur on the present occasion also. It also points out that if the statement be true that certain officials were instrumental in giving the movement an evil shape last time, the same officials are at their posts to preserve order even now. It, therefore, supports Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas in his open appeal to Mr. Gandhi not to launch the movement again in view of the harm it is likely to do in the matter of the Reform Bill recently introduced in Parliament. [The *Loka Sangraha* on the other hand condemns Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas

for his appeal to Mr. Gandhi. It scouts his idea that the resumption of the *Satyagraha* movement would endanger the British connection and asks people not to believe such foolish predictions, as the British Government is powerful enough to face any kind of constitutional agitation. In its opinion those that rely on truth and *ahinsa* need not be afraid of the big officials, though according to Mr. Jamnadas they may have lost their heads.]

Allegations against the *Satyagraha* movement.
Akhbár-e-Islám (59), 9th and 10th June.

9. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* insinuates that the *Satyagraha* movement and the agitation against the Rowlatt Act must have had sinister motives underlying them, which were instrumental in making the young Amir dream strange dreams and believe that the Indian people were about to rise in revolt against the British and that they would accord him a warm welcome on his invading India. It then publishes a Gujaráti translation of the letter of the minister of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan to the Afghan Envoy in India and remarks:—This terrible and treacherous letter is written with a view to subvert British administration in India and on its perusal in the present times a man of ordinary common sense would not help viewing with suspicion any political movement whatsoever conducted by the Indians against Government. [In the subsequent issue the paper writes:—The Afghan letter gives us an idea of the treacheous plan organised to subvert the British Government under the guise of the *Satyagraha* movement. If the *Satyagraha* movement has any taint of suspicion we are led to entertain with regard to it, no one will think of sympathising with the movement and including himself in the category of 'disloyal and revolutionary' people. Fortunately, some prominent citizens of Bombay have shown admirable courage in announcing their determination of standing on the side of Government and nipping the movement in the bud. They on that account deserve the gratitude of the whole country. It is the good fortune of the Bombay Presidency that it has secured as its Governor His Excellency Sir George Lloyd who is endowed with foresight and is liberal and tactful in administration. Had it not been for him, the Bombay Presidency would have figured as loyally as the Punjáb in the matter of (unfortunate) incidents. The people of this Presidency should, therefore, show their gratitude to this kind and sympathetic Governor by their behaviour towards him. We shall now proceed to draw the following inferences for the benefit of our Moslem readers and hope that they will in future refrain from joining any seditious movement organised or conducted by Mr. Gandhi. Is it not possible that some secret arrangements have been made between Amir Amanullah Khan and certain Indian leaders for uniting Hindus and Muhammadans together? Is it not possible that certain assurances written or oral have been exchanged between the new Amir and the Indian people in the matter of an Hindu-Moslem *entente*? Is it not possible that the emissaries of the people of India led the Amir into the belief that the Viceroy got the Rowlatt Act passed in a high-handed manner? Is it not possible that some arrangement has been made in the name of the Hindus and Moslems of India to invite the Amir to help them in their supposed revolt against tyranny and in their struggle for liberty? Is it not possible that the leading Hindu and Moslem malcontents have received lakhs of rupees from the Afghan agent? Is it not possible that the accounts of the *Satyagraha* movement appearing in the extremist papers were meant to convince the Amir of the unity of the Hindus and Moslems and must he not have been invited to make an invasion at an early date? Is it not possible that there have been many Afghan spies in the Bombay Presidency and the Punjáb? The outbreak of disorders in various parts of India on the rumour of Mr. Gandhi's arrest and his brisk movements in this Presidency are significant. The most noteworthy occurrence of the times is the announcement made by the Ali Brothers in respect of their determination to act contrary to the Defence of India Act and to consider themselves as free from the 9th of May and of their quoting the Quranic precept about leaving the territories of a tyrant to settle in a place of safety. In these extraordinary times, it is the duty of the Indian people to forget their differences with Government and to help them with all their heart. The

indifference of our communal leaders in this matter will tend to reflect discredit on the community.]

10. "The Ali brothers have drawn down the displeasure of the Government of India upon themselves in a fresh measure. Orders have now been issued for their detention in jail under Regulation 3 of 1918. Much sympathy has been felt and expressed for them by all classes of Indians in the past, and theirs has been no doubt a most unfortunate and tragic case. But the revelations made by Government in their recent communique, if well founded must give us pause..... If the evidience in possession of Government is reliable, and if that evidence indicates the charges made out there, we are afraid Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali would not only require the strictest measures to keep them from mischief, but would also deserve to forfeit the sympathy of the large body of Indians. No Government, whether autocratic, bureaucratic, or democratic, could tolerate such active disaffection and encouragement of its enemies. Nor can India as a whole have reason to be thankful for this type of patriotism. This must strike all dispassionate and unprejudiced persons as not patriotism, but as fanaticism pure and simple. The brothers would place the claims of Islam above all other interests, political and temporal. They cannot expect the large body of Indians, who are non-Moslems, to share this sentiment, and we venture to think that even large classes of Indian Moslems would fail to see the necessity for such an exaggerated and unpractical view of their duty towards Islam..... No true Indians would be prepared to assist the Amir of Afghanistan in his unprovoked and unjustifiable hostilities against the King-Emperor. It cannot be for the good of India to set up any particular section of men in power over the rest, much less an outside enemy like the Afghans. ..... Pan-Islamism, however attractive to a certain class of persons, cannot be accepted by patriotic Indians as a plank in their political programme. If Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali are obsessed by this one fixed end fanatical idea of duty to Islam such as cannot recognize any other social or political obligations, they must be left to dream their dangerous dreams by themselves. Neither the Government, nor the Indian nation, including all true Moslems, can have anything to do with them."

Comments on the Government of India's communique on the treasonable activities of the Ali brothers.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 14th June; Eng. cols.

11. Referring to the imprisonment of the Ali brothers under Regulation III of 1918 the *Indu Prakásh* wants to know why Government have not tried them in open court of law if they are in possession of strong evidence of their guilt. It goes on:—No one will dare say that the evidence in Government's possession is false. But no ground for complaint would have remained if Government had utilised the usual means for testing the evidence and had then imprisoned the brothers or even hanged them. As they are beloved of the people, it was the duty of Government to convince the latter of their guilt. Government ought to have enlightened the public in time as to the reasons for which the recent committee's recommendation for setting the brothers at liberty was overruled and why no open trial has been held with respect to the charge now made against them. However much clamour Government may raise about their guilt and however much Anglo-Indian papers may defend the charge, so long as it is not judicially proved, the Indian public will continue to condemn the secret methods adopted by Government.

Indu Prakásh (44), 12th June.

12. "It is profoundly to be regretted that for reasons of State the Government of India have not all this while been able to lay before the public the totality of the reasons for their treatment of the brothers which they have now partially disclosed..... In a communication addressed to the Government of India the brothers threatened in the event of non-compliance with their demands the adoption of one of two alternative courses, migration from the land, or a *jehad* or holy war. With a leniency which we confess seems to us inexplicable the Government remained satisfied

Jám-e-Jamshed (26), 12th June, Eng. cols.; *Kaisar-i-Hind* (27), 15th June, Eng. cols.

with proscribing the copies of the document, copies of which were attempted to be freely circulated. In a further spirit of defiance the brothers proclaimed their intention in a mosque to disregard the commnnds of Government and read out portions of their representation to Government, the circulation of the copies of which was prohibited. With the commencement of the hostilities with Afghanistan the Government of India have become possessed of indisputable proofs of the brothers' treachery to the British Government and their active support to the enemy Amir. This has led the authorities to place further stringent restraints upon the liberties of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali..... The cause of the Ali brothers was made by a certain section of publicists a cause above the antagonistic interests of Hindus and Musalmans. It was made a national question. It behoves, therefore, the non-Musalmans, so glib of tongue, and in the case of the Pársis, we are pained to add, so free with their purse in doubtful propagandas, now to counteract the mischief initiated by some, exaggerated by more and rendered into a demoniacal cult by uninstructed thousands." [Commenting on the imprisonment of the Ali Brothers, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—" It was time Government intervened in having these rapid seditionists removed from this sphere of action before it led to anything serious. We are glad Government have awakened to the necessity of putting down with a strong hand these agitators who require harsh measures to bring them all into line.]

*13. " We are utterly at a loss to imagine how two gentlemen of education and independence, like Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, could make every effort to induce Muslims in India actively to assist the Amir of Afghanistan in his hostilities against the King-Emperor. No man in his senses, whatever his religious sympathies, would think of the medieval despotism of the Afghan Amir as a desirable substitute for British rule in India and, but for the fact that the Government of India assure us that they have indubitable proofs that the brothers did make such efforts, we could hardly think such a thing possible. Government declare that they have in their possession the originals of some of the letters addressed by the brothers to various important personages in India as well as newspapers and private individuals. We are bound to say that the press communique has impressed the public far more than such communiques usually do as to the necessity of the action of Government. At the same time, in view of the fact that the two brothers are known to be men of high intelligence, there is some tendency to hope that these letters ascribed to them may prove to be forged documents palmed off upon Government by the enemies of the interned brothers, and it is desirable that they should be submitted to an independent tribunal for adjudication."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 15th June.

*14. "Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali have been imprisoned in the Betul Jail under regulation 3 of 1918. Even their relatives were not allowed to say farewell to them. Their house is under minute search. All sorts of allegations are made against these brothers in a Government communique, but the flat denial given to one of the allegations in Mr. Horniman's case has raised a serious doubt about the truth of the allegations in the case of the Ali brothers also. Will it not be better to give the brothers a chance to explain them in broad daylight in open court before an impartial tribunal?"

Mahrátta (8), 15th June.

15. "This protest of the world-renowned poet, the winner of the Nobel prize, following upon the heels of the resignation of Sir Sankaran Nair, should profoundly influence the opinion of the civilised world against the doings of Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the Punjáb. The poet-emperor is not a professional politician or agitator. That he should feel called upon by his higher self to renounce an honour which the Government conferred upon him shows that the policy of Simla has no supporters among the thinking men of the country. The renunciation of knighthood by Dr.

Comments on the renunciation by Sir R. Tagore of his Knighthood. *New Times* (9), 6th June; *Home Ruler* (6), 7th June.

Rabindranath should act as an eye-opener to the Government of India that civilised opinion is not with them either in the matter of Rowlatt Legislation or of Sir Michael's policy." [The *Home Ruler* writes in the same strain.]

Kesari (109), 10th June; *Loka Sangraha* (new), 12th June.

16. In the opinion of the *Kesari* Sir Rabindranath Tagore has shown the saintliness of his character by identifying himself with the oppressed people of the Punjáb. It thinks he rightly renounced his Knighthood as it would have been impossible for him to enter the Punjáb to do the primary duty of a 'Knight', *viz.*, the protection of the weak. [The *Loka Sangraha* remarks :—It remains to be seen what answer the Viceroy gives to the great man's letter. Sir Sankaran Nair's resignation on account of repression in the Punjáb so immediately followed by Rabindranath's spirited action will not be productive of happiness either to the rulers or to the ruled.]

Rájakáran (116), 8th June; *Sudhákar* (124), 8th June; *Rashtra Hitaishi* (117), 11th June.

17. Sir Rabindranath Tagore's anger and irritation will not have been in vain if his letter succeeds in making high officials like the Viceroy uneasy for some time. We cannot say whether His Excellency will take the trouble of giving a reply to Sir Rabindranath. But it is certain that the latter's public renunciation of the great honour conferred upon him by Government is not such as to give His Excellency transports of joy. [The *Sudhákar* writes :—No kind-hearted man can fail to be grieved to see that while titles are showered upon the leaders of the people their countrymen are clapped into jail under Martial Law. The *Rashtra Hitaishi* says that people heartily approve of the step taken by Sir Rabindranath.]

Dnyanodaya (40), 12th June, Eng. cols.

18. "Mr. (until recently, Sir) Rabindranath Tagore has certainly damaged the prestige of Government in the eyes of his countrymen by the letter in which he renounces the knighthood bestowed on him by His Majesty the King-Emperor..... We feel that the famous Bengal poet has prejudged the issue by reaching his conclusions before knowing the evidence on both sides, for when he wrote, there had not yet taken place the trials revealing the grave conditions which called forth the stern measures he condemns. For ourselves, it will take a great deal to convince us that such unspeakable assaults as that, for example, on Miss Sherwood, a lady missionary doctor who was attacked with sticks and lathies, have been the work of *Indian* agency. India has so profound a reverence for all things religious—including the Christian religion—that we firmly believe these recent attacks have been inspired by non-Indian agency, the Bolsheviks probably, whose dark hand is seen in the war in the north. *If* our theory be right—and we know of nothing to controvert it—then it were far better to stamp out such a diabolical spirit at whatever cost, than to allow it to spread through the land. In which case, the poet's renunciation of his knighthood is not quite as patriotic an act as it appears."

Subodh Patrika (48), 8th June, Eng. cols.,

19. "The great poet of Bengal has, we are afraid, made too much of the title by thinking that he does a great act of renunciation and humiliation in abandoning it..... Why should Sir Rabindra think that by renouncing it he will be doing a penance for the sufferings of the people in the Punjáb? Surely Sir Rabindra Nath did not think it in any degree meritorious to hold the title of a knight. Why then, as he seems to do, should he consider it meritorious to renounce it? The poet ought to be above such trifles, either way..... Moreover it was not the Punjáb Government that conferred the knighthood on him. It was the King-Emperor. To renounce the title conferred by him for reasons political is an ungraceful act, to say the least of it."

Kaiser-i-Hind (27), 15th June, Eng. cols.

20. "Q", writing to the *Kaiser-i-Hind*, condemns the action of Dr. R. Tagore in renouncing his Knighthood and the high praises showered upon him by the Indian Press for it, and remarks :—"One of our contemporaries has had the audacity to assert that Government were terrified

and alarmed into taking such severe action. We fail to see anything of this nature in the action for it was quite necessary under the circumstances to prevent a widespread conflagration which was apparently imminent..... Whoever heard such silly nonsense except from the mouths of old men in their dotage?..... After all what is there in Rabi Babu renouncing his title, a piece of parchment presented by the King which places him a degree higher than his equals and gives him precedence in social circles? This is no sacrifice of one who would be called a patriot. It can only be designated as nothing short of empty swagger." [Elsewhere the paper also strongly condemns Dr. R. Tagore for renouncing his Knighthood.]

Punjáb affairs.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 10th June, Eng. cols.; **Gujaráti* (20), 15th June, Eng. cols.

21. "We are firmly of opinion that if Sir Edward Maclagan had been appointed to succeed Sir Louis Dane, the recent intensely grave situation in the Punjáb would have never occurred, and that Province, rightly known as the sword-arm of India, would have been at peace just as it was when Sir Louis laid down the reins of office. We think Sir Edward Maclagan should have the support of the whole country in the very onerous task before him; and this is ensured by the remarks of all Indian papers on his appointment..... Sir Edward Maclagan, who has remained constantly in touch with the Punjáb, will have to decide immediately whether there is any necessity for the prolongation of martial law in the Punjáb. We think he will be satisfied that the sooner it is withdrawn the better for the Punjáb. That Province has always been one of the most peaceful provinces of India. The people are law-abiding, peaceful and industrious. Sir Michael O'Dwyer ignored these facts and treated the people, specially the educated classes, as if they were inimical to the Government. There was not a shadow of justification for the policy he adopted from the beginning of his administration..... The dumb terror of which Rabindranath Tagore speaks does not imply that the country does not feel because on the whole it is more or less silent. Indeed, the whole country is filled with a sense of horror such as it has not known since 1857. The monstrous sentences passed by the courts constituted under martial law have produced the most intense indignation from one end of India to the other..... The whole country is particularly anxious that Sir Edward Maclagan should signalise the beginning of his administration by intervening in the cases of the leading men of Láhore and Amritsar, who have been charged with the most serious offences..... It is incredible that such men should be charged with waging war, tried by martial law and denied the assistance of lawyers from outside the martial law area..... A trial under such circumstances is not a judicial trial at all..... The cases against the leading men of Láhore and Amritsar should be tried by ordinary tribunals, the accused being given the choice of lawyers. This is the least that the new Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb should do to justify and confirm the public expectations formed of him. In the name of restoring order vindictiveness is being given full play and Sir Edward Maclagan can put a stop to it at once." [The *Gujaráti* writes:—"We hope that neither the Punjáb nor any other Province of India may ever have the grave misfortune of being ruled over by a 'brilliant' administrator like the one who has left India for good, to the boundless satisfaction of the people from one end of the country to the other, after doing incalculable harm to the moral prestige of the British Government in India."]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 12th June; *Hindusthán* (24), 12th June; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 7th June.

22. The new Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb, Sir Edward Maclagan, has shown the foresight of withdrawing martial law from the Punjáb practically within a fortnight of his resuming office. Sir Michael O'Dwyer admitted while leaving office that his fears of the people of the province rising in a rebellion were false. This proves that martial law was wrongly applied to the Punjáb. The new Lieutenant-Governor should, therefore, ask the judges of the Supreme Court to enquire into the cases of those who have been awarded severe penalties

under Martial Law and should reduce their sentences if so recommended by the judges. He should also try those, against whom certain cases are pending, in the ordinary courts of law and should allow them to have legal advisers of their own choice. He should, moreover, remove the prohibition issued against Mr. Gandhi and thus add to his own renown not only in the Punjáb but throughout India. [The *Hindusthán* also suggests that the new Lieutenant-Governor should get the cases of those who have been tried before the Courts Martial revised by the ordinary courts and thus help to restore peace in the province. It feels sure that the province will heave a sigh of relief on the withdrawal of martial law. The *Sánj Vartamán* suggests that many acts of injustice must have been committed during the operation of martial law in the Punjáb and asks the deputations now in England to urge upon the authorities the necessity of appointing a Commission to enquire into the affairs in the Punjáb forthwith and of including therein the names of such Indian citizens as are respected throughout India.]

23. Strange incidents happening in the Punjáb lead the people to ask as to whether India is under the administration of a Moghul king. Even the Viceroy when he was appealed to to interfere in the decision of the Government of the Punjáb prohibiting certain Barristers of Bengal from going there, replied to the effect that he could not come in the way of the operation of the martial law! Why have any defence of the accused when this sort of bureaucracy reigns in the Punjáb? What need is there at all to prevent the continuance of the sentences of death and deportation and imprisonment, daily being pronounced in the Punjáb? Why should there be any court at all? Should not a Bill be introduced in the next sessions of the Imperial Legislative Council empowering the bureaucrats to mete out punishments without a trial? Perhaps Sir Michael has used his powers to show that the provisions of the Rowlatt Act are mild in character.

Gujaráti (20), 8th June.

24. "It is gratifying to know that Martial Law in the city of Láhore and all districts, excepting the Railway lands, has been withdrawn on the recommendation of Sir Edward Maclagan. Ever since he assumed office Sir Edward has been indefatigable in the work of pacification. Only a few days ago he reduced considerably the sentences passed by the Martial Law courts on some of the accused persons. We thank Sir Edward and hope he will drop the prosecution of the Punjáb leaders and do justice to Mr. Kalinath Roy and his co-sufferers."

New Times (9), 12th June.

25. Mr. Damodar Vishwanath Gokhale, B.A., LL.B., writes in the *Chitramaya Jagat* in the course of an article entitled 'The question of *Swarajya*':—It is particularly painful to us all that in the recent disturbances some Englishmen lost their lives. Our leaders have been assisting Government in various ways to prevent the recurrence of such excesses in future. This is the first duty of every true citizen. If we want to prove our fitness for *swarajya* we must be more careful than Government themselves to prevent the repetition of such outrages. The *swarajists* are convinced that they can secure *Swarajya* from the liberty-loving British nation by constitutional means alone. All true citizens are agreed that their demand for *Swarajya* is based on justice and truth and, therefore, such excesses only harm the nation instead of doing it any good. Owing to the great forbearance shown by the police and the military in obedience to the commands of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, order was soon restored at Bombay, Ahmedabad and Viramgam, but in spite of the severity of the measures adopted by Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the Punjáb the province was in a disturbed condition for several weeks. This fact is full of significance. We cannot sufficiently praise Sir George Lloyd for adopting mild measures in Bombay while restoring order. At the same time we are bound to say that Sir Michael's policy of high-handedness is worthless and disastrous. It is to be seen what effect the recent events have on the movement for

Reflections on the political situation in India.

Chitramaya Jagat (65), Apl. (Marathi).

Swardjya. The utterances of English politicians show that they will not be misled by these events and that they will not attach any importance to the activities of our enemies in England and in India. On the contary they appear to have realised that there is something very wrong in the system of our administration and that they must improve it. They are of opinion that the system which requires the firing of volleys from machine-guns and the dropping of bombs from aeroplanes for restoring order must be improved and that the Indians must be given *swardjya* as early as possible. The flogging of Indians in the Punjáb under Martial law will not fail to be as hateful to the British public as it has been to Indians. The English mind is noble enough to know that flogging is sure to create ill-feeling. Also whatever Mrs. Besant may say it was not desirable to return bullets for brickbats. On top of all our national calamities Mr. Horniman was deported under the orders of the Government of India. His disinterested services to India, his vigorous pen, his irrefutable mode of argument and his severe criticism of the bureaucratic administration were naturally distasteful to the bureaucracy. The present agitation cannot be stopped by removing the leaders of the people one after another and by gagging the newspapers of the popular party. There is a consensus of opinion that the root-cause of all this unrest is the Rowlatt law. Government think that their prestige will suffer by dropping this measure now while the people believe that it is derogatory to their self-respect to submit to this unlawful enactment passed without the consent of their representatives.

26. "We commend the conduct of those of our countrymen who have stood manfully and bravely by the people in the present crisis, but who before the inauguration of the Black Act, may have been in the good books of the officials and consequently had the honour of titles, licenses or Magistrateships. It is however amusing to find how some of these gentlemen have been treated, presumably for their opposition to the Black Bills and taking part in the demonstrations and meetings held against it. In Sind we have two such instances. The powers of second class honorary Magistrate conferred on Mukhi Jethanand of Hyderabad and Seth Lokamal Chellaram of Karáchi have been cancelled while a certain mukhtyarkar is reported to have threatened some Honorary Magistrates and asked them to show cause why their names should not be struck off the list of honorary Magistrates. Outside Sind also we find similar instances. In Benares, the officiating District Magistrate has ordered the cancellation of the license and forfeiture of arms possessed by Baba Sivanadansingh 'on account of taking part in the meeting of the 6th of April 1919 and distributing notices wrongly interpreting the Rowlatt Act.' In Surat the license to keep arms granted only two months ago to one Mr. Ratilal Desai has been cancelled because the District Magistrate considered 'a person who pledges himself to disobedience of the law, as the applicant is understood to have done, to be *mentally* and *morally deficient* and *unfit* to receive privileges at the hands of Government.' There may be many more instances but the above instances taken from the papers will suffice to show the price to be paid for official favours."

Alleged cases of official persecution of persons who being in the good books of the authorities have taken part in the demonstrations against the Rowlatt Laws.

Home Ruler (6), 7th June.

27. In an article entitled 'Indian Loyalty' the *Shubhodaya*, after stating that Indians have always remained loyal even to the most oppressive of their rulers from the time of Khilji to the present day, says:—It is true that we have been agitating for self-government, but the Anglo-Indians who have been holding the reins of power in their own hands up till now and have consequently been enjoying every advantage which their position gives them, have been trying their best to check this agitation, in order that the reins of power may not pass into the hands of Indians. These people began their campaign by attacking liberty of speech and liberty of the Press. The bureaucracy followed the policy of Divide and Rule by setting Hindus against Muhammadans, Brahmins against non-Brahmins, etc. They created the

How India's loyalty to Government has remained intact.

Shubhodaya (91), 6th June.

C. I. D. and enacted repressive measures, such as the Press Act and Seditious Meetings Act. Indian loyalty might have been crushed to a pulp under the dead weight of these repressive measures, but it has still remained intact and we are as ready as ever to quarrel among ourselves at the least encouragement from the Anglo-Indians.

Origin of India's enslaved condition.
Loka Sangraha (new), 11th June.

28. Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar, writing in the *Loka Sangraha*, refers to the Muhammadan invasion of Sind in 711 when its king Dahir called in vain the other Rajput princes to his aid and was ultimately killed in battle, and says :—If there was any year that proved most disastrous to India it was 711. Indeed, Indian history would not have recorded the events of 1818 and 1858 if the Hindus had properly learnt the lesson taught them by the year 711. If anyone has conquered India and rivetted the chains of slavery in her feet, it was not the Moguls nor the English who succeeded them, but the year 711. This year saw us divided, destroyed our kingdoms, and ultimately compelled us to bear the miseries of political subjection.

How Indians are being treated by the authorities.
Surya (new), 8th June,

29. Commenting upon the recent celebrations held in France in honour of the memory of Joan of Arc the *Surya* writes :—We need not go far to have an adequate conception of the selfish aspect of statecraft. When the Government of India wanted to incur extra expenditure in connecton with the war they gave the honour of sanctioning it to the representatives of the people. But when they wished to pass laws of a retrograde character which destroyed the elementary rights of the people the united voice of our representatives was of no avail. There is a striking contrast between the attitude of the authorities when the war was on and when they wanted us to give them as much help as we could, and that adopted by them now when the war is over. When the English army was not ready to take the field, Indians were hastily taken to France to arrest the progress of the Germans and they succeeded in averting the danger. Indians particularly distinguished themselves in Asia Minor and Palestine ; nay the loyal Indian Muhammdans even fought against their own Khalif under the banner of England. Yet in spite of all this the question of giving Indians higher appointments in the army is where it was two hundred years ago.

Appeal to Government to control the prices of cloth in the local market.
Jám-e-Jamshed (26), 11th June.

30. Speculation has once more caught hold of the cloth market. What will be the effect of this evil on the poor people when the prices of cloth are already abnormally high? We fear the prices of cloth will rise far beyond their proper limits if the present speculative tendency is allowed to remain uncontrolled for a long time. We will be glad to see the attention of the Bombay Government drawn to this question. We do not object to the cloth merchants making any reasonable profits in their trade; but when they aim at squeezing the people by artificially raising the prices, it is desirable that Government should take steps to put some control over them. Cannot Government do something to check this speculation in the cloth market as they had done in the case of cotton last year? If the cloth merchants desire the non-interference of Government in their affairs, they should themselves try to check this evil ; but if they fail to do so, it will be the duty of Government to take the matter in their hands.

Distribution of rice in the mofussil.
Bombay Samáchár (62), 11th June.

31. It is to be seen how the new system of distributing rice in the mofussil succeeds in giving more relief to the people than the old one; but in the meanwhile it is necessary that the Government should see with more promptitude and care that the people are enabled to get foodstuffs at the rates fixed by the Controller. We know Government are in earnest about giving real relief to the people by effecting necessary changes in the present control system and by taking other measures necessary for the purpose, and we hope they will give full relief to

the public by taking steps for preventing the grain-dealers from demanding prices that are not warranted by the Controller's Price List.

Dearth of kerosene oil in Kumta (Kanara).
Kánara News (39), 4th June.

32. The sale of kerosene oil has stopped altogether in Kumta. On Wednesdays and Sundays a number of men who have come from places seven or eight miles distant can be seen wandering from shop to shop with empty bottles in their hands. The sufferings of the people have touched the hearts neither of the Committee nor of the Agents of the Oil Companies, and the Government Officials turn a deaf ear to the complaints of the people.

Complaint by Manilal J. Vyas (of Karáchi) that he is harassed by the Native States police in Káthiáwár.
Hitechhu (69), 1st June.

33. Manilal J. Vyas writes from Virpur, Káthiáwár, the following in the course of a letter contributed to the *Hitechhu* of Karáchi:—The man at whose house I put up is asked a series of questions regarding myself by the police. Owing to the trouble of being questioned by the police even my near relations and friends want to keep away from me. If such conduct of the authorities continues for a long time I shall have to civilly disobey the order of the Commissioner in Sind and shall thereby have to seek imprisonment by entering British territory. I have applied to the Commissioner in Sind to provide me with the money necessary to meet my living expenses and I am awaiting his reply. *Satyagrahis* never keep their movements secret, why do the authorities, then, make so much fuss over it? I think their secret desire is to strike at the root of the *Satyagraha* movement by harassing the *Satyagrahis*.

Alleged desecration of a Jain temple at Byculla (Bombay).
Jain (79), 8th June; *Hindusthán* (24), 10th June.

34. Mandalacharya Kamalasurishwara, a Jain priest, protests against the acquisition of the land attached to the Jain temple at Byculla and writes to the *Jain*:—O Jains, are you still sleeping when Government have disregarded the injunctions of the leader of the community? You do not lay aside your faults and allow horrible desecration to be committed. If you do not raise a strong protest against this action of Government you will lose the holy places left to you by your ancestors on account of your own mistakes and your worldly pleasures. If the community delays in raising a strong protest, the neighbourhood of the Jain temple at Byculla will be permanently polluted and no protests in future will be of any avail. Hold public meetings at every place in India and tell Government that you would not allow your holy places to be desecrated. Remind Government of the Proclamation of Queen Victoria and urge them to do their duty. [The *Hindusthán* also publishes the letter.]

Comments on the gift of railway material to South Africa by England.
A'ryávart (94), 7th June.

35. The British Government has been pleased to present the South African Government with railway material worth half a million for its splendid services in the great war. Its services were, however, nothing as compared with those rendered by India, and if the British Government had any railway material to share it should have in the first instance offered it to India which is at present suffering much from its shortage. It has not only not made that gift but on the contrary it is going to accept a gift of 67½ crores from famishing India even when the war is concluded. It appears as if the British Government was induced to show this liberality to South Africa with a view to stop the agitation carried on by the Dutch leaders for establishing a separate Dutch colony. While South Africa is being thus rewarded, here in India attempts are being made to crush the people under martial law and the Rowlatt Act.

The Birthday Honours List.
Sánj Vartamán (33), 7th June, Eng. cols.

36. "The Birthday Honours List, as usual, is as dry as it is uninteresting. When we say that it is moulded on the same old lines, as in the past, our readers will understand what to expect and what not to expect. Now what do we expect? We expect a bountiful Providence from Simla or Delhi, showering stars

and knighthoods on the favoured few, both official and non-official. As usual, the loaves and fishes go to the official world, while the crumbs from the table go to the lot of Indians. It is most unusual for an Indian—non-official—to figure in the list of 'Stars'. Even a Pherozeshaw Mehta, when his belated great services to the country had to be recognised, had to content himself with the inferior knighthood of the Indian Empire, while men, whose superior merit was a matter of speculation, were admitted within the charmed circle of 'Stars'. We do not want to labour this point any further, for the simple reason, that amongst all self-respecting men these periodic lists have lost all zeal and all novelty. It now seems almost certain that to be an official is to be included in the List, and if the official happens to be a superior European officer, civil or military, his chances of blossoming forth as a knight, at no distant date, are quite certain."

37. "The customary Honours list issued during this week on the birth-day of His Majesty the King-Emperor is, as is generally the case, a long one. The bulk of these honours have gone to the official class, which it may be noted has more or less become a general feature of these honours, while the names of a few non-officials figure here and there on the list. This is responsible for the list failing to evoke that interest and enthusiasm which it ought to do in a normal state of affairs."

Praja Bandhu (30), 8th June, Eng. cols.

38. In these days a certain section of Government servants monopolise the higher honours while certain honours are reserved for Indians in Government service. Indian Chiefs and rich men who come in contact with the officials also get certain titles. The honours list does not as a rule contain the names of those who have made valuable contributions to vernacular literature. The Press Act is enacted for independent and straightforward journalists and no honours are ever conferred upon them. Similarly there are no honours for enterprising Indians. In these circumstances the Honours List is seldom an item of public interest. It has often been said that sycophants of Government figure largely in the list. However, the C. I. E. bestowed on Mr. Purshottamdas Thakoredas is an additional recognition of the services rendered by him during the famine. The honour bestowed upon him is rather belated. Mr. Nathoo Keshavji Sailor who has secured an M. B. E., has rendered valuable services to the Police Department. The C. I. E. to Mr. Vincent is the reward for his services duriug the war and the recent strikes. The C. S. I. bestowed upon the Dewan of Baroda is in recognition of the services rendered by him to the British Government through the Native State to which he belongs. But a special note must be taken of the title of Rao Saheb bestowed upon Mr. Chamanlal, Revenue Commissioner of the Bhavnagar State. He rose from the position of an actor to his present post in the State solely through the favour of the Maharaja, and the honour done to him on the King's Birthday cannot be said to be an inappropriate one! It is our earnest prayer that many more such honours may be bestowed in the regime of H. M. the King-Emperor George V.!

Gujaráti (20), 8th June.

39. Referring to the Birthday Honours the *Kesari*, while belittling the practice of bestowing honours, takes objection to the titles conferred upon Messers Cadell and Vincent. What will those people think, it asks, who had to remain half-fed owing to the severity of the food control of Mr. Cadell, when they hear that he has received a K. C. S. I (*sic*). It thinks that by conferring the title upon him Government have added insult to injury to those who had protested against his methods of work. It is also of opinion that the people of Bombay will similarly condemn the C. I. E. (the paper mentions it as G. C. I. E.) conferred upon Mr. Vincent as they still remember the way in which he packed the Town Hall with his own men on the occasion of the Willingdon memorial meeting and his 'high-handedness' and 'trickery' in dealing with the mill-hands and Postmen's strikes. It asks Government to see while recommending men for titles that public opinion is not deliberately insulted.

Kesari (109), 10th June.

40. "There are two voices in Mr. Montagu's recent Budget Speech, and there is a conspicuous incompatibility between them. The one advocates Indian Reforms, the other defends the present policy of Indian Government,—the Rowlatt Act, the recent Policy in the Punjáb and the deportation of Mr. Horniman. We have reason to applaud Mr. Montagu the Liberal; we have reason to be disappointed in Mr. Montagu the Apologist..... All this indicates that Mr. Montagu has the instincts of a liberal statesman and that he appreciates, in a conspicuous measure, the psychological and emotional structure of the Indian soul..... It is all the more regrettable, therefore, to find that Mr. Montagu's speech suffers in its liberal faith when it defends the Rowlatt Act, the deportation of Mr. Horniman and the recent policy of the Punjáb Government..... We need hardly add that the second voice in his speech—the voice of the Apologist—fails to convince us ..... We are profoundly convinced that reactionary measures will not help the life of a proud and imaginative people; the Rowlatt Act will not heal India's malady; there is only one solution of the Indian problem—to remould India's life on national lines."

Comments on Mr. Montagu's Budget Speech.
New Times (9), 10th June.

41. Mr. Montagu has recognised the necessity of appointing a Currency Commission. What benefit has India reaped from such Commissions in the past? The people of India are of the opinion that Indian currency has been regulated in the interests of English merchants and manufacturers. The present Commission is appointed to obviate the necessity of England selling cheap and buying dear from India, owing to the dearness of silver. What advantage can India derive from the reference made by Mr. Montagu to the absence of self-determination in India? Strange to say Mr. Montagu is of the opinion that the Rowlatt Act is necessary for India. The people of this country cannot possibly share this opinion of his. Mr. Montagu moreover assures us that the Act will be repealed when it is no longer required! People are in no way opposed to punishment being meted out to offenders but they do not derive any pleasure from a free hand being given to bureaucratic whims. People have confidence in High Courts but they have no such confidence in Special Tribunals. Should justice be administered to the people through the channels they like or through those which they dislike and which they look upon as the instruments of bureaucratic whims? It is to be regretted that Mr. Montagu has not been well-posted about public opinion in India and that he has merely produced an echo of the official opinion. Mr. Montagu seems to have been equally in the dark about the causes that led to Mr. Horniman's deportation. People are not aware of any copies of the *Bombay Chronicle* being distributed free to British soldiers and the proprietors of the paper have given a lie to the statement. We are surpurised to hear that Mr. Horniman was inciting disobedience in the army. No doubt the paper published complaints about the demobilisation muddle but we cannot believe that any copies of the paper were ever distributed free to soldiers or that Mr. Horniman incited disobedience among the soldiers.

Gujarátí (20), 8th June.

42. In his speech in Parliament Mr. Montagu defended Mr. Horniman's deportation on the ground that he falsely accused the military of using soft-nosed bullets and that he distributed copies of his paper free to British soldiers with a view to spreading a spirit of insubordination among them. The hollowness of these allegations will be apparent from the telegram sent by Mr. Jinnah, the President of the Board of Directors, to the Secetary of State. Mr. Jinnah has made it clear in his telegram that the Board has satisfied itself that not a single copy of the *Chronicle* was sent free to British soldiers. Again, we do not understand how the editor of a paper can be held responsible even if copies thereof are distributed free. It is certainly not the duty of an editor to see how copies of his paper are distributed after they leave the press. This is an unique example of British justice of hanging an innocent man for the fault of another. It appears from Mr. Jinnah's explanation about the

Kesari (109), 10th June.

reference in the *Chronicle* to soft-nosed bullets that the Censor's pranks might occasion the ruin of any man at any time. It was indirectly to the interests of the bureaucracy itself to publish the telegram early, removing the misunderstanding about the conduct of the military. But how can the over-suspicious Censor be expected to exercise so much judgment?

43. Mr. Montagu thinks that the question of Reforms overshadows all other Indian questions, and India too thought so some months back. But the insult offered to India by the bureaucracy in enacting the Rowlatt Act in spite of the protests of the nation's representatives has made it one of the standing questions of the day, though Mr. Montagu may not attribute much importance to it. Moreover, though the Punjáb riots were as a matter of fact caused by the high-handed acts of the bureaucracy, they were attributed to the doings of agitators and heavy punishments were inflicted on hundreds of Indians and untold sufferings and insults were heaped indiscriminately on thousands of people. What Indian therefore would lose sight of the Punjáb question? But Indian blood does not flow through Mr. Montagu's veins and as he belongs to the same nationality as the bureaucracy he is naturally inclined to trust its word. The success of his Reform Scheme also largely depends upon its attitude. He has had, therefore, to defend the repressive policy in the Punjáb and the enactment of the Rowlatt Act for the sake of the bureaucracy's prestige. It is, however, still doubtful whether Mr. Montagu will be able to give to India all his reforms even after thus defending the bureaucracy. Even supposing his scheme is passed intact, his own speech shows that it will now be found to be quite inadequate, for India having been given a place in the League of Nations as a matter of right its status has been raised to that extent. While even small nationalities have been accorded the right of self-determination and granted full *Swarajya*, is it not a misfortune that the British Government itself which granted the *Swarajya* to them should allow bureaucratic rule to continue in an extensive portion of its own Empire? Mr. Montagu must be feeling all thus, but he has to look at Indian questions through bureaucratic spectacles, and he is helpless.

Loka Sangraha (new), 12th June.

44. "We note that the Indian delegates at the Peace Conference have been empowered by the King to sign the peace treaty but while this is so, and we are also told that they were able to partake in concerting the policy of the British Empire, it is amusing that Indians are not able to shape the policy of the Government of their own country..... Referring to the recent disturbances Mr. Montagu stated that it was the first duty of the Government to restore order. While this must be admitted, it is striking that there is no mention or even a slight hint regarding the opinion held by the leaders of the people (the All-India Congress Committee actually made a representation on the subject) that the situation has been mishandled by the authorities..... We are told that Mr. Horniman began to use his paper in the midst of riots to fan the flame; that he published an accusation that British troops had used soft-nosed bullets in Delhi and that his paper was freely disturbed to British troops in Bombay hoping to excite insubordination. An imputation of motives of this kind is in our opinion not in keeping with the blameless character of Mr. Horniman and we are glad that Mr. Jinnah has not wasted time in correcting the statement with regard to the free distribution of the paper among British troops and in explaining that an immediate contradiction regarding the use of soft-nosed bullets would have been inserted had not the message containing it been held up by the censor."

Home Ruler (6), 7th June.

45. The panic of the Muhammadans as regards Turkey's future and the sufferings of the masses owing to high prices and epidemics in the country would have caused riots in any country. Under these delicate conditions it was the duty of Government to treat the people with kindness, trust and generosity. But instead of that the bureaucracy resorted to repression. The attention of England was not drawn towards these pranks of the bureaucracy until a terrible collision took place between it and the

Kesari (109), 10th June.

people of the Punjáb. The bureaucracy raised the outcry of open rebellion, but it failed to take in the English for they could not believe that the very people who had assisted them in the war and who were quite unarmed could have rebelled. They, therefore, sought for the causes of the disturbances elsewhere. Mr. Montagu has not in his Budget speech harped upon the theory of rebellion. He has admitted the unpopularity of the Rowlatt Act, but is not prepared to withdraw it. His speech shows that he has fallen a victim to bureaucratic prestige. He does not like the bludgeon-rule in the Punjáb and still he has patted the bureaucracy on the back and said 'well done'. What can the poor man do? He has to placate the bureaucracy because it holds the bludgeon in its hands. His speech showed his mental perplexity. When the five Great Powers admitted India into the League of Nations, they practically supported its right to self-government and thus declared it fit for *Swarájya*. If the bureaucracy denied its fitness, the League of Nations constitution can be safely thrown in its face. Parliament too will have to acknowledge India's fitness for *Swarájya* just as it will have to accept the Peace Treaty framed by the Allies. It must, therefore, frame its scheme for the Government of India accordingly. This is not the time to bamboozle India by means of big words. To do so would be tantamount to deceiving all the Allied nations, and it would blacken England's name throughout the world. Parliament is therefore bound to grant substantial rights of *Swarájya* to India. [Elsewhere the paper writes:—Mr. Montagu rightly diagnosed the causes of the unrest in the Punjáb and instead of attributing it to *Satyagraha* frankly recognised the real causes at the root of it. He gave assurances about the removal of some of the grievances, but held out no promise for the repeal of the Rowlatt Act. He was perhaps helpless in view of the preservation of bureaucratic prestige. With a real statesman the contentment of 31 crores of people ought to weigh more than the prestige of a handful of bureaucrats. Mr. Montagu has promised an inquiry into the Punjáb disturbances, but it ought to be held by a commission with a majority of non-official members, otherwise it will end in a farce like many other inquiries, and it ought to cover all the highhanded doings in the Punjáb. The complementary statement that the Viceroy has had in view such an inquiry from the very beginning is not only useless but mischievous. For thereby the leading strings of the inquiry will remain in the hands of the Viceroy, *i.e.*, of the bureaucracy. That should not be allowed and the Secretary of State should himself appoint a commission of straightforward legal men like Sir Lawrence Jenkins and Justice Abdur Rahim and ask them to hold the inquiry.]

46. Mr. Montagu's proposal to give India fiscal autonomy is eminently satisfactory. All parties in India are united in making this demand. Without this right the goal of 'progressive responsible government' will never be reached. Mr. Montagu himself is a Free Trader but instead of forcing his convictions upon India he is prepared to allow her to pursue her own commercial policy best calculated to promote her progress. We cannot sufficiently thank him for this. The European trading community in this country will offer determined opposition to the grant of this right. They will insist that Indians may be granted any other rights but this. It is to be seen how Mr. Montagu overcomes their opposition. In his speech he attributed the present unrest in India to two causes, *viz.*, (1) the sufferings of the people due to famine and pestilence and (2) the activites of Lord Sydenham and the Indo-British Association. The first is no doubt true to a large extent. We do not, however, agree with him as regards the second. The ignorant rioters in the Punjáb and in Gujárat could never have heard the name of Lord Sydenham or that of the Indo-British Association. It is incorrect to say, therefore, that this Association was responsible for the unrest. The connection between the two probably exists in the disordered imagination of Mr. Montagu. The Association is endeavouring to convince the British public that Mr. Montagu is pursuing a mistaken policy in regard to communal representation. There are several members of this Association who really sympathise with the masses and are well acquainted with conditions in India. They are able to prove

Jágaruk (45), 7th Jnne.

conclusively that Mr. Montagu's policy is wrong and this is why he dislikes the Association so much. His unworthy attack on the Association is the result of his bias.

47. The speech made by Mr. Montagu in introducing the Indian Reform Bill will be remembered as a memorable pronouncement showing his feelings for India. He has shown unprecedented care to carry out the assurance given by him on the 20th August 1917. If Parliament should accept the principles enunciated by Mr. Montagu the people of India would not mind overlooking certain defects that mar the reform scheme. They will ever remain grateful to him for the scathing criticism he has passed on Lord Sydenham and his party. We shall criticise the Bill in detail when it is published by the Government of India. [The *Sánj Vartamán* also expresses its gratification at the speech and thanks Mr. Montagu for the strictures he has passed against Lord Sydenham and remarks :—We give our hearty thanks to Mr. Montagu and the Prime Minister for the message he has sent to India on behalf of Parliament. India is prepared to convince Parliament that the time is now ripe for reorganising the Indian administration and introducing the element of popular control over the administration. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes :—The speech, it may be said without exaggeration, will tend to increase the confidence of the Indian people in the Imperial Government of Great Britain. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* expresses gratitude to Mr. Montagu for making a speech that in its opinion vindicates the policy England means to adopt towards India. It adds :—Mr. Montagu and our able Governor, His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, have been convinced that it is no longer feasible to frame schemes for satisfying the aspirations of Indian people and to keep them shelved for a number of years. We wish Mr. Montagu had suggested in his speech that the recent disturbances in the the Punjáb and elsewhere were more or less due to the present unsatisfactory state of affairs obtaining in India. India welcomes the message sent by Mr. Montagu on behalf of the British public. Now the future of India rests in the hands of Indian themselves.]

Comments on Mr. Montagu's speech on the Indian Reform Bill.

Hindusthán (24), 13th June; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 13th June; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 14th June; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 14th June.

***48.** "The speech which Mr. Montagu delivered in the House of Commons at the time of moving the second reading of the Government of India Bill is the only material which we have before us at the time of writing these lines. Although it was promised by the Government of India that the Bill would be published last week, yet it is not before us even this day, and we can, therefore, vaguely surmise about its nature from the speech itself. It appears from that that the Bill has been prepared by an India Office Committee presided over by Mr. Charles Roberts, and with Sir William Duke, Sir James Brunyate, Sir Thomas Holderness and Sir Frank Sly as its members. Sir James Meston also was consulted when he was in England. We must frankly say here that many of these gentlemen to whose hands was entrusted the task of framing this Bill upon which the future of 315 millions is to depend for some years, do not at all enjoy the confidence of the people of India. On the contrary, many of them have been always looked upon with suspicion and distrust. It is, therefore, unfortunate that to such men was given the delicate task of fashioning the Reform Bill..... So much about the nature of the Bill indicated in the speech and the arguments advanced to support it. In other respects Mr. Montagu has, so to say, repeated the same arguments which Indian politicians have been advancing for many many years past..... This only shows that our cause was just, and our criticism fair and thoroughly honest. Many Indians have had to suffer for expressing these very things, and yet it must be remembered that those who have suffered were in the right and their persecutors in the wrong. But their triumph would come when self-government would dawn on our political horizon..... All this goes to show that the Bill would not be possibly whittled down, and a real tangible beginning of self-government will be really made in India in the near future."

Mahrátta (8), 15th June.

*49. "In moving the Second Reading of the Indian Reform Bill in the House of Commons Mr. Montagu delivered a striking speech which will be read throughout the country with the greatest interest. It was statesmanlike in its conception and marked by sincerity and earnestness of feeling, a deep sense of responsibility, noble-minded sympathy, and righteous courage and candour in the expression of his thoughts and sentiments..... The sentiments to which he has given frank expression reflect great credit on Mr. Montagu, and his speech, as a whole, will be received throughout the country with feelings of gratitude and satisfaction..... The people of India have every reason to congratulate themselves, apart from the provisions of the Bill, upon Mr. Montagu's pronouncement, which will ever rank in importance only next to the announcement of the 20th August 1917."

Gujardti (20), 15th June, Eng. cols.

50. "Mr. Montagu's Bill is doubtless inspired by a genuine desire to set India on the path of Progress. The pace of that progress should, in our opinion, be quicker than what Mr. Montagu's Bill provides for; the Bill falls short of our aspirations; it is but dimly conscious of India's mordern urge to freedom and self-determination. But we all have reason to be grateful to Mr. Montagu for his leadership and action in behalf of India; and it may be hoped that the Parliament will be persuaded to pass, at an early date, this Bill of modest, yet progressive, reform."

Comments on the cable summary of the Indian Reform Bill.

New Times (9), 8th June.

51. "The quality of higher education must depend a good deal on the quality of primary and secondary education. It does not follow, however, that all stages of education should be administered by the same agency. It is not the case now in India or in any other country. We go with the Government of India so far. We may go farther and say that the insight evidenced so far by some leading politicians—our probable future Ministers—in educational matters is not such as to induce us to expect great things from them. But that they cannot do worse than the present departments under Members of Council, we have not the shadow of a doubt. As Dr. Sadler observed in his address to the Senate of the Bombay University the other day, the vital influences of education are too intimately connected with personal conviction and with family life for it to be wise or safe to leave their control and direction to the discretion of Government alone and we may add, a Government, too, dominated by gentlemen whose personal convictions and family life have no point of contact with Indian conditions. Our convictions on this subject have been very slowly formed, but they are on that account so deep and strong that, in our deliberate view, the control of education cannot be longer left in the hands of a department of the official Executive Government without grave detriment to the intellectual and moral interests of the youth of India..... The Government of India as usual write grandiloquently of their responsibility for the industrial progress of the country, which is necessary to secure its milltary safety, its freedom outside economic aggression, and its social and political stability. We suppose 'military safety' is introduced with the intention of scaring away Indian and civilian opposition. As for securing freedom from outside economic aggression, the Government of India should hear what is being said by merchants and manufacturers of the ukase putting up the price of the rupee by two pence. We regret we cannot admit that the Government of India have done much to promote the social and political stability of the country by means of its industrial policy. We do not wish to dwell on these things. Much of them is matter of history. But we are entitled to urge when the Government of India claim that they alone can properly look after industrial developments in this country, that their past record on the subject does not greatly support that claim. The Ministers may or may not do well. We do not wish to prophesy. But it is certainly the opinion of most Indians that the Government of India have not been sufficiently mindful of the interests of Indian industries in the past, and that Indian industrial

The Government of India despatch and the subjects of Education and Industries.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 15th June.

interests are likely to fare better in the hands of Indian Ministers. The Government of India refer to the racial factor in industrial matters. Nobody can say honestly that Indians in the past have received any under encouragement from Government in industrial matters owing to their being Indians. We say quite frankly that we can see nothing wicked or immoral if Indian enterprises received special encouragement at the hands of Indian Ministers just as English enterprise does at the hands of English Ministers. On the contrary, we think that it is the duty of Indian Governments, whether by Ministers or Members, to offer every encourgement to Indians to undertake the industrial development of the country. As for the Government of India's assumption that the Minister will be inevitably devoid of industrial experience, Sir Sankaran Nair's parenthetical remark 'as if the Civilian Member has great experience,' is a sufficient answer."

52. The Government of India's report on the Reform Scheme has disappointed all classes of people. It was naturally expected that Lord Chelmsford would support the recommendations of the Report made by himself and Mr. Montagu. But the wonder is that he has not done so. He has, under the domination of the Civilian members of his Council, espoused the cause of the I. C. S. When the Rowlatt Act was being passed, every Indian was disappointed to see that Sir Sankaran Nair did not resign his office as a protest against the passing of that measure. It now appears that Sir Sankaran had a deep purpose in sticking to office. By his strong and courageous minute of dissent he has rendered a great service to his country. The Government of India's report has opened the eyes of the Moderates who now understand the object with which the Government of India have proposed modifications in the proposed scheme of reforms.

Comments on the Government of India's despatch and Sir Sankaran Nair's minute of dissent.
Lárkána Gazette (52), 31st May.

53. "The campaign against the Press is in full swing. The *Hindu* and the *Swadeshamitram*, who have served the Madras Presidency so well and so faithfully, have been placed under a security, the pre-censorship imposed upon the *Bombay Chronicle*, in addition to the action taken against its former editor, Mr. Horniman, is not yet withdrawn. Again, the maximun security of Rs. 10,000 is demanded from it, and several other papers up and down the country have been punished under the Press Act. That the maximum security allowed under the law is found necessary in the case of a paper which is aleady being issued under the eyes of the authorities shows how jealous the officials are of the honour of the Indian Press! Protests are being sent up from everywhere against the application of the Act in all individual cases, and opinion is crystallising every day and gaining in strength against an Act which admits of such indiscriminate and unjust action."

Comments on the operations of the Press Act.
Servant of India (10), 12th June.

*54. "The Chief Presidency Magistrate of Bombay has ordered Mr. Brelvi to deposit the maximum security of Rs. 10,000 in the case of the *Bombay Chronicle* Press..... The language of section 5 shows that the Magistrate must not necesarily be vindictive by demanding the highest security, and yet the Chief Presidency Magistrate has quite unreasonably demanded the maximum security and showed, in spite of his unwillingness, vindictiveness which can be justified on no ground whatsoever. There is one strong legal point which has, curiously enough, escaped the attention of the defence counsel. The Chief Presidency Magistrate had passed a 'provisional' order some days ago that a security of Rs. 5,000 should be deposited pending inquiries. In the first place there is no section in the whole Press Act under which a *provisional* order of such a nature can be made. If one security, deposited under section 3 of the Press Act, is forfeited, then a new security can be demanded, once for all, under section 5 only, and that makes *no provision for passing any provisional order* pending inquiries. If perchance the Magistrate makes a *provisional* order, then he cannot but confirm it

Mahrátta (8), 15th June.

under the section. No enhancement under it is permitted, and, therefore, we think the Magistrate was quite wrong in *enhancing* it to Rs. 10,000. The point is worth taking before the Government, and we, therefore, hope that the managers of the *Chronicle* will take it before them."

*55. "Not a week passes that does not bring the report of some Indian newspaper being muzzled or in other ways heavily penalised under the Press Act or the Defence of India Act. Almost all the prominent newspapers of India have by this time been enchained..... The mischief of this and similar blunders in India can only be prevented if the Executive in India is deprived of the arbitrary powers of punishment vested in it by the Press Act. Even the highest courts of justice in the land have been rendered powerless to interfere between the Executive and its victims in the Press. Mr. Montagu has told us that a commission will be appointed shortly to investigate the causes of unrest in India. We make a present of one of them. The indignity that is being daily heaped upon the Indian Nationalist Press by the very persons whose actions come under its criticism is deeply resented by the people as an encroachment upon the rights of public expression and intensifies the already existing unrest."

Young India (16), 14th June.

56. The *Hindusthán* refers to the dismissal of the appeal of the *New India* newspaper by the Privy Council and, while complaining of the harsh operation of the Press Act, writes :—The maximum security has been demanded from the *Bombay Chronicle* in spite of its being placed under censorship and in spite of Mr. Horniman being no longer its editor. Now Government should remove the censorship. When the Press Act is being used with such liberality in the regime of our sympathetic Governor His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, how would it have been put into operation during the administration of Lord Sydenham? But since the Act is being put into operation on similar lines in all the Presidencies, we have reason to believe that the policy of the Government of India rather than that of the Provincial Governors has undergone a change. An agitation should be conducted in England to get the policy modified. The position of the Indian Press will remain pitiable as long as the Press Act stands without any change.

Hindusthán (24), 11th June.

57. "We heartily welcome the reappearance, after a period of nearly one month, of our esteemed contemporary the *Bombay Chronicle*..... We are thus daily reminded of the presence of this mighty official [the censor] by the blank space usually occupied by the most charming portion of the *Bombay Chronicle* but much as we may miss it, we admire our contemporary's decision not to submit its writings to the vagaries of censorship. The Indian press in this country is by no means the strong and powerful force that it might be, but for the operation of the Press Act; but the hardships to which it has been subjected during the last two months have left it in lamentably weak condition. Under these circumstances the reappearance of the *Bombay Chronicle* even without its comments is to be hailed; but we cannot help asking when is a change of policy to come?"

Comments on the reappearance of the *Bombay Chronicle*.
Home Ruler (6), 7th June.

58. "After the suspension of more than a month, the *Bombay Chronicle* has made its appearance during last week without its editorial comments. The censorship and the deportation of the editor are penalties that would prove too much for any paper, and we have no doubt that all right-minded people will sympathise with the Directors in this their strange mode of protest. Journalism is a force of immense potency in these days, and it has come to stay in this land in spite of the many hitches in its way. There is a pretty large class of people, who want their news in English, but who do not want to patronize Anglo-Indian papers for the simple reason that they do not rightly represent Indian public opinion. The *Chronicle* will, therefore, serve a useful purpose, although shorn for the time being of its power of effective criticism of public questions. We, however, hope that Govern-

Praja Bandhu (30), 8th June, Eng. cols.

ment will be pleased ere long to restore the paper to its career of public usefulness."

59. "The *Chronicle*, at present, is making its appearance without its editorial comments. We only hope that when it begins to publish its editorials they will be characterised by that spirit of independent criticism, which concerned itself ever with principles and never with personalities, and which had earned for the founder of the *Chronicle*, the late Sir P. M. Mehta, the respect even of his political opponents—officials and non-officials."

Subodh Patrika (48), 8th June; Eng. cols.

60. The *Loka Sangraha*, a new Marathi daily paper, in the course of an article enumerating the circumstances in which it comes into existence, writes:—The time when this paper comes into existence is not very encouraging for uudertakings of this kind. The press is at present in a sad condition. Wherever we turn, what do we see? If we turn onr gaze to any of the provinces of Bombay, Sind, Delhi, Punjáb or Madras, we find that the press is in a miserable plight. The operations of the Press Act and the Defence of India Act are in full swing. The Press Act in itself is quite capable of ruining a newspaper. During the last ten years it has claimed victims every now and then. But the Defence of India Act also comes to its assistance in case of necessity. These Acts are now carrying on a vigorous campaign against the newspapers. The amount of security deposited by some newspapers has been increased, the editors of some have been sent to jail or fined, some editors have been deported and some newspapers have been subjected to pre-censorship and are appearing with blank columns. All these difficulties of the press are due to the repressive policy of the authorities. But these are not the only difficulties the papers have to contend against. The dearness of printing materials presses as heavily upon the newspapers as the Press Act. If anyone supposes that the growth of newspapers will be arrested if the provisions of the Press Act are made more severe and the amount of security to be demanded from them is enhanced beyond the capacity of the poor Indians, he is mistaken. This is amply borne out by the appearance of several new papers. The human mind calculates that repression must succeed in repressing. But sometimes God ordains otherwise. Growth is the law of nature and it applies to newspapers also. Indeed, repression instead of repressing anything only meets with resistance. The principle of self-determination has created an awakening throughout the whole world. We also must, therefore, be united at this time. We shall aim at uniting the people, giving them encouragement and inspiring them with hope and confidence.

The conditions under which the *Loka Sangraha* has been started and its aims.

Loka Sangraha (new), 11th June.

*61. "We heartily welcome the *Loka Sangraha*, a new Marathi daily of the Nationalist party, started here by Mr. Paradkar on the auspicious day of the coronation of Shri Shivaji-Maharaj. We hope that it will be ably conducted, and will fill up a gap which was very keenly felt by the Nationalists in the Marathi-speaking districts. When momentous questions like the Reform Bill are looming large before the public, and when the reconstruction of nations is on the lips of every one, an ably conducted daily is a necessity, and we trust that the Marathi-speaking population will not fail to support this organ which promises well to spread the principles of Nationalism."

Welcome to the *Loka Sangraha*, a new Marathi "Nationalist" paper.

Mahrátta (8), 15th June.

*62. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"By the courtesy of the *Young India* syndicate, composed as it is largely of *Satyagrahis* since the deportation of Mr. Horniman, I hsve been permitted to supervise the editing of this journal. I asked for such supervision because I was anxious that nothing should appear in it that was in any way inconsistent with the general principles of *Satyaraha*, *i. e.*, of truth and non-violence to person or property. In pursuance of the plan, I have hitherto also written some leading

The case of Kalinath Roy, editor of the *Tribune*.

Young India (16), 11th June.

articles in the usual editorial style. But for this issue I wish to take the sole responsibility, if there be any, of writing on the case of Babu Kalinath Roy, the editor of the now defunct *Tribune*. Personally, I consider that even from the point of view of the authorities there is nothing wrong or out of the way in what I am about to say. But lest they may think otherwise, it is due to the public and to the *Young India* syndicate that the authorship of this writing should be known..... In my humble opinion the case represents a manifest and cruel wrong. I have not the honour of knowing him personally. When I took up the judgment in the case, I approached it with a feeling that there would be at least a *primâ facie* case on some isolated passages in his writings. But as I proceeded with it, the impression grew on me that it was a kind of special pleading in order to justify a conviction and a heavy sentence. In order to check myself I took up the numbers of the *Tribune* referred to in the judgment and on which the serious charge against Babu Kalinath Boy under section 124A of the Indian Penal Code was based, and a careful reading of every one of the writings in the *Tribune* more than confirmed the impression produced by a persual of the judgment and led me to think that the Martial Law Court had allowed its judgment to be warped and clouded by the atmosphere of suspicion and distrust surrounding it. The best proof of my statement must be the judgment and the writings on which it is based. They are, therefore, reproduced in this issue in full. I have prefaced the judgment and the offending articles in the *Tribune* with extracts from the other numbers showing the whole tendency and tone of the writings from the beginning of April just after the Delhi affairs. They are not extracts torn from their context but they are representative of the issues of the *Tribune* published after the 30th March last. The dominant note pervading all the issues is that the agitation against the Rowlatt legislation should be conducted with sobriety, truth and non-violence. I could nowhere trace in them ill-will, either against Englishmen in general or against the English Government in particular. Indeed, it would be difficult to surpass the *Tribune* in calmness and self-restraint in the face of circumstances brought about by the Delhi affairs..... The Court's discussion of the passages and articles fail to convince one of the propriety of its decision. The Court has resented the use of the term 'Delhi Martyrs' in the issues of the 6th and the 8th April. When you read the contents under the headings, the one has reference to prayers at the Jumma Masjid and the other to a Relief and Memorial Fund. The crime, in the language of the Court, was that 'the accused chose to emphasise the memorial for martyrs and not the relief,' and the Court proceeds, 'The inference from this is plain.' The plain inference from this is that whoever put the heading felt that those who were shot down at Delhi were so dealt with, without sufficient cause. Why this should be considered seditious passes comprehension. And if such an inference shows, as it undoubtedly does, that the action of the magistrate who gave the order for firing was wrong, is the drawing of such a deduction to be punished? We are told by the Court that one may point out to Government their errors. I submit that Mr. Roy justly pointed out the error of one of the local authorities..... The next indictment consists in the Editor having used the word 'dupe' in connection with the action of some honorary magistrates and Municipal Commissioners who tried to dissuade shopkeepers from closing their shops. This is what the article describing the demonstration of the 6th April says: 'The masses of India are no fools. ..... That they cannot be successfully duped ought to be clear from the very ignominous failure in this very case of certain Municipal Commissioners and honorary magistrates and several others who went round the city trying to persuade shop-keepers to keep their shops open.' This is a bare statement of fact as the accused knew it. Then follows an examination of the other articles as to which the gravamen of the charge is the assertion of the Editor that the action of the Punjáb Government was both 'unjust and unwarranted,' and that it had 'exposed itself to the severest criticisms at the bar of public opinion.' Here, too, the Editor has after having reasoned to the reader led him to the conclusion to which he himself has arrived—a procedure held to be entirely justifiable under the test accepted by the Court

itself. The wrong would undoubtedly be if the Editor had misstated facts. But in every case, as would appear from the articles reprduced herewith, the writer has fortified himself with what he believed to be facts, and which so far as the judgment allows us to see, have not been controverted. The other two articles referred to by the Court are 'Delhi Tragedy' in the issue of the 9th, and 'Blazing Indiscretion' in the issue of the 10th April. The 'Delhi Tragedy' is a dispassionate review of the tragedy of the 30th March, and ends with an exhortation to the Government of India to appoint a public inquiry. 'Blazing Indiscretion' is undoubtedly an indictment against Sir Michael O'Dwyer about his speech before the Punjáb Legislative Council. The speech analysed in the article in question certainly contains more than one 'blazing indiscretion.' The truth of the matter is that the wrong man was in the wrong box, the right man to have been in the box of the accused should certainly have been Sir Michal O'Dwyer. Had he not made inflammatory and irritating speeches, had he not belittled leaders, had he not in a most cruel manner flouted public opinion and had he not arrested Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal, the history of the last two months would have been differently written. My purpose now is not to prove Sir Michal O'Dwyer's guilt, but it is to prove Babu Kalinath Roy's complete innocence, and to show that he has suffered a grievous wrong in the name of British justice, and I do not hesitate to ask Englishmen as I ask my countrymen to join me in the prayer for Babu Kalinath Roy's immediate release. As Mr. Norton has shown, and quite recently Sir P. S. Shivaswami Aiyer, a Martial Law Tribunal was never contemplated to be one for the trial of cases involving delicate interpretations of difficult sections of ordinary enactments. Such tribunals are properly designed only for summary justice being meted out to men who are caught red-handed in acts of rebellion or crimes which mean, if left unchecked, complete disruption of society."

*63. "Having perused with some care the articles for which Mr. Roy has been indicted, we are not able to say that there is anything in them which is capable only of a seditious interpretation. As readers of the *Tribune* for many years, we certainly do not expect to see anything seditious in writings that have appeared in it. Possibly, if we were looking for sedition in the *Tribune*, we could have found it quite as well as the Martial Law Tribunal. Our point is that the law of sedition being necessarily wide, it is impossible to decide whether or not a particular article in a newspaper is or is not seditious without reference to the habitual tone and policy of that newspaper. We are on sure ground when we say that the *Tribune* of Láhore is not and has not been a newspaper given to a seditious vein of thinking..... We understand that Mr. Roy has recently suffered a heavy domestic bereavement, and that he is, moreover, in poor health. For all these reasons, we think that it will be a well-merited act of grace which will be widely appreciated, for Sir Edward Maclagan to recommend and the Viceroy to order the release of a respected journalist, who has deserved well of the country and of Government."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 15th June.

64. "One need only go through the alleged incriminating paragraphs and articles in the *Tribune* to be convinced of the serious miscarriage of justice from which Mr. Kali Nath Roy has suffered at the hands of the Martial Law Commission. They show of course an independence of mind which Indians have learnt to associate with Mr. Roy, but they show also a scrupulous regard for truth, an earnest effort to be fair and a studious avoidance of intemperate language which also are his characteristics. It would be well to follow the Commission in their discussion of the offending passages, for although the instructions issued to them are said to have precluded a lengthy judgement (!) we are assured that no important point has been passed by. ..... Altogether, considering the temper of public feeling and the provocation caused by Sir Michael's threats, the articles in question are such as to extort admiration for their restraint and judicial spirit. The Special Tribunal have signally failed in appreciating the drift of their criticism, and the conviction and sentence passed upon Mr. Kali Nath Roy will, we doubt not

Servant of India (10), 12th June.

outrage the sense of justice of every one who reads the offending articles. Add to it the fact that he was denied the aid of counsel of his own choice, and the unfairness done in his case will stand out in a glaring manner. The appeal which Mr. Andrews has made for funds with a view to the vindication of justice in this case must bring in sufficient money to enable an appeal being preferred to the Privy Council within the appointed time. No case probably stood a better chance of success in appeal than this. We confidently look forward to the judgement of the Martial Law Commission being reversed."

Comments on the *New Call* case.
New Times (9), 6th and 7th June.

65. Commenting on the *New Call* case, the *New Times* remarks:—"We regard the pamphlet as a product of feeble-mindedness; it deserved a contemptuous dismissal as the puerile production of a weak mind moving in a world of shadows and not aware of the realities of life. To impose the pains and penalties of law in the manner the learned magistrate has done is to make use of a Nasmyth hammer to break a butterfly..... Mr. Marriwalla's pamphlet is as the ebullition of a sick man, and to characterise it as the Magistrate does, 'a call to armed rebellion', is to fail to see it in its entirety..... Mr. Marriwalla asks Indians to answer the *New Call* of *Satyagraha* and follow the lead of Mr. Gandhi. There is no official pronouncement against *Satyagraha* itself; and even the evidence recorded by the learned magistrate will show that all possible efforts were put forth to see that the *Satyagraha* movement in Karáchi followed closely the instructions and ideals of Mr. Gandhi." [In the next issue the paper writes:—"We have watched the proceedings of the case with care; we wonder if the prosecution, at any moment during the trial, paused to *prove* the seditious character of the pamphlet; no *direct evidence* was called on this point; nor does the learned magistrate's judgment throw light on this question concerning the limits of legitimate criticism. The case against Mr. Durgdas is based on certain presumptions that he knew the pamphlet. The judgment of the learned magistrate admits points sought to be proved by the defence; but the conviction is based on 'inferences'..... Nor do we think that the learned Magistrate's 'inferences' on which the conviction is based are justified by the 'evidence'. It seems to us the learned magistrate has not appreciated the value of the facts and presumptions pointing to the conclusion that the pamphlet was published without the knowledge and consent of Mr. Durgdas. The proof of alibi has not been contradicted; it is cruel to facts and all the inferences of a critical mind to speak of Mr. Durgdas's absence as a 'a cleverly arranged alibi'..... The Indian public ask: Does Mr. Durgdas, who never consented to the printing and publishing of the pamphlet, deserve to rot in jail for two years? Does Mr. Marriwalla—a sentimental young man—deserve a similar punishment for writing a silly pamphlet?"]

Request for suspension of the recovery of the cost of punitive police imposed on the village of Udatare (Sátára).
Prakásh (115), 11th June.

66. At the last session of the Sátára Zilla Sabha held at Wái (Sátára) a resolution was passed to the effect that, as in the case of land revenue, recovery of the cost of the punitive police imposed on the village of Udatare (Sátára) owing to the recruiting disturbances there in May 1918 should be suspended by Government. The present state of things is such that the people of the village deserve to be exempted from payment. Having regard to the severity of the famine and other circumstances, Government should sanction the exemption. But we learn that arrangements are being made to recover the amount from the village. If it is to be recovered after all, would it not be just and lawful to grant its suspension? We do not think Government will recover the amount when suspension has been granted in the case of land revenue.

Indians and the Indian Educational Service.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 12th June; Eng. cols.

67. "A few days ago certain appointments of Indians to the Indian Educational Service were announced. Of these about half a dozen went to the Bombay Presidency..... The absolute exclusion of Indians from the imperial grade of the education service in Bombay, and all but absolute in the other provinces, had become a

crying scandal long before the present political agitations arose. The narrowness of the authorities in this respect was really strange and inexplicable. ..... The Bombay Indian Educational Service cadre apparently could not brook a native admixture, and persisted in remaining purely European till yesterday. This persistence might have been pardonable, if there was an excess of suitable European candidates for the service. The state of things was just the other way. There was a deplorable deficiency of the right sort of European recruit. During the last ten years or so, Oxford and Cambridge men have become scarce, and the department has to look for recruits at Leeds, Aberdeen and such other provincial Universities..... The provincial service man practically ended where the imperial service man began, in the conditions that have prevailed in the service uptil now. The conditions have cried out for amelioration for generations; and even now the attempts at improving the position and prospects of these well tried men in the service, appear to be very halting and half-hearted. Meanwhile, the results of the education department have been felt to be profoundly disappointing from more standpoints than one. Slowly but unmistakably the conviction has come to most people that education in India cannot be improved by driblets and patchwork. The whole system and the whole department require to be overhauled. What is now demanded, as the only cure for all the grievances, is a transfer of the department of education as a whole. It was expected that it would be conceded without much difficulty. But we know now that the Government of India is opposed to it, and is prepared to transfer only primary education. We are doubtful if the people will be satisfied now with the occasional crumbs that are thrown in the thape of an appointment here and an appointment there of Indians to the Indian Educational Service."

Comments on the reported recruiting of temporary I. M. S. men in Ceylon.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 9th June.

68. It is certainly deplorable that the Government of India should have called for offers from medical men in Ceylon to join the Indian Medical Service temporarily. Why have the Government to seek medical men from Ceylon, leaving aside India altogether? Government owe an explanation to the public as to whether similar offers had been called for from medical men in India and, if so, whether the result was satisfactory. Lord Morley had proposed to divide the present Medical Service into two separate branches, the Military and the Civil, and to man the latter largely with Indian practitioners. Why are these orders not executed as yet? The majority of the public have to depend on Vaidyas and Hakims, whom Government consider no better than quacks. We regret to say that Government have done nothing to remedy this state of affairs. There is only one Medical College in the whole of the Bombay Presidency, accommodating only a limited number of students. If the subject of Higher Education is made a 'transferred' one, the minister in charge will not fail to take necessary steps for supplying this long-standing want.

Alleged need of an inquiry in the recent arrests and house searches in Sind.

Servant of India (10), 12th June.

69. "If the information we have received of the particulars in connexion with the several arrests and house-searches that took place at Hyderabad (Sind) on April 26 be true, the local authorities responsible for these acts are guilty of grave irregularities. Fortunately, the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri, being out of town on the day the warrant was taken out against him, escaped arrest, though his residential house and office were searched in his absence, and the others, who were then arrested, have since been set free, thanks to the kindly intervention of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd. This fortuitous circumstance must not, however, be allowed to obscure the merits of the issues involved, and there is a pressing need for a searching inquiry into the whole affair."

Disabilities of Indians in South Africa.

Mahrátta (8), 15th June.

***70.** "A Cape Town telegram of May 8, summarises the Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on the disabilities of Indians in the Transvaal....." [Commenting at length on the recommendations of the Committee, the paper proceeds:—] "The cumulative result of these two recommendations is that Indians can be

tolerated in the Transvaal if they go there as mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. The 'sister' Dominion thus wants to treat her other 'sister's' sons, in her house, as mere slaves or helots! What a fine sisterhood it is! And this is the sisterhood that we have inherited from our dead on the battlefields! This is the golden love-chain that was forged in the furnace of war where Indians have sacrificed their lives! This is the result of all our efforts to establish goodwill and the spirit of co-operation among the members of the Empire! The state that thus insults the very spirit of friendship and co-operation does not deserve to be in the League of Nations, and the brazen affront given to Indians by the Committee spells the doom of any good feeling that may be existing in the minds of a few generous Indians. ..... It is no use merely shrieking, as did Mr. Montagu in his budget speech, that 'the position of Indians in South Africa was lower than the citizens of any other part of the Empire.' The unblushing effrontery of this refractory Dominion must be brought to the notice of more humane 'sisters' in the Empire, and other equal nations in the world, and South Africa must be put to shame for her ungrateful conduct."

The Afghan war and the Aga Khan's message to his followers.
Akhbár-i-Islám (59), 13th June.

71. Commenting upon the message sent by His Highness the Aga Khan to his followers in India in respect of the Afghan war the *Akhbár-i-Islám* writes:—The message affords an admirable proof of the loyalty and devotion of His Highness the Aga Khan towards the British Government and the Muhamadans throughout India should show their appreciation of the same. We hope the assurance contained in the latter part of the message will enable the Indians who have become impatient to keep their mental balance. His Highness the Aga Khan has been endeavouring to raise India to an honourable position in the Empire and we wish him every success.

Comments on terms of armistice offered to the Amir.
Gujarátí (20), 8th June.

72. The terms of the armistice are very mild and they will afford the new Amir a good opportunity to escape from the halter he had to put round his own neck. The Indian people want to know whether the treaty of peace will contain any term that will put a stop to the annual subsidy of eighteen lakhs given to the Amir. The people of this country consider that it would be better to spend the amount in giving a training in self-defence to Indians than to hand it over to the Afghans in order to fit them to bring invasions on India. The interests of Indians are not safeguarded in Afghanistan, and it is to be seen what terms are embodied in the new treaty?

The peace terms offered to Germany.
Hindusthán (24), 9th June.

73. The war news of the last few days has led many people to suppose that the war will be renewed again. If unfortunately it is renewed, it will not last long; for Germany herself cannot afford to fight long at present. But some Germans are intriguing with the Bolsheviks, who are still powerful in many parts of Russia. If, as a result of these intrigues, the state of anarchy that is now prevailing in Russia, comes to prevail in Germany also, the task of the Allies will become extremely difficult. The Germans may sign the peace-treaty, but if its terms are not acted up to by them, who will be held responsible for doing so? Those who sign the peace-treaty may resign and there may be a new order of Government in Germany. The present peace-terms are not likely to spread peace either in Germany or in Europe. Some politicians, therefore, are prepared to modify the peace terms to some extent with a view to spread peace in Europe for a long time. The future of Europe depends on whether its statesmen succeed in spreading peace in Europe or not. Mr. Lloyd George has declared that if the treaty will not be signed in Versailles it will be signed in Berlin. It is immaterial whether the peace is signed at Versailles or at Berlin, but despite its being signed at Versailles, if Europe would not get peace, then the peace-terms are useless. The German nation will not be daunted by threats. They have adopted an

extremely uncompromissing attitude, declaring that the signing of the peace is suicidal to them. If Germany will not sign, the situation will again be more complicated.

MUNICIPALITIES.

74. "In a Press Note just issued the Bombay Government express their inability to accept the resolution moved by the Honourable Mr. V. J. Patel and passed in the Legislative Council on March 21st, 1918, recommending the grant of power to selected Municipalities in this Presidency to determine the number and location of liquor shops within their limits..... We cannot understand what leads Government to hold that the responsibility for deciding the number and location of liquor shops cannot be reasonably imposed upon or effectively exercised by a Municipality. We think the time has arrived, if it is not overdue, to increase the sphere of our Municipal activities, because, as is so often suggested by our Anglo-Indian critics, they are the nurseries of statesmen and administrators. It is, however, gratifying to note that Government propose to examine the possibilities of still further reducing the number of liquor shops in certain areas and to freely consult existing advisory committees. In this connection it need hardly be said that consulation is not of much avail, if not followed by the adoption of the counsel given. Government are also issuing instructions to examine the possibilities of forming advisory committees for rural areas where such a course seems likely to be useful and of reducing the strength of liquor sold in various areas. We, however, think that the formation of advisory committees and the reduction in the strength of liquor sold will not solve this big and important problem that has required in other advanced countries a bold stroke of legislative enactment. In the interests of national efficiency and well-being, it is desirable that Government should be prepared to sacrifice an appreciable portion of its revenues. This will be amply made up if our labour force proves more productive, and the burden of its indebtedness is lessened in consequence of it.

Comments on the Government Press Note on Municipalities and local option.

Praja Bandhu (30), 8th June, Eng. cols.

75. The bureaucracy apparently takes a kind of pleasure in rejecting even the resolutions of the Legislative Councils. Otherwise it would not have brushed aside Mr. Patel's last year's resolution recommending Government to empower selected Municipalities to determine the location and number of liquor shops within their limits. It was Government's duty to apply the resolution to certain City Municipalities as an experimental measure but it has refused to do so after a year's cogitation. The reasons assigned are most hollow. It is argued that no importance need be attached to the resolution as it was passed by a majority of only one. But where the Council is so constituted that it should never have an elected majority, does not the majority of even one prove the necessity of the resolution? Moreover, does not the bureaucracy know that Government resolutions got passed by the casting vote of the President have been enforced? It is further argued that it would not be wise to entrust such power to a Municipality. We have no idea as to where the unwisdom would come in. But we are wrong! Suppose the Poona Municipality is given the power and to-morrow it closes the liquor-shop near the Training College, then the everyday exhibition of the wisdom of the bureaucracy in maintaining the shop on the road leading to educational institutions like the Fergusson College would be lost! Another reason urged is that Municipalities will not be able properly to exercise this power. We would ask the framers of the Press Note if they have heard of the proposal to hand over the Abkári Department to popular control under the Reform scheme. If they have, then how did they dare make the assertion in indecent haste that the Municipalities were not fit even to decide the location of liquor shops? In view of the coming reforms it was not at all necessary to publish this uncalled-for Press Note. But the bureaucracy's conceit and love of power impells it to indulge in such pranks.

Kesari (109), 10th June.

76. Commenting on the Press Note on the Honourable Mr. Patel's resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council, in favour of empowering Municipalities to determine the number and location of liquor shops within their limits, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* regrets that Government cannot accept the recommendations of the Council in this respect and declares that had the Government intended to do so, they could have given effect to this resolution in the case of cities like Bombay, Poona, Ahmedabad, Karáchi, Sholápur, etc. The Bombay Government, it continues, are noted for their earnest efforts with regard to the development of local self-government in this presidency, and hence it would hardly be consistent with their policy in this connection to refuse this right to the Municipalities. The paper thinks it would have been more desirable and more gratifying to the public had Government given effect to this resolution at least to some extent, if not fully.

Jám-e-Jamshed (26), 13th June.

77. Government would have done well to confer the power on municipalities for a short period as an experimental measure and they could have withdrawn it whenever they found that it was being misused. We protest against the decision of Government not to take action on the resolution.

Vibhákar (38), 9th June.

78. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* welcomes the recommendations made by the Municipal Commissioner of Bombay regarding the expansion of Bombay City by including Bandra, Santa Cruz, Kurla and Ghatkopar in the municipal limits, and hopes that the Corporation, after readily accepting them will soon request Government to make necessary arrangements for giving effect to them. It considers the Scheme of Back Bay reclamation as prejudicial to the public health and urges Government to spend the huge sum sanctioned for the Back Bay reclamation on the development of the areas recommended by the Municipal Commissioner. [The *Bombay Samáchar* endorses the above views and asks the Municipality and Government to take precautions against the falling of these new areas into the hands of speculators. The *Sánj Vartaman* on the other hand does not approve of the recommendations on the ground that the people residing in those parts, being poorer than the Bombay people, cannot pay the high taxes of the Bombay Municipality and that the municipal administration would grow very lax in consequence of its uncontrollable vastness. It strongly urgues the shelving of these recommendations at least for the present.]

Comments on the proposed extension of the municipal limits of Bombay City.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 11th June; *Bombay Samáchár* (62), 13th June; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 12th June.

79. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* refers to the hardships the public has to suffer with respect to housing accommodation in Bombay at present and requests His Excellency the Governor to extend the term of the Rent Act after the expiry of its statutory period. It is afraid that the tenants will be much harassed by the landlords if the operation of the Rent Act is entirely suspended. It also calls the attention of Government to the immediate necessity of providing housing accommodations for the middle and poorer classes and hopes that His Excellency Sir George Lloyd will succeed in getting a scheme prepared for this purpose under his personal supervision and in getting it executed with the co-operation and help of the public.

Hardships of the public regarding proper housing accommodation.

Jám-e-Jamshed (26), 12th June.

RAILWAYS.

80. Mr. V. G. Javdekar writes in the *Rajakárán*:—In 1902 the Honourable Mr. Dikshit interpellated Government whether they would prohibit the Southern Maratha Railway Company from carrying passengers in cattle trucks and was informed in reply that under section 63 of the Railway Act the Governor-General had framed certain rules empowering Railway

Complaint against carrying railway passengers in cattle trucks.

Rajakárán (116), 8th June.

Companies to carry passengers in goods wagons in case of necessity but that under those rules cattle trucks could not be used for the conveyance of passengers. In 1915 the Honourable Mr. Kamat again asked a similar question and was referred to the reply given to the Honourable Mr. Dikshit. Being desirous to know what these rules are I wrote to the Railway Board for a copy thereof and was referred to the Railway Companies. I then wrote to the G. I. P. and the Southern Maratha Railway Companies. No reply has yet been received from the former Company while the latter replied that the rules were meant for the use of the Railway employees and that, therefore, no copy could be supplied to me. As a last resort I have asked the Honourable Mr. Upasani to interpellate Government again on this subject.

NATIVE STATES.

81. We learn that the Kolhapur Durbar has been taking steps in the matter of the damage recently done to certain Kulkarnis in the State by non-Brahmins. This is like digging a well after a fire has broken out. How are we to characterise this attempt to settle the disputes between Brahmins and non-Brahmins now when the Durbar failed to take adequate steps to eradicate them in the beginning and on the contrary indirectly encouraged them? If the Durbar thinks that this crooked policy is beneficial we would suggest that it should be guided by past experience. If Kolhápur Brahmins have come to think that *Khalsa* territory is preferable to State territory, the impression cannot be said to be groundless and erroneous.

The disputes between Brahmins and non-Brahmins in the Kolhápur State.

Arya Vaibhav (93), 5th June.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. The retrograde proposals contained in the Government of India's Despatch had naturally raised the apprehensions of the public that even the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme was likely to be whittled down in the Reform Bill. But it is a matter for satisfaction that the Bill has been framed on the lines of the Joint Report and that the reactionary suggestions of the Government of India have found no place in it. Mr. Montagu has stated before the House of Commons that most of the reforms under the Bill are to be dealt with by rules. As these rules have not been published there is no means at present to know whether any of the Government of India's retrograde proposals have materialised in them. The Joint Report Scheme proposed 100 members for the Legislative Assembly and 50 for the Council of State, while the Reform Bill fixes 120 members for the former and 56 for the latter. Though the number of members has thus been increased in the case of both the bodies, it is satisfactory to see that the relative proportion of the elected and non-official members to the total number of members as originally proposed has not been reduced. It is not a small thing that the Government of India's proposals have not found a place in the Bill. It now lies with our Deputations in England to get the measure amended in the right direction. [Elsewhere the paper urges the necessity for all the other deputations co-operating with the deputation of the Moderates in the matter of suggesting amendments in the Bill inasmuch as there appears to be no hope of the amendments being favourably considered by the Joint Committee of Parliament unless there is unanimity amongst all the deputations. It thinks that this unanimity can be easily brought about in view of the ultra-Moderate views which Mr. Tilak has been giving expression to in the course of his speeches in England.]

The Reform Bill before Parliament.
Dnyán Prakásh (41), 19th June.

***2.** "Even a cursory perusal of the Bill will show how much has yet to be provided for by means of rules in regard to important points, controversial or otherwise. That explains the anxiety displayed by Mr. Montagu to assure Parliament and the Indian public that the final responsibility of framing these rules will not rest with the executive in India. But as the Bill now stands, it does not make one a bit wiser than the Joint Report and provisions of a most vital character have yet to be embodied in it under rules which are yet to be framed..... The people of India who are most directly and vitally concerned in these rules will find it impossible to make their voice heard in Parliament through a spokesman of their own, and notwithstanding the assurances given by Mr. Montagu, we are afraid history is likely to repeat itself once more. The Government of India will not frame any rules without consulting the local Governments nor override their recommendations. The latter are likely to join hands, as they did in formulating their own scheme as a substitute for the one recommended in the Joint Report, and the Secretary of State and his Council as well as Parliament will find themselves constrained to accept the rules framed by the Government of India. Mr. Montagu showed his anxiety to avoid the possibility of any such allegation as was made in connection with the Morley-Minto reforms. But we are not sure the Bill as framed will fully secure the object he has in view and in regard to which the Indian public are even more anxious than he is."

Gujaráti (20), 22nd June, Eng. cols.

***3.** "The Bill deviates from the proposals of the scheme in two noteworthy instances. Communal electorates are expressly mentioned in it. The Bill also refers to Governors, Lieutenant-Governors and Chief Commissioners, which shows that, though all the provinces are to be known under the Bill as 'Governors' provinces,' the heads of provincial Governments will continue to bear their present designations. An altogether new provision

Indian Social Reformer (7), 22nd June.

is the power taken to create new Governors' provinces or 'place part of a Governor's province under the administration of a deputy Governor,' and all or any of the other provisions of the Bill may be applied to these new provinces and sub-provinces. The Bill omits to define the relation between a sub-province to the parent province, of the Deputy Governor to the Governor. We are inclined to view with some suspicion this clause in the Bill as opening a side door to divisional Councils and Provincial states which were condemned in the joint report. The power to create new provinces is necessary. But we doubt the necessity or the desirability of giving the Government of India the power to create Deputy-Governorships with Executive Councils, Ministers and Legislative Councils. It is just conceivable that this power may be exercised to split up a province where the progress to responsible government proceeded at a pace which did not suit the Government of India for the time being. Of course, there is the safeguard that the King's consent should be previously obtained by the Secretary of State. But where is the need for this provision even with the safeguard? It is better to create a part of a province which has outgrown its sub-provincial character into a new and independent province than keep it hanging on as a broken branch to the parent stem. Apart from this the Bill leaves too much to the Executive Government. 'Provision *may* be made by rules under the Government of India Act' for the transfer of subjects to provinces and Ministers. 'The Governor *may* appoint Ministers.' 'A Governor *may* appoint such times for holding the sessions of his legislative council', and so on. In fact, so far as the language of the Bill goes, it is entirely left to the discretion of the Government of India when they shall take action on it or whether they shall take action on it or not. We should like these numerous 'mays' to be substituted by a fairly large number of 'shalls'. We recognise that much should (and had best) be left to rules, but we cannot help thinking that Bill leaves much too much."

4. "In his budget speech—which we reproduce elsewhere—Mr. Montagu had foreshadowed the character of the Bill as one which in substance carried out the proposals which the Viceroy and he had made in their Joint Report. Mr. Montagu had added that some of the amendments suggested by the Government of India in their despatch had been incorporated in the Bill, while in regard to others he would invite the Joint Committee of the two Houses of Parliament to decide against them. Having regard to the fact that almost all the amendments suggested by the Government of India were retrograde in the extreme, the statement caused no little alarm to all friends of reform. The text of the Bill, as published, is not calculated to reassure the public mind in this respect. An instance in point is the question of the disposition of provincial finance, on which the successful working of the scheme entirely depends. While it is some satisfaction to find that Mr. Montagu has not countenanced the amazingly obscurantist proposal of the Government of India, that the financial resolutions passed by the provincial councils should merely be recommendatory, it is not clear whether the equally reprehensible proposal to have an absolutely divided purse as between the transferred and reserved subjects has or has not been rejected. The uncertainty arises from the fact that 'the allocation of provincial funds' for the purpose of administering transferred subjects is one of the many important points in regard to which provision is to be made by rules which are to be submitted to Parliament and are still unknown. In fact the feature of the Bill is the number of issues of far-reaching importance, vitally affecting the character and the operation of the reforms, which have yet to be settled by rules. It is true that the Joint Committee of the two Houses will determine the policy of the rules and that Parliament will continue to exercise its control over that policy; but there is still considerable ground for misgivings that the bureaucracy in this country which will, even under the Bill, have, to all intents and purposes, a dominant voice in this matter, will, as heretofore, mar the reforms. All this is, of course, apart from the innumerable safeguards and limitations which, under the Bill as it is drafted, restrict the scope of the few substantial reforms that are vouchsafed. For the moment, however, we are concerned not so much with what the Bill contains as with what it omits..... What is the respect that has been paid to the voice of

Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th June.

the Indian people, whose destiny the Bill seeks to shape? The viewiof the vast bulk of the people, as voiced by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League, has been flouted. The appeals even of the Moderates, who in their firm support of the scheme brought on themselves the country's disfavour, have received scant attention. In his budget speech Mr. Montagu said: 'The keystone, the whole basis, the vital point of Indian reform to-day is the transference of power from the bureaucracy to the people, gradual if you like, but real at every stage.' That has been the demand of the country for over three decades and during the last few months the moderates as well as the bulk of their countrymen have insisted that no transference of power from the bureaucracy to the people could be real which did not involve a change in the constitution of the Government of India. This contention has been absolutely ignored and the ignoring of it, apart from other defects in the Bill, makes the latter, as it stands, unacceptable to a self-respecting people. And what is the Government of India whose authority must remain uncontrolled by the representatives of the people? A close corporation of permanent and irremovable officials whose defiance of the country's united and emphatic protest by passing the Rowlatt legislation, whose acquiescence in, and silent support, of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's policy in the unhappy Punjáb and, last but not least, whose undiluted and unmitigated obscurantism, as revealed in their despatch of March 5 last, opposing the grant of any real reform to the people, have rudely shaken the faith of the people in British justice and fair play!"

*5. "The actions of the authorities in the Punjáb and the opposition of the Governments of Madras, the Central Provinces and Assam to any transfer of responsibility point out the danger of leaving much of the Reforms to the mercy of those who are either opposed to them, or who cannot execute them in the spirit of sympathy and co-operation with the people which is the guiding post of responsible government. Similarly a Brodrick or a Salisbury as a Secretary of State for India can spoil everything in his fatuousness for ruling or 'bleeding India,' and, therefore, the incorporation of rules of the essentials of the Reforms in the Statute itself is all the more necessary if at all the Reforms are not intended to be diluted or defeated in the actual routine of administration..... These principles closely approximate to the recommendations of the Joint Report, and they have already been characterised by the responsible leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League as disappointing and unsatisfactory. Radical modifications in the scheme were demanded, and the latest telegram shows that in a private interview with Mr. Montagu, the Congress deputation headed by Dewan V. P. Madhavrao, C.I.E., plainly told him that nothing less than provincial autonomy and some element of responsibility in the Government of India would satisfy Indians. These demands cannot be satisfied by the Bill as it stands..... We want a fully autonomous government in the provinces exactly on the line of the Dominion States. Nothing short of it can be expected to satisfy us. But even if we examine the Bill as it is still, there are some grave defects in it which detract much from its intrinsic value. Take, for instance, the State Secretary's power of revocation or suspension of the transfer of any department. It is, as has been shown by Sir Sankaran Nair, clearly against the policy of *progressive* realisation of responsible government. Any revocation of the power already granted cannot be called 'progress.' It is exactly the opposite of it and, therefore, that power cannot and ought not to be allowed to the State Secretary in Council..... Similarly the power of dismissal of a minister is granted to the Governor without any check on the abuse of it. A Sydenham or a Michael O'Dwyer may abuse it, and, therefore, some clear rules must be framed to prevent its abuse. The third glaring defect lies in the power given to the Governor and the State Secretary to fix the salary of the minister. Why can his salary be not fixed in the schedule as is that of the executive councillors? There is no reason for that. Other defects, such as the power to appoint a minister before election, the eligibility for nomination of the autocratic rulers of Native States, the institution of a superfluous permanent Public Service Commission, the omission of the Report proposal to move the Government of India for the further transfer of depart-

Mahrátta (8), 22nd June.

ments every five years, the removal of the limit to the number of the Viceroy's executive councillors, and several others can be quoted which are either destructive of the scheme or redundant..... Anyhow it is quite impossible to pass a final judgment on the Bill till it is passed by Parliament. But one thing we can positively say that so long as it does not come up to the level of the Congress demands it cannot satisfy the surging Indian aspirations. The appetite of the rising generation, which is brought up in the atmosphere of the principles of self-determination and self-government, cannot be quenched by such crumbs of reforms."

Indu Prakásh (44), 20th June; *Lokasangraha* (new), 20th June.

6. As expected the Reform Bill is not such as would give rise to enthusiasm in the hearts of the people. It shows that our rulers have made up their minds to give the people something else than what they have demanded. The Bill can even now be improved if the Parliamentary Committee to which it has been referred takes care to consult the various deputations now in England and act according to their advice. A great responsibility therefore rests upon the deputations to take united action. If they do not succeed we shall have to accept what is given and agitate for more. [The *Lokasangraha* while admitting that certain provisions of the Bill, such as those about placing the Secretary of State's salary on the Home estimates and the appointment of Parliamentary Committees every ten years to examine the working of the Reforms, are sure to induce Englishmen to take greater interest in Indian matters than is the case at present, declares that Indians get nothing important in the matter of the Government of India, where the powers of the Governor-General have been left uncontrolled by the provisions regarding the Council of State. As regards the fiscal autonomy of the Provinces, it points out that while authority to make fiscal laws is given to the people, the concession is rendered useless by the grant of autocratic powers to the Governor. It further points out that the Bill deliberately strengthens the position of the Indian Civil Service and concludes by saying that there are clear evidences that even Mr. Montagu has been strongly influenced by the bureaucracy in the framing of the measure.]

Gujaráti (20), 15th June; *Hindusthán* (24), 18th and 19th June; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 19th and 20th June; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 18th and 19th June; *Bombay Samáchár* (62), 20th June.

7. Indians need not be elated at the passing of the second reading of the Indian Reform Bill in the House of Commons. We are not in a position to know what sort of reception will be accorded to the Bill by the House of Lords and the British public and so we have for the present to drift between hope and despair. The bureaucratic officials had taken special care to maintain their authority intact in the Reform Bill introduced by Lord Morley. It was on that account that the measure tended to spread dissatisfaction among the people. Non-official members got an access to the Legislative Councils but the bureaucrats were not influenced by public opinion and so the object of the Morley reforms was defeated. Mr. Montagu has introduced certain clauses in the present Bill so that it may not meet with failure. One feature of the Bill that will disappoint the Indian public is that the Government of India will continue to be administered in the same irresponsible manner as heretofore. The special advantage of the Bill is that in provincial administion certain departments will be controlled by the representatives of the people. There is also nothing in the Bill to prevent a Governor like Lord Willingdon from entrusting all portfolios to popular representatives. It is our belief that in the Bombay and Madras presidencies which are under liberal-minded Governors like His Excellency Sir George Lloyd and Lord Willingdon, a beginning will be made by placing a large number of portfolios in the hands of Ministers. Perhaps these two presidencies will have the good fortune of securing at an early date complete provincial autonomy during the *regimé* of their present Governors. [The *Hindusthán* writes :—It appears from the Bill that no weight has been given to public opinion in India in the matter of the administration of the Government of India. The arrangement in the matter of transferring the expenditure of maintaining the India Office to the British treasury is judicious. The Indian National Congress has asked

for such a change for years past and now that the demand has been conceded the British public will be able to exercise direct control over the Secretary of State for India. The authority vested in the enlarged legislative councils will be nullified by the Grand Committees. The popular voice has no control over the administration of the Government of India. In these circumstances how can the reforms be acceptable to the Indian people? In the subsequent issue the paper writes:—Most of the political leaders of India have gone to England, still we would like to suggest that a conference of our Indian political leaders should be convened at an early date to determine the minimum requirements of India. The Rowlatt Act has wiped off political differences in India and the introduction of the Reform Bill is likely to unite the Extremists and the Moderates. The time at our disposal is very short and if India does not come forward to express its firm opinion on the Bill it will have to continue its agitation for ten years more. The *Sánj Vartamán* remarks:—There is a need for declaring a strong opinion on that part of the Reform Bill which is of an unsatisfactory nature. All public bodies in India should communicate their opinions to Parliament by cablegram. Not only that, but public meetings should be held in every city and town in India and they should suggest alterations in the Bill and forward their opinions to the President of the Joint Committee. In the subsequent issue the paper expresses disapproval of the absence of specific provisions in the Bill in the matter of administrative reforms and the power it confers on the Government of India to issue orders subject to the sanction of the Secretary of State. It is afraid that the appointment of Grand Committees will be a serious menace to the development of provincial autonomy. It is, however, gratified at the provision in the Bill conferring freedom of speech on the members of Legislative Councils and suggests that freedom of speech and the press should be given to India by a parliamentary proclamation as suggested by the Indian National Congress and that no one should be deprived of his liberty of speech without an open trial in the Court of law. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* while making certain objections to the Bill is highly gratified at the arrangements that will establish a direct Parliamentary control on the Government of India. In the subsequent issue the paper suggests certain changes in the Bill by which the position of Ministers will be made more stable and by which Governors will have less scope of imposing their own will on them. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses a hope that the Parliamentary Committee will remove those defects in the Bill that do not seem to fully accord with its aims and objects.]

8. "It was a speech of the first importance which Mr. Montagu delivered in the House of Commons on occasion of the second reading of the Reform Bill..... There are two points with regard to the procedure which has been adopted which requires some comment. After the discussion that has already taken place on the reforms for the last two years, a reference to the Joint Committee should not have been needed. The arguments advanced by Mr. Montagu in favour of this course do not possess sufficient force to carry conviction. It is only the hope of 'an agreed bill' emerging from the deliberations of the Committee, which can reconcile Indians to the interposition of another stage in the passage of the Bill which would ordinarily be considered as too dilatory. If this should minimise opposition in the House of Lords and make the journey of the Bill to the Statute Book secure, it would prove ultimately to India's interest, but it remains to be seen if some sections of opinion in England, which have been intransigent so far, will become tractable as a result of this concession shown to them. The other point is in regard to a great number of the reforms being enacted in the form of rules instead of the statute. The reason advanced by Mr. Montagu for making the Bill 'only a skeleton' is that, being avowedly transitional in its character, it must be in such a form that successive alterations should be possible in it without approaching Parliament for them every time. He, therefore, proposes that 'details should be accomplished by rules' to be submitted to both Houses. The Committee would consider the policy of the rules, if not actually the wording of them, and any subsequent changes

Comments on Mr. Montagu's speech on the second reading of the Reform Bill.
Servant of India (10), 19th June.

would be effected without the Parliament having to take the matter into its consideration, unless the proposed change was opposed by some member in the form of a resolution. While this makes it easier for future changes to take place, it also obviates the objection that the officials in this country will use their rule-making power in such a way as to neutralise the effect of the reforms, as has been our bitter experience in the matter of Morley-Minto reforms. Parliament will retain control of the policy of the rules throughout. ..... The principle of the division of functions is not proposed to be introduced into the Central Government, as demanded by public opinion, but it is to be hoped that in the Committee stage this necessary improvement will be effected."

9. Commenting on Mr. Montagu's speech at the second reading of the Indian Reform Bill the *New Times* remarks :—

New Times (9), 17th June.

"Mr. Montagu's Bill is cautious, halting; it is, as Sir Donald Maclean said during the debate in the Commons, 'a very short step,' safeguarded by all sorts of precaution; but it is inspired by lofty faith in the liberal ideal and the noble purpose to secure co-operation where there is friction at this hour of our destiny. Mr. Montagu's Bill and speech are a promise to the Indian people, and the promise, we hope, will be made good by the Parliament."

10. Of all the speeches hitherto delivered by Mr. Montagu, the one at the second reading of the Indian Reform Bill is the most hopeful. Though it is extremely doubtful whether the rights of *Swarájya* according to Mr. Montagu will at all be granted to India, still its contents are sure to encourage the *swarájya* agitation and to prove that the demand for *Swarájya* is pure unalloyed gold. We cannot therefore sufficiently thank Mr. Montagu for the service he has done to the Nationalist party. Though Mr. Montagu's reasoning coincides with that of the Indian National Congress, he is not going to touch the powers of the Central Government, though the Imperial Legislative Assembly is to have a larger elected majority than at present. Thus the present function of that body of merely criticising and fretting and fuming is still to continue. There is therefore no prospect of an early and satisfactory solution of the question of India's poverty. Mr. Montagu has been telling Parliament that the present state of things in which the people can only fret and fume must be replaced by one in which the powers of the bureaucracy are transferred to the people. Does not this apply to the Central Government also as to the Provincial Governments? Mr. Montagu's reply is that the present measure is to serve only as a temporary bridge to open the way for the popular control of the central government. Supposing this reasoning to be correct it would not be right, even from the point of view of Mr. Montagu, to allow the bureaucracy to place bombs beneath the arches of his bridge, inasmuch as while the people are trying to traverse it the bureaucracy will not fail to blow up the central arch destroying all our hopes of progress. It must be admitted that the clever accoucher who was needed to bring about the forthcoming new birth of the Indian nation, without inflicting suffering on the mother and the child, has been found in Mr. Montagu who is doing his work with enthusiasm and care. He knows the tactics of the bureaucracy which will try its utmost to retain its own powers and he has exposed the doings of the Sydenham clique. He has also rejected the retrograde proposals of the Government of India and the provincial governments. But he is not prepared to hand over the Police, Judicial and Land Revenue Departments to the hands of ministers to-day. The arguments adduced by Sir Sankaran Nair in his minute of dissent ought to be taken into consideration and at least as many departments as would enable the ministers to lay down and carry out their respective programmes should be placed under their charge. Mr. Montagu does not want to turn the ministers' departments into mere municipalities as proposed by the Government of India, nor does he wish to place the ministers at the mercy of the Governors. All this is extremely praiseworthy, but the only means by which Mr. Montagu can get himself clear of the reactionary proposals of the Government of India is to accept the *swarájya* resolution passed by the Congress. He knows the sovereign remedy, but his

Kesari (109), 17th June.

hands apparently began to shake at the sight of the bureaucracy. How can that be helped? This is the time for all political parties in India to take united action.

11. Mr. Montagu's speech at the second reading of the Reform Bill was wholly satisfactory. Disappointment had taken hold of people's minds since the publication of the Government of India despatch of the 5th March last because Indians would not have got any real power if the suggestions made therein had been accepted. But even after his speech there are grounds for fear that he will have to accept, unwillingly perhaps, some of the retrograde suggestions of the Government of India. Mr. Montagu had no difficulty in demonstrating the worthlessness of the alternative schemes proposed by Lord Sydenham and the Provincial Governments. The recommendations of the Southborough Committee are also of a liberal character and its suggestions will prove acceptable to the people if modified in one or two respects. But the retrograde proposals of the Government of India must have no place in the Bill. Mr. Montagu properly described the status of the Civil Service and his speech was decidedly most encouraging. [The *Surya* on the other hand expresses dissatisfaction that under the Reform Bill the Government of India is to remain practically unchanged and writes:—We wonder how Mr. Montagu expects progress and contentment by leaving the Government of India untouched. We are bound to say that he purposely ignores our interests. Although his policy is somewhat better than that of the Anglo-Indians it pales before the noble deeds of the great Empires in the past. Some people do not realise the hollowness of the reforms and they are pleased with Mr. Montagu's utterances. This is due to their stupidity. So long as there are such stupid persons there will always be a Pandit Morley, a Pandit Montagu or a Pandit Wilson to impose upon them.]

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 15th June; *Surya* (new), 17th and 18th June.

12. "Mr. Montagu's speech, we believe, will rank as one of the finest utterances ever made for the furtherance of the Indian cause in the House of Commons. We may not agree with all that Mr. Montagu has said, but we cannot help feeling grateful for the dominant note which he struck throughout his speech..... While Mr. Montagu, agreeing with His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, drew the pointed attention of the House to the supreme need of the moment to give something immediately, he equally emphatically stated that that something must be substantial, however little, by way of transferring the real responsibility to the people. Time is undoubtedly a vital factor and the delay of even a day is adding strength to the anti-British propaganda by being exploited with a view to render the Government more and more unpopular in the eyes of the people. Mr. Montagu stated that the enthronement of bureaucracy is the very negation of the progressive realisation of responsible Government. We agree. But the point where we differ from him is that in his anxiety to dethrone the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy he is intentionally or unintentionally enthroning the Indian bureaucracy responsible to all outward appearances to the people but in reality as despotic as any despotic government could be."

Vibhákar (38), 16th June, Eng. cols.

13. Taking all circumstances into consideration we have to thank Mr. Montagu sincerely for his speech. Still, the hope which his speech inspires in the first instance is quickly succeeded by despondency when it is seen that he has rejected the Congress-League Scheme and does not propose to grant fiscal autonomy to India which is the very life of *swarájya*. Anxiety is also felt as to how our impoverished country is going to hold its own in the forthcoming industrial and commercial struggle.

Lokasangraha (new), 15th June.

*14. "The whinings of the Anglo-Indian Press and the abuse heaped by them upon Mr. Montagu cannot detract from the value of the statesmanlike utterance with which he moved the second reading of the Indian Reforms

Kaiser-i-Hind (27), 22nd June, Eng. cols.

Bill in the House of Commons. That speech stamps him once again as a sound statesman. We can see where and why Mr. Montagu has offended his critics. He has told the truth and truth is often unpalatable and always so to those given to misrepresentation..... Mr. Montagu has succeeded in proving his case for the principle of Diarchy..... Red tape is the curse of all administrations and it is a pleasure to learn that the Government of Bombay, under the able guidance of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, have undertaken to reform their Secretariat system. Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith's great experience will undoubtedly effect a great reform, but we doubt it will ever be complete. The delay and irritation that red tape causes will remain. Sir Hubert Smith can only minimise them."

Comments on the removal of the censorship from the *Bombay Chronicle*.

Bambay Chronicle (1), 19th June.

15. "To-day the *Bombay Chronicle* makes its appearance as a 'free' organ of public opinion after a suspension of its issue for thirty-four days and its publication under censorship for eighteen days. Even before the order of pre-censorship was imposed on the *Chronicle* press, events had begun to occur which have added to the history of India a chapter more momentous and tragic than any since the days of the Mutiny. But it was during the period the *Chronicle* remained under censorship that the bulk of that chapter was written. To every patriotic Indian—and we have reason to believe to every right-minded Englishman—this period has been one of trial and travail, and the bitter memory of it will linger long after right and justice are vindicated, as, we trust, they will soon be vindicated. A superme duty faces the country at the moment. It is to see that no efforts are spared to secure the immediate vindication of right and justice. Having regard to that supreme duty, we do not think it necessary to dwell on our own misfortune except to point out that the treatment meted out to Mr. Horniman and the *Chronicle* has been as undeserved and unwarranted as it has been overwhelmingly drastic and oppressive—and to emphasise its bearing on the need of the country. Mr. Horniman's deportation has been universally condemned by Indian public opinion as a most arbitrary exercise of executive authority. Equally clearly has the country demonstrated how great is the debt which it owes to the services ably and fearlessly rendered to its cause by Mr. Horniman. Mr. B. J. Padshah vividly and adequately characterises the wrong and futility of the the action of the Government, when he says that 'the deportation, without a demonstrated sufficiency of reasons, of such a leader of journalism whom the Governor could have put into the service of causes which the Governor is said to have at heart, may prove to be a measure which others besides the Governor might yet live to regret.' The country has demanded the concellation of the order of deportation, and especially after Mr. Jinnah's reply to the statements made by Mr. Montagu in the Commons, indicating the grounds for the deportation, there is now no justification for the continuance of the order. As for the *Chronicle*, the avalanche of orders against it has been overwhelming. To use Mr. Arundale's expressive phraseology, it has been made to exchange the fire for the frying-pan. The misfortune which has befallen Mr. Horniman and the *Chronicle* brings into relief a constitutional issue which must be immediately brought home to the British democracy for satisfactory solution before any reforms, however liberal and beneficial in conception, prove to be so in reality. That constitutional issue is that Government in this country must immediately be placed on its right basis—as in every civilized country—by substituting popular will for executive fiat. The Press Act and other laws which leave the fundamental rights and liberties of the people at the mercy of an irresponsible executive must at once be repealed. More, the rights and liberties of the Indian people as British citizens must be secured to them by the Statute, which will embody the constitutional reforms that are promised. To the securing of that end as well as of justice to all who have suffered as a result of arbitrary executive action during the tragic days that have passed and are passing, the thoughts and energies of all patriotic Indians must now fully be directed."

16. "We congratulate Sir George Lloyd's Government and the directors of the *Chronicle* Press upon the removal of the pre-censorship to which the *Chronicle* was subjected. It is never too late to mend and we are glad to find that the Bombay Government have partially retraced the hasty step they took in inflicting a triple punishment upon the *Chronicle*. The text of the order dispensing with pre-censorship shows that the Government did not wish to have the cake and eat it. The demand on their behalf for the heaviest security shows that the censorship was proving too irksome for them and bearable, if only by force of habit, for the editor and the directorate of the *Chronicle*. The Government could not both have the security and the censorship; so the latter has been withdrawn. We do not know that it is an unmixed relief. Pre-censorship made the editor's task lighter. Indeed a mischievous Editor might even occasionally succeed in showing dangerous scraps from the daily press. Now the editor has to write always with his eye upon the Rs. 10,000 belonging to his employers. If the check only made him more careful and cautious, we should not mind. Unfortunately the deposit of security which is forfeitable at the will of the executive seriously interferes with the free expression of opinion on measures and events of public importance. We hope that the Government will see the reasonableness of dispensing with the security altogether and boldly rely upon the law of the land acting as a sufficient check upon unrestrained license in writing. Equally necessary is it for the Government to recall the order against Mr. Horniman. It must he patent to them by this time that the reason given by Mr. Montagu in justification of the order cannot be supported by facts. We respectfully suggest that it will be an act of statesmanship for His Excellency to mend the mistake by withdrawing the order of deportation." [The *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"The pre-censorship was certainly not to secure the deposit of the maximum security by the keeper of the *Chronicle* press, as Mr. Crerar's communication implies. We are glad that the censorship has been withdrawn. The fact is that the censorship had proved a farce. The *Chronicle* reproduced articles from other papers and indicated by means of asterisks any portions that were cut out, so that the reader had simply to get a copy of the other paper to find out what was said. Pre-censorship is likely to be of effect, if at all, only in regard to a particular item of news which it is desirable not to publish or refer to. The Punjáb Government was able to prevent Indian papers from giving accounts of the recent disturbances there by this device, only because Martial Law was simultaneously introduced in the localities affected."]

Young India (16), 21st June; **Indian Social Reformer* (7), 22nd June.

17. All will be glad to learn that the pre-censorship has been withdrawn from the *Bombay Chronicle*. Mr. Brelvi, the new editor, is known to be very reasonable, and it would never have been just to punish him for what Government considered to be the sin of Mr. Horniman. Continuance of the censorship would, therefore, have been unjust and we are glad Government have withdrawn it. The imposition of the new security of ten thousand on the paper is similarly indefensible. We hope the matter will be reconsidered and the security returned just as the censorship has been withdrawn.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 19th June.

18. There was no ground for continuing the censorship on the *Bombay Chronicle* after demanding the security of Rs. 10,000 from it and it was on that account that we requested Government to remove the unnecessary control. We are now gratified to learn that Government have been pleased to remove the censorship. We congratuate His Excellency Sir Gerorge Lloyd on the step he has taken. The present political situation requires the ventilation of free public opinion in a fearless manner. Now that the Indian Reform Bill has been introduced in Parliament we hope the editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, Mr. Brelvi, will discharge his duty in an independent manner.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 18th June.

19. In the course of a "tribute" to Mr. Horniman, Mr. B. J. Padshah writes:—"The deportation, without a demonstrated sufficiency of reasons, of such a leader of journalism whom the Governor could have put into the service of causes which the Governor is said to have at heart, may prove to be a measure which others, besides the Governor, might yet live to regret. The middle class circle of admirers round Mr. Horniman were a mere accidental group, his heart was for and in the working class—the backbone of every community, of even Indian communities. I do not care to deny that other things have been said of Mr. Horniman besides those I have set down on hearsay; those other things may be true. Let those who feel the impulse say them. For me, in the midst of disappointments, with the unquickened pulse of middle class enterpreneurs, in the presence of human problems, for me Mr. Horniman is a Lost Leader, lost not on account of inner lapses, but on account of the incurable jealousy by authority of free speech." [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—"The welcome accorded to the liberated *Chronicle* rings true. After all their mutual wranglings the Indian public desire an organ of their own. There is much in the aspirations of rising India which finds an incompatible setting in the columns of a newspaper owned and edited by men who naturally proceed on the lines indicated by nature in which blood is thicker than water. The good that the *Chronicle* accomplished has not been of an ephemeral nature. The public hold that the soul of the powerful Bombay organ was its uncommon editor, a man in a thousand. Now that the pre-censorship has been abolished, that influential man may possibly be restorted to Bombay. But while not minimising the manifest benefits procured by Mr. Horniman, we hold that an Indian of moderation and breadth of vision is not out of place as the editor of a newspaper founded by one of the wisest Indian statesmen to represent the inarticulate myriads, illiterate and improverished..... Mr. B. J. Padsha has come out as a herald to trumpet the resurrection of the *Bombay Chronicle*. We said that as he confessed like an honest Parsi that he was no student of politics Mr. Padshah had no business to inflict his *obiter dicta* on a public maturing in political thought..... Mr. Gandhi accuses the late editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* of violent invectives and Mr. Padshah, who 'had not the opportunity of reading any of his articles' is content solemnly to state otherwise. We wish that Mr. Padshah had not aggravated his antics by a gratuitous attack on the Governor of Bombay. He grandiloquently seems to insinuate that Sir George Lloyd has not at heart the cause of the welfare of the public."]

A tribute to Mr. Horniman.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th June; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 21st June, Eng. cols.

20. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* agrees with the Bombay Presidency Association in demanding an enquiry by a mixed commission of officials and non-officials into the action taken by Government against the *Bombay Chronicle* and its editor, but disapproves of its idea of convening a public meeting of protest under its auspices, as it would not be an advisable course in the present circumstances. It strongly favours the idea of sending a petition, largely signed by the public, to Government instead of holding a public meeting for the purpose. [The *Sánj Vartamán*, however, welcomes the idea of convening a public meeting under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Association and fully endorses the view held by the latter in refutation of the statements made by Mr. Montagu in Parliament in defence of the action taken by the Government in this country.]

Protest against the action taken against the *Bombay Chronicle* and its editor.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 16th June; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 16th June.

21. The loyal citizens of India and Government will not have any rest till the *Satyagraha* movement is authoritatively crushed down. We, therefore, welcome the manifesto issued by the loyal citizens of Bombay. All castes and creeds are represented among the signatories to the manifesto and Government will

Comments on the Bombay manifesto of loyalty.

Kaiser-i-Hind (27), 15th June.

thereby be convinced that the *Satyagraha* movement was confined to the Extremists and their semi-educated followers. The manifesto will enable the public to realise that no respectable citizen has any sympathy with the *Satyagraha* movement and that civil disobedience of laws is a criminal offence. It is worthy of note that many prominent citizens who sent a representation to Government against the deportation of Mr. Horniman have also signed the manifesto.

22. "No one can have any quarrel with the principles enunciated in the manifesto recently issued under the signatures of about 1,100 worthy citizens of Bombay; but the question is whether there was any necessity for it!..... If they intended this manifesto to express their feelings on the present-day political situation, we fear it is a one-sided declaration and overlooks consciously or unconsciously the other side of the shield. If they declare their detestation of the campaign for the so-called civil disobedience of law, a campaign which, by the way, has been supported by only a few, they should have expressed to the Government their sentiments about the actions taken in certain directions to meet the situation. Many of the signatories must have read the pathetic declaration of Sir Rabindranath Tagore and they could have moved others to insert at least one para declaring the duties of the Government and the European community to the people of the land. If there were incendiaries in Láhore and Ahmedabad riots there are incendiaries in the Anglo-Indian camp whose writings have the same sinister result of creating bitterness and disaffection. Do not the signatories to the manifesto consider the writings of the Anglo-Indian press as tending to a feeling of resentment among the self-respecting people? Among the signatories there are many who were present at the protest meeting against the Rowlatt Act and they at least could have shown independence to point out to their colleagues the supreme necessity of not remaining satisfied with a one-side declaration." [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—"There is, as there was bound to be, considerable dissatisfaction with the text of the Bombay Loyalty Manifesto. We are glad that among the remnants of Bombay politicians there are some susceptible of being affected by its stupid style. However, we do not agree that another and a rival manifesto will do any good. After all it is the basic thought of the document that matters. The inflated fustian of the Bombay manifesto contrasts to its ridicule with the dignified document discussed above from the journalists of Madras, *viz.*, an appeal to His Excellency the Viceroy on behalf of the editor of the *Tribune* of Láhore."]

Hindusthán (24), 15th June, Eng. cols.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 19th June, Eng. cols.

23. "The sentences which are being awarded against the accused tried by the Martial Law Tribunal in the Punjáb send a thrill of horror through thousands of Indian hearts. Sentences of death against two lawyers and transportation for life with forfeiture of property against eight is the latest from Gujranwala. It may be that the sentences are justified, but the nation knows the sentences but nothing of the evidence before the Court. It is unthinkable that what are practically summary trials, carrying finality, should admit of sentences of death..... If these sentences are carried out without satisfying the public mind as to their justness, they will leave behind a sense of soreness which will be difficult to heal. We do hope the Imperial Government will prevent such a catastrophe. What need do these sentences signify? Clearly the appointment without delay of a committee of inquiry, that shall be composed of men trusted by the nation, having the ability to go into intricacies of law and armed with the authority to examine and revise the sentences passed by the Martial Law Tribunal. All sentences should be stayed pending the report of such a committee..... No one detests more than we do the murders, arson and loot. But have not the people paid a heavy price for the madness of the mob? We do not know how many died of bombs from aeroplanes, from rifle fire, and how many more, both innocent and guilty, were wounded. Surely most exemplary punishment has been inflicted upon the offending villages. We hold that in the circumstances trials should have been held with all the decorum and dignity

Punjab affairs
Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th June.

that should attach to judicial proceedings, in which, in theory at least, punishments are inflicted out of no other spirit but that of satisfying the ends of justice. Lastly, who knows to what extent the Punjab Government was responsible for provoking the mob? That there was provocation is patent enough even from what little the public has been permitted to know of the events in the Punjáb. Sir Michael O'Dwyer's speeches afford some indication of the trouble that he was creating. The degree of provocation is a material ingredient for coming to a just decision about the conduct of the mob. Nothing but a strong and impartial committee of inqiury with ample powers can unravel the Punjáb tangle."

Kesari (109), 17th June.

24. The authorities got annoyed with Lala Govardhandas for exposing in newspapers the arbitrary operations of the Martial law in the Punjáb and they have, therefore, prosecuted him. He is to be tried before an ordinary court of law as his letter to which exception has been taken was published on 1st May. The true character of the bludgeon rule still prevailing in the Punjáb will be considerably exposed if eminent barristers like Mr. Norton will proceed to Láhore to defend him. But the acquittal of Lala Goverdhandhas and the exposure of the fearful character of the military rule will not alone remove the injustice that has hitherto been done. People cannot now be compensated for all the suffering they have endured. But several accused have been awarded unduly severe sentences and these must be reduced. Of course there is no question about those who were sentenced to be flogged, and to be hanged, and whose sentences have already been carried out. But the cases of those whose sentences have been quite out of proportion to their offences, and of those who have been sentenced to death but have not yet been executed, deserve to be considered. Who would not be grieved to hear of the unheard of and inhuman sentence of death passed on seven persons for beating Miss Sherwood, a white woman, with shoes? Even judged by the standard of justice among uncivilized peoples the sentences awarded in the Punjáb have been most cruel. It may be that the life of an Englishman in India is an invaluable thing. But while during all the disturbances 9 Europeans were killed, according to the estimate of Government themselves 400 Indians lost their their lives. Besides, the number of those for whom the Martial Law Commission have opened the gates of the other world is yet to be determined. In view of all this it is necessary that an independent commission should be appointed to inquire into the whole question of the origin of the riots and the fearful steps taken for their repression, and that the Viceroy should order that no sentence of death passed under the Martial law be carried out until its inquiries are completed. Lala Harkishanlal and the other leaders have been prosecuted on such flimsy and ludicrous grounds that they are sure to be acquitted if properly defended. The case of Kalinath Roy stands on a different footing. He has already been sentenced and his petition for mercy to the Lieutenant-Governor has been rejected. It was hoped that a different reply would be given by Sir Edward Maclagan. But we know from the *Hindu* security case that in their dealings with Indian newspapers everyone from Lord Willingdon to Sir Michael O'Dwyer is equally hard-hearted. There is no objection to appeal to the Viceroy to enlarge Babu Kalinath Roy on bail as he is in delicate health. But it is not desirable that he should be set free merely out of pity and that the stigma of guilt should still attach to him. The Viceroy should appoint a commission to hear his appeal or the advisers of the King-Emperor should take up the case and give him justice. Anyhow we want justice and not merely clemency which does not efface the stigma of guilt.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 20th and 21st June; *Gujaráti Punch* (22), 15th June; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 16th June.

25. It will neither be superfluous nor inopportune to demand an independent enquiry into the working of the martial law administration in the Punjáb. Reputed lawyers and barristers are of opinion that Government have gone beyond the authority vested in them by Regulation X of 1804 in establishing Martial Law Courts under that Regulation. Those who have been tried in the Martial Law Courts, ought as a matter of fact, to have been tried in

ordinary courts; for Martial Law Courts, under Regulation X, are meant for only those who are taken in arms in open hostility to the British Government! We, therefore, appeal to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India to appoint an independent commission to inquire whether Government have rightly used the authority vested in them by that Regulation and to reverse all the orders of the Martial Law Courts in case the commission finds that they have not rightly used that authority. This will not only enhance British prestige in India but it will also restore the public confidence in Government. [In its subsequent issue the paper thanks Mr. Montagu for recognising the necessity of investigating 'the causes of disorder and discontent' and reiterates its demand for a commission for that purpose as soon as possible. The *Gujaráti Punch* further adds:—A Parliamentary Commission may do for an impartial inquiry into the Punjáb affairs, but it is desirable that a Commission for investigating the causes of discontent and disorder should largely if not entirely consist of experienced and able Indians. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* urges Government to adopt a still more sympathetic and concilliatory policy in the Punjáb than heretofore and regrets that Sir Edward Maclagan should have refused to revise the punishment imposed on Mr. Kali Nath Roy though requested by many well-known leaders of public opinion to do so. It ascribes the popularity of the British Government in India to their liberal policy of tempering justice with mercy and asks them to revive that liberal policy in the case of the Punjáb as soon as possible.]

*26. "Appeals have been made to His Excellency the Viceroy for the appoinment of a Committee to inquire into the causes of the disturbances in Gujarát, Delhi and the Punjáb and other matters arising out of them, and Mr. Montagu has declared in Parliament that the Viceroy would do so 'after the fire had been extinguished.' For our own part, we are not very hopeful about the results of an inquiry conducted by a Committee consisting of officials and non-officials selected by the Government of India. We are sorry to say so. But the Indian public cannot be induced to believe at this juncture that Anglo-Indian officials will be able to exhibit that impartial and dispassionate frame of mind they might be expected to show on other occasions and under other circumstances. One of the most deplorable and disastrous results of the recent occurrences in India is the embitterment of racial feeling. All the healing work that had been achieved by Lord Hardinge and subsequently by the war and its concomitants has, alas! been undone by O'Dwyerism and the Anglo-Indian press, and those who are asking for a Committee of Inquiry with the best of motives will do well to consider in the, light of past experience of Commissions and Committees, what would be gained by an investigation conducted by men in whom very probably the Indian public will have no complete trust..... What is wanted is a Committee most of whose members will be independent Englishmen from the public life of England and which will be presided over not by a hum-drum judge of the Rowlatt type but by one more distinguished for his judicial attainments and qualities. It should further contain an admixture of independent non-officials whose presence is likely to win the confidence of the Indian public. If an inquiry is going to be held by such a Committee, we would welcome it, otherwise some lakhs of rupees would be simply thrown away over an investigation which from the very outset will be looked upon with suspicion."

Gujaráti (20), 22nd June, Eng. cols.

*27. "The enormities of the past two months accentuated by bureaucratic distemper gave many rude shocks to the susceptibilitis of many persons whose cheery optimism at the prospect of the Reforms now on the legislative anvil has vanished, giving place to cynical pessimism. The authorities have restored quiet now and laid out a garden with its green and luxuriant growth of foliage as in the days of yore, but dig it up and you will see that hideous skulls of victims are staring in the face, the bones rattling and the departed souls from above clamouring for a history being written by an impartial critic..... Wise statesmanship first wants to dispel ignorance and then work out a constructive scheme on the basis of sympathy

Sunday Chronicle (14), 22nd June.

and love, especially in the governance of an alien race. On this principle how far the Infallibles in the Olympic heights of Simla have succeded history alone will show. The heavy sentences in the Punjáb riot cases have sent a thrill of horror throughout the country and it is not yet too late to temper justice with mercy."

What should be the constitution of the Punjab Commission of inquiry.

Servant of India (10), 19th June.

28. "It is not yet known what the Government's intentions are in the matter of constituting the commission to which the Punjáb enquiry is to be intrusted and the powers of the Commission. As regards the *personnel* of the commission, it must be such as to ensure full and free inquiry and must be thoroughly independent of those whose administrative acts are impugned by the public. Secondly, it must be invested with an authority to take evidence and revise the sentences passed by the Martial Law Commission. Mr. Montagu's budget speech, in which he made the announcement is not yet to hand, but it must be said that the Commission will serve no useful purpose unless provision is made that the investigation it proposes to conduct shall be thoroughly independent."

Comments on the sentence passed on the Editor of the *Tribune* of Láhore.

Sind Advocate (11), 5th June.

29. "While Punjáb has been a scene of death, transportations and imprisonment sentences and most atrocious actions have been perpetrated in the name of law and order by the military government of the place, our sympathies extend to the Ex-Editor of the *Tribune* of Láhore who has also been sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000 and in default six months' additional imprisonment. ..... We hope the Government will make an inquiry into the whole affair and reduce if not cancel his term of imprisonment. We say 'reduce' because we cannot expect anything from the present system of Government. A government responsible to the people could alone be called to account for these military verdicts based on summary trials which deprive human beings of the most constitutional right of being defended by counsel in such serious offences as involve maximum punishment of death or transportation for life..... Will not this sort of justice stain the fair name and prestige of the British Government of India?..... Let not the faith of the people of India be rudely shaken by utter disregard of the decencies of civilised administration."

Gujaràti (20), 15th June; *Hindusthán* (24), 16th June; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (27), 15th June.

30. The Commission had no general instructions as to the method of its working. Were they issued privately? The judgment does not say that the rioters had read any of its articles or that the articles caused the riots. A note should be taken of the words for which the punishment was meted out. The Commission objected to the use of the word "martyrs" in connection with those who were shot down at Delhi and considered it objectionable on the part of Mr. Roy to have advocated the raising of a memorial to them. The editor was also arraigned for using the words "unwarranted" and "unjust" in connection with the actions of the Punjáb Government. If the criticism passed by the *Tribune* is considered seditious, no one—be he Indian or Anglo-Indian—can escape being included in that category. Besides, the editor condemned the application of the Defence of India Act to the Punjáb. Is it sedition to criticise an Act when it is put in operation? Was it an offence to characterise the words of Sir Michael O'Dwyer as "blazing indiscretion"? The trial of the *Tribune* shows that it is considered seditious to publish accounts of events that go to falsify the version of the same events published by Government. The time has now arrived for introducing a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council defining the nature of 'non-seditious' sentiments or words. [The *Hindusthán* writes:—It is to be regretted that the new Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb has refused to show mercy to the editor of the *Tribune*. The Government of India are not likely to interfere with the decision and so a petition should be made to the Secretary of State for

India by the leading men of the country. Mr. Andrews informs us that Mr. Kalinath Roy had to be sent to hospital owing to his having been made to grind corn! Indeed in what a miserable plight the newspapers of this country are placed! Freedom of the Press is the first requisite of a civilised nation. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* stupidly misunderstands the article written by Mr. Gandhi in *Young India*, and takes it as a confession on the part of Mr. Gandhi that it was he who wrote the offending articles in the *Tribune* for which Mr. Roy was punished, and demands the trial of Mr. Gandhi in the name of justice.]

31. "It is greatly to be regretted that His Honor Sir E. Maclagan could not see his way to remit, as a matter of grace, the sentence passed upon Mr. Kali Nath Roy by the Martial Law Commission. His was a fit case for the exercise of clemency, and the Lieutenant-Governor has lost a golden opportunity not only to do a personal act of kindness, which was eminently deserved, but to restore the confidence of the public. We hope against hope that the Viceroy will show mercy in this case. Mr. Kali Nath Roy has only lately suffered a bereavement and the labour of grinding corn to which he has been put has shattered his health. It is but right in the circumstances that, whatever may be thought of his offence, justice should be tempered with mercy in this case. Although it is a matter of urgent necessity that Mr. Kali Nath Roy should be immediately released, the question of his having failed to receive justice at the hands of the Special Tribunal remains, and the only legal remedy yet open to him, *viz.*, an appeal to the judicial committee of the Privy Council, must needs be taken. It should not be at all difficult to raise the fifteen thousand rupees which it is calculated will be required towards the expenses. As an appeal issued by Bengal leaders says, this step is necessary in the larger interests of the 'vindication of the constitutional rights of the people of this country and the freedom of the Press' ".

Servant of India (10), 19th June.

***32.** "The more we learn of the treatment of Mr. Kalinath Roy the more we are struck with amazement at the cruelties heaped upon that unfortunate victim of the Martial Law. As if the shock of imprisonment itself was not sufficient, the jail authorities allotted to him the task of grinding corn, in spite of his failing health. His poor physique refused to work and revolted, and he began to suffer from diarrhœa. Sickness at last drew attention to his health, and he was given rice diet, and the Government have now promised that he would be given work suited to his antecedeuts as far as possible. We wonder why the Government waited to issue these instructions so long. He is a victim of many wrongs, but we never thought he would be treated like a savage tribesman. But even that indignity was offered to him and his cup of misery was filled to the brim! Be this all to the credit of the lower authorities! This has, however, roused public sentiment to the highest pitch, and men like Sir P. C. Ray and Babu Ramanand Chatterjee have come forward to do all that is needful to secure his release, and save him from any torture. We hope every lover of liberty will not fail to rise against these iniquities wrongly heaped upon one of the ablest journalists in India who worshipped liberty at the shrine of the Press, and help the cause of his release."

Mahrátta (8), 22nd June.

33. "It appears that Mr. S. K. Mukerji, Babu Kalinath Roy's pleader, addressed a representation to Government regarding the treatment accorded to Kalibabu who, he had heard, was ill in jail. Here is copy of the reply sent to Mr. Mukerji by the Chief Secretary to Government. [Here follows the letter.] The sentence on Kalibabu is harsh enough, but the letter reproduced above reveals a state of things harsher still. We are informed that the recent death of his wife who has left three little motherless childern, has shaken Babu Kalinath Roy's frail constitution and that he is a chronic sufferer from constipation and heart trouble. The Chief Secretary's letter admits that while in jail he 'is reported to be suffering from slight diarrhœa'. All this sufficiently points to the immediate necessity of relieving him from all work. But what does the letter say? In the second paragraph we are told that he

Young India (16), 18th June.

was given 'a light grinding task during the first few days after conviction' and that under orders recently issued 'he would be given work suited to his antecedents'. The question from a humanitarian standpoint is not what kind of work should be given him, but whether in the present state of his health he should be given any work at all. But we are informed that the 'slight' task was 12 seers of corn per day, 18 seers being the maximum required of an able-bodied prisoner. This treatment is, to say the least, heartless. Then take the question of diet. He will be given, says the Chief Secretary, 'an opportnnity of gradually accustoming himself to the ordinary diet.' Now the ordinary jail diet is *chapati* which Mr. Roy cannot at all take to. The authorities seem to have ignored the fact that Mr. Roy is a Bengali and that his customary diet is not *chapati* but rice. They ought to know that at his time of life Mr. Roy cannot be expected to change his habits, especially as to food. To expect him to be accustomed to the ordinary diet is to kill Mr. Roy by inches. The whole letter sounds very like the *Parrot's Training* so graphically depicted by the Bard of Bolpur. [The following appeared after the above was written. It, however, makes no change in our criticism of the Chief Secretary's letter. The information proves, out of the Government's own mouth, the callousness underlying the letter: The *Civil and Military Gazette* has published the following *communique*:—In the case of Kalinath Roy, editor of the *Tribune* now in gaol, the Lieutenant-Governor has ordered that he should be given the forms of labour appropriate to his position in life and be supplied with food suitable for a Bengali.—Editor, *Y. I.*]"

Trial of the editor of the *Tribune*.

Karnátak Vaibhav (85), 17th June.

34. There is no doubt that the trial of Mr. Kalinath Roy was conducted in an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust. Mr. Roy not only wrote in his paper with moderation and restraint articles advising the people to keep the peace at any cost, but warned them that their cause would suffer if they behaved in a disorderly manner. It is unjust and untrue, therefore, to say that his articles tended to excite rebellion against the British Government. What was there seditious in the suggestion that a memorial should be raised to the martyrs who were shot down by the military? What the writer probably intended to say was that there was no justification for opening fire on the crowd. Where is sedition in this?

Lokasangraha (new), 15th and 19th June.

35. The *Lokasangraha* is gratified to see that the "strong" administration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer having come to an end, Martial Law in the Punjáb has been abolished and it has become possible even for "rebels" to engage well-qualified lawyers of their own choice for their defence. It expresses the hope that the commission to be appointed will also be asked to adjudicate whether the heavy sentences passed by the Military tribunals were just and proper. [In a subsequent issue it writes:—The petition addressed to the new Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb for the remission of the sentence passed on Mr. Kali Nath Roy has been rejected by him. His Honour is reputed to be a very good gentleman, but the fact is, that when matters come to a test, everyone, whether he is a Maclagan or a Willingdon, is found to be one and the same. Now Mr. Gandhi proposes to fall at the feet of the Viceroy and a petition signed by newspaper editors and pleaders is to be submitted to His Excellency on behalf of Mr. Kali Nath Roy. Public meetings also are to be held. Those who might be feeling enthusiastic about these steps may resort to them, but we do not think that they will be of any use. When all the artificial circumstances prevailing in the Punjáb are taken into consideration, we do not think that the Viceroy will be able to put an end to Mr. Roy's misfortune. The most objectionable articles in Anglo-Indian newspapers are considered to be fair for the same reasons for which the most innocent articles by Indians are deemed to be harmful! The root of this must be understood. O'Dwyer, the reviler of Indian leaders, can go strutting about the country, while Mr. Roy who replies humbly to him has to lie rotting in a jail hospital! This heart-rending spectacle conveys a great lesson. But we are unable to say what Government stand to gain by all this.]

36. Mr. C. F. Andrews writes in *Young India* :—" Among the acts of repression and coercion recently practised in the Punjáb under the cover of Martial Law none have been more significant and ominous than the deliberate attempts which have been made to discipline and intimidate into obedience the educated classes, and to get them, by all kinds of means, to adopt the Government view of the Rowlatt Act as their own. This may be seen in the public punishment and disgrace of over a thousand University students in Láhore, by the direct orders of the Officer in charge of the Martial Law proceedings—Colonel Frank Johnson. The rest of the students were supposed, by this process of public punishment, to have been overawed into submission, and then in the Martial Law proclamations it was announced that they had been mercifully dealt with and that a satisfactory change in their behaviour had been noticed. The intention behind all this is clear. It should be noticed that it is combined with a simultaneous mental disciplining with regard to the innocuousness of the Rowlatt Act and that *viva voce* examinations were to be held on the Act and its meaning, at which all students were to come forward and be examined. The second feature of the Martial Law proceedings, which tells in the same direction, has been the arrest of a large number of barristers and municipal workers who had spoken out boldly and manfully concerning the Rowlatt Act. This opposition to the Act is made out by the Government prosecution to be a ' conspiracy ' aiming at nothing less than a revolution. In the prosecution charges brought against Mr. Harkishanlal, it appears that this is the head and front of his offending. Mr. Gandhi is a leading ' conspirator ', Messrs. Kitchlew and Satyapal are ' conspirators, ' the day of humiliation, called for by Mr. Gandhi, is a part of a ' conspiracy ' which was to lead to open revolution. It is difficult, of course, to be quite certain of details from the telegraphic summary of the Government prosecution charge (which Pandit Motilal Nehru has sent to the Secretary of State and communnicated to the Press), but the general outline, which I have sketched above, seems unmistakeable, and it reveals a bewildering psychology in the attitude of the Punjáb authorities towards present-day politics. A letter, which has recently come to me from Amritsar, corroborates what I have written. One of the Indian gentlemen at Amritsar who has been arrested, writes to ask me the question (for use in his own defence), whether I regard constitutional agitation against the Rowlatt Act as ' illegal and criminal '! But the field of educated thought that has been most mercilessly shelled by the heavy guns of the Martial Law authorities is that of the Press. Every Indian newspaper of importance in the Punjáb has been closed down, at least for a time. Even a definitely and pronouncedly moderate paper, like the *Tribune*, has been punished by the imprisonment, with hard labour, of its editor. Mr. Kalinath Roy, who has been known for many years past to be one of the sanest and most sober-minded journalists on the staff of any Indian newspaper, is now suffering a sentence of two years' rigorous imprisonment. I have gone through, again and again, the articles specified in the prosecution charges, and I cannot understand how any judge, who had a general acquaintance with Indian newspaper editorials and editorial comments, could possibly condemn him for articles such as the prosecution has brought forward. But here again the fact stands out quite clearly, that one of the chief causes of Government displeasure was Mr. Kalinath Roy's pronounced and determined opposition to the Rowlatt Act itself. Intimidation by Court Martial is not, however, the only method that has been used at this juncture. Persuasion has been added to compulsion. It has been suggested that there is no need to disband the various War Publicity Boards. They can be used for circulating Government information about the perfectly harmless character of the Rowlatt Act! Already, I believe it is true that aeroplanes have been used in the Punjáb to scatter literature of this character on the heads of unoffending villagers! To me, personally, there is something that denotes a lowering of its own dignity on the part of Government in all this. And human nature is so constituted that it becomes profoundly suspicious of any coaxing, when attempted by anyone who holds a big stick behind his back, ready to use

Repression of the educated classes in the Punjáb and elsewhere.

Young India (16), 18th June; *Bombay Chronicle* (1), 19th June.

it if the coaxing fails. The educated people of India may be fairly certain that the same pressure will be brought to bear in other Provinces besides the Punjáb—not of course, in their case, under martial law regulations—but, none the less, pressure of some kind will be soon evident, and they must be prepared to resist it. They should claim, also, from Government that these actions in the Punjáb, taken under martial law, should come up for revision. Lastly, a clear understanding should be reached as to what is constitutional agitation." [Commenting on the above the *Bombay Chronicle* writes :—" The fact that such a dispassionate and cool-minded man as Mr. Andrews has been constrained to use severe expressions, which he very rarely does, in regard to the sentences in the Punjáb and especially the cruel injustice that has been done to Babu Kalinath Roy is a measure of the intensity of public feeling in the country. To try to dissect Col. Irwine's judgment in the *Tribune* case amounts to something like flogging a dead horse. It has been already torn into shreds by no less an authority than Mr. Gandhi who took the signal step of repoducing in *Young India* all the offending articles in the *Tribune* to convince the public that they are a model of balanced responsible journalism, and that in convicting Mr. Kalinath Roy on those articles, a wrong has been done to him and to the country at large. That such a conviction should have been allowed to stand, and that all appeals for mercy—where the case is not one of mercy but clearly of justice—should have been lost on the authorities demontrates the perversity in which the authorities in the Punjáb still persist."]

37. " Sir Rabindranath Tagore's letter to the Viceroy expressing his horror at the acts of the Punjáb Government and his noble resolution to put away his title of Knighthood stands typical of the attitude of whole Indian nation. The noble and magnanimous action of our poet-laureate is on a par with his grand decision to refuse to land in Canada where his countrymen were being treated so scurvily. Surely there is no more patriotic heart in all India than this noble heart whose words stand engraved in immortalised writing for generations yet unborn, and whose soul is so frank, pure and magnanimous."

Comments on Sir R. Tagore's renunciation of his Knighthood.

Sind Advocate (11), 5th June.

38. When the people of Europe come to know about the renunciation of his title by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, it is no wonder if they try to do proper justice to India. We wish the authorities would learn a lesson from this step of Dr. Tagore. Dr. S. Iyer had also to renounce his title some time before for a similar cause. What will the world think of the actions of Government if such learned men, being displeased, renounce their titles? Government should abandon their repressive policy in order to maintain their prestige. If Parliament and the British Government wish that no other benevolent Indians should take steps, similar to that taken by Dr. Tagore, and if they desire to remedy their grievances with liberality and sympathy, it is desirable that Government should not repeat their actions in the Punjáb anywhere else in future. [The *Jain* writes :—The conduct of Drs. Iyer and Tagore should prove instructive to those who hesitate even to attend a public meeting or to participate in an innocent discussion for the sake of saving their titles. When a particular section of our fellow-countrymen is suffering in consequence of discontent and disquiet, to be proud of the titles of 'Sir' and 'Sardar' and thus to think oneself above the ordinary public is nothing but a kind of meanness, egotism and ignorance.]

Gujaráti Punch (22), 15th June; *Jain* (79), 15th June.

39. " Sir Rabindranath does not say in his letter to the Viceroy that he ever cared to inform himself of the facts. He is a man of international reputation and this act of his renunciation will certainly be regarded as a serious condemnation of Lord Chelmsford's administration in the eyes of the outside world, if the allegations are not authoritatively contradicted by the immediate publication of an authentic account..... We ourselves are inclined to believe that there have been some grave mistakes at the hands of those entrusted with the work of administering the Martial Law in the Punjáb.

Vibhakár (38), 16th June, Eng. cols.

But we cannot help condemning this renunciation of his title by Sir Rabindranath as an outburst of fanaticism if not an eruption of innate disloyalty."

Government of India's communiqué on the case of the Ali Brothers.
Hindusthán (24), 15th June, Eng. cols.

40. "The Government has now published a communiqué levelling definite and serious charges against the two Brothers of conspiring with the Amir and inciting their fellowreligionists not to help the Government in the present crisis. If these charges are true, and there is no reasen for disbelieving the Government report, it may be feared that the Ali brothers have been embittered by their experience to take a line of action which no one expected of them, and which they little conceived was fraught with grave consequences to the future of the land they loved and the country whose interests they were always ready to espouse. It is little short of lunacy for Indian patriots to advise their countrymen to help a foreign monarch in his campaign against the British Government..... We even now wish that the two brothers will make a definite declaration of their staunch loyalty and prove that the charges levelled against them are not true." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—"The Ali brothers are sent to jail definitely. It is useless now for Indian patriots to appeal to Government for their release. For the Government have found further reasons for distrusting these too-much-talked-of brothers. If it is true that they were in favour of Afghan rule in India, if it is true that they were inciting their Muhammadan compatriots to side with the Amir, then they certainly deserve no sympathy from patriotic Indians. The British Government in India might behave in a highhanded, arrogant manner. It might trample upon laws now and again to suit its convenience, but in spite of it all, it is a hundred times preferable to that which an Afghan Amir can give us for the next five centuries at least!"]

Gujarat Mitra and Gujarat Darpan (21), 15th June, Eng. cols.

*41. "The action which the Government of India are constrained to take in regard to Ali Brothers is explained in a *Press communique* issued at Simla on the 8th. The circumstances which have forced the hands of the Government of India to the decision that has now been taken for their detention in jail are detailed in the *communique* that is published and this ought to dispel in our opinion any the slightest suspicion that might have been attached hitherto in regard to their internment under the Defence of India Act. Since their internment in 1915 a constant and loud wail had been raised from all parts of India, from the Press and the platform alike, to proclaim their innocence..... Such appeals to sentiment in their behalf have received a rude shock on reading the *Press communique* which is published and the grave nature of the indictment which the narration of the facts mentioned there evidently went to substantiate fully warranted the extreme step which the Government of India seem to have so reluctantly taken..... No more unpatriotic act can be imagined nor any more deserving of condemnation than that which is charged against them by the Government now. The Government of India have treated them with lenience and even certain amount of consideration. This they have abused and have shown themselves quite unworthy. Their act, in fine, amounts to betraying the country which they have professed to serve. Their country can only justly condemn them for the act."

Kesari (109), 17th June; *Lokasangraha* (new), 18th June.

42. The charge of helping the enemy and inciting the Muhammadans against Government, made by the Press *Communique* against the Ali brothers, is indeed serious. But why do not Government place the evidence in their possession before a court of law? Similar charges were made against the brothers during the great war, but when Government were challenged to prove them, they held their silence. Nor were the charges held proved by the Committee appointed by Government to examine them. Naturally, therefore, Indians will view with suspicion the proofs now in the possession of Government. This is the second time such foul charges are brought against the brothers and if on this occasion also they are not afforded an opportunity to put forward their own side of the case, the people will come

to think that they are being persecuted merely on suspicion or on account of misunderstanding on the part of some high officer of Government. It would be wise for Government not to afford room for such a suspicion. [The *Lokasangraha* makes similar remarks.]

Vibhákar (38), 16th June., Eng. cols.

43. "If disloyalty is a synonym for patriotism, then surely the Ali brothers are patriots of the purest type. Government did well in placing before the public an account of the activities of these enemies of India since April last although it would have been better, if the public were kept in possession of some information of their previous history as well. The Congress and the Moslem League shewed rather undue impatience in demanding their release, but this is rather excusable in view of the silence so strictly maintained by Government. However, now that some account of the doings of these brothers has been made public, there will be none in India with some sense in him who will ever be inclined to show any smpathy towards them."

Chandrodaya (37), 16th June.

44. On reading the Government of India's Press *communique* every one will be grieved at the indiscretion shown by Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali. They have been in internment for the last five years. Being disappointed in their efforts to obtain release, they have had recourse to this disloyal step which reflects discredit on their intelligence, patriotism and piety.

Lala Lajpatrai's activities in the United States of America.

Kesari (109), 17th June.

45. Agitation for securing *swardjya* for India is being successfully carried on in the United States of America by Lala Lajpatrai and Dr. Hardikar with New York as their centre, and resolutions in favour of granting the right of self-determination to India and for grant of *swardjya* have been passed with the backing of the Labour Party there. As befits the nature of the bureaucracy, it has begun to look askance at the movement and declare it to be unlawful. But it is a wonder that an officer like Mr. Montagu should have fallen into its trap. It appears from what he stated in Parliament the other day in reply to a question that he seems to be labouring under a misunderstanding about Lala Lajpatrai's activities in America. The charge of creating a misunderstanding about British policy in India is so very vague that no constitutional worker will be able to escape from it. The Lala has in a private letter to the editor of the *Leader* completely proved the futility of the charge levelled against him, as all the agitation carried on by him is open and constitutional. And yet the Sydenham clique levels malicious charges against him, and Mr. Montagu instead of flatly contradicting the accusation gives an evasive answer which leaves doubts in the minds of his hearers. This does not befit his liberal traditions.

Economic slavery in store for India.

Lokasangraha (new), 18th June.

46. On the strength of their power the East India Company carried away the wealth of this country. Even now things have not changed as our Government have the interests of the people in England at heart. The mineral wealth of India is being freely exploited by European Merchants while the Indians share only the coolie's wage. But how and by whom is an improvement to be effected? Indeed this question must be solved by Government. Queen Victoria gave us a public assurance that her strength lay in the happiness, contentment and prosperity of her subjects and the main principles in her Proclamation have been accepted by her successors. Still it would not do to ignore the realities. At present India is being governed by the bureaucracy and that body has not paid any attention to the industrial development of this country; on the contrary it has hindered it in every possible way. It is generally believed that England is ruling over India solely with an eye to the interest of English merchants. If this policy continues for long, India will become a cemetery and this cemetery England will have to give up. But Indians cannot keep quiet because Government are apathetic. It is a matter for satisfaction therefore to see our leaders engaged during the last 30 or 40 years in finding out a

remedy for the present state of things. *Swadeshi*, boycott, commercial education, *swadeshi* banks, technical education, etc., are all being tried. The results so far achieved, however, do not fail to make the mind uneasy. When we see our leaders battling against the might of an Empire we cannot but congratulate our nation on its efforts. There is no escape for us unless this question is solved early. England is groaning under the huge war expenditure and she will not fail to transfer her burden to the shoulders of India. We must know well what we have to contend against. We shall live if we can successfully overcome our difficulties. Otherwise economic slavery is in store for us.

47. The *Prajá Mitra and Pársi* is of opinion that the New Loan issued by Government is sure to meet with adequate response from the public on account of the liberal terms attached to it. It considers the establishment of a sinking fund to prevent its rate falling below the issue price as its most attractive feature and strongly urges the investing public to avail themselves of this unique opportunity as soon as possible. [The *Sánj Vartamán*, too, considers terms of the Loan as very liberal and thinks that there will be a great demand from the public for it. The *Bombay Samáchár* writes in the same strain. The *Akhbar-e-Islám* calls upon all Musalmans to invest their money in this new loan, as by doing so not only will they have the safest investment for their capital but they will also earn the reputation of helping Government.]

The New Indian Loan.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 16th June; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 16th June; *Bombay Samáchár* (62), 18th June; *Akhbar-e-Islám* (59), 18th June.

48. Does the acquisition of the land attached to the Jain temple at Byculla appear so important to Government that they cannot do without it, despite the religious feelings of the Jains being injured thereby? The Jain community seems to be greatly dissatisfied with the Collector's decision of acquiring their land against their will. We suggest that the Jains should send a representative deputation to His Excellency the Governor in this connection so that a satisfactory solution of this question may be arrived at by means of a personal interview.

Complaint about acquisition of land near a Jain temple at Byculla (Bombay).
Bombay Samáchár (62), 18th June.

49. Commenting upon the Willingdon Memorial Fund, the *Hindusthán* writes:—Who appointed the Willingdon Memorial Committee? In whose name will the memorial be erected? The citizens of Bombay will have no objection if the memorial is founded in the name of Lord Willingdon's admirers. Is it because Mr. Horniman is out of India that the Committee has thought of making its existence known to the public? Does the Committee mean to represent to the public that it was appointed at the memorable Town Hall meeting? It should publicly declare that the meeting was composed of Lord Willingdon's friends and admirers. The fund is to be utilised in laying out a public park and in erecting a statue. We do not think that the beauty of Bombay will be enhanced by the erection of an additional statue. We hope the Committee will make the necessary announcement with a view to avoiding any unpleasant demonstration on the part of the public. It will be a mistake to suppose that a lapse of six months is sufficient to wipe off the memory of the Town Hall meeting.

Protest against the Willingdon Memorial being ascribed to the public.
Hindusthán (24), 16th June.

50. A Kelshi (Ratnágiri) correspondent writes:—No adequate arrangements have been provided for the convenience of the passengers at the busy port of Harnai (Ratnágiri) where the steamers of Killick, Nixon and Company touch only during night-time. The drinking water that is supplied is so muddy and dirty that the passengers are not disposed even to taste it. The one or two Brahmin eating-houses there generally supply nothing but stale food. There is such a rush at the booking office that it is with extreme difficulty that the passengers can secure tickets, their pockets being picked in the rush.

Grievances of coasting steamer passengers.
Rajákaran (116), 15th June.

Barges filled with passengers are taken out to sea some three hours before the time the steamer is timed to arrive and even after waiting for all this time there is no certainty that all of them would be admitted on board the steamer as it all depends upon the whim of the Captain. It is necessary to take early steps to bring these and other grievances to the notice of Government to get them redressed. Rules and regulations about these steamers should also be made available to the public in Marathi.

The Press Act and the *Bombay Chronicle*.
Gujarâti (20), 15th June.

51. The Press Act continues to crush the expression of independent opinion in India by some means or other. Newspapers that express independent opinion are not allowed to be subscribed to by recognised libraries and no Government work is given to the presses at which they are printed. Government servants are debarred from subscribiug to such papers and public advertisements are not sent to them for publication. Translations of books containing independent views are considered objectionable and they are not included among books sanctioned for being given as prizes. Editors of newspapers who express independent public opinion receive no honours from Government. Not only this but the Magistrates as a rule demand the maximum amount of securities from popular newspapers and presses. In certain cases the Magistrates have refused to allow those concerned to draw interest on Government paper tendered as security! In some cases a press and all its publications have been confiscated at a stroke without informing those who have to suffer as to the nature of their offence. It is interesting to note that there are no two opinions in the matter of public opposition to the Press Act. The *Bombay Chronicle* has been placed under the censor and we were under the impression that it would not come under the operation of the Press Act. But how did the Censor allow the paper to publish extracts from the letter written by the Ali brothers to His Excellency the Viceroy appearing in the *Independent*? What is the immediate cause of the enhancement of the security taken from the *Bombay Chronicle*? May it not be that the paper is penalised for the mistake of the censor? This affords a proof of the madness of the Press Act.

The victims of the Press Act are always the Indian journals.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th June.

52. "While a ruthless campaign has been inaugurated against the Indian Press by an irresponsible executive armed with the multiple weapons of the Press Act, the Defence of India Act and the rest of the familiar paraphernalia, and even such an expression as the 'blazing indiscretion' of Sir M. O'Dwyer is construed as sedition and punished accordingly, the licensed abusers in the Anglo-Indian press of Mr. Montagu and other friends of Indian reform are having a merry time..... We are opposed to the muzzling of the Press—whether Anglo-Indian or Indian. For we are convinced that just as a free press is a *sine qua non* of the life of a civilised country, freedom of the press is in itself the best safeguard against its abuse. Licensed abuse such as the Anglo-Indian Press is now indulging in would be treated with the contempt that it deserves in a free country and would hurt none but the perpetrators themselves. We have taken the trouble to refer to it not to call for its punishment, but to draw attention to a trifling detail that whenever the muzzling processes of the Press and other similar Acts are set in motion, the victims are always the Indian journals. There is a method in this partiality which is as noteworthy as it is deliberate."

Ill-effects of the Press Act.
Karndtak Vaibhav (85), 10th June.

53. In the course of an article headed "Liberty of the Press", the *Karndtak Vaibhav* says:- The Indian Bureaucracy has forged the Press Act in order to crush Indian newspapers at its sweet will. The bureaucracy, blinded by power and filled with a false idea of its infallibility, considers any criticism of its actions as sedition and tries to suppress respectable newspapers which reflect public opinion. Such action, besides being unjustifiable, enrages the public and breeds discontent. We unhesitatingly assert that it is the bureaucracy—which has brought disasters on the country by its short-sighted policy—that

is disloyal. Indians who are by nature peace-loving should not allow the bureaucracy to go on in this unrestrained manner.

Comments on Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's re-election to the Imperial Legislative Council.
Sudhakár (124), 15th June.

54. We were painfully surprised to see Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya offering himself for re-election at the instance of his friends. It is really pitiable that a man like Pandit Malaviya who is convinced that the present bureaucratic administration can be easily replaced by responsible government by withholding co-operation with Government in Legislative Councils, Municipalities, Local Boards, etc., should now stand for re-election. Again we do not know why the friends of Pandit Malaviya should induce him to be re-elected when they know what treatment is meted out to elected Indian members. Unless there is a change in the attitude of those who control the Imperial Legislative Council, members who have once left it would be inviting humiliation by entering it again. Mr. B. D. Shukul also was faced with a similar problem and his friends too pressed him to be re-elected. But who will not be filled with joy to know that he did not fall a victim to their persuasion? It appears from Mr. Shukul's letter to His Excellency the Viceroy and another which he addressed to his constituents on the present occasion that his *Satyagraha* to withhold co-operation with Government is decidedly more glorious. We heartily congratulate him and urge the other Honourable Members to imitate him.

Comments on the retirement of Sir Micheal O'Dwyer.
Sind Advocate (11), 5th June.

55. Referring to the retirement of Sir Micheal O'Dwyer the *Sind Advocate* remarks :—" All India will heave a sigh of relief at this most welcome news. O'Dwyer, since the commencement of his career as Lieutenant-Governor, has been never tired of singing pæans of self-praise. He indulged in eulogies and panegyrics which ill accorded with the dignity of a provincial satrap. By Anglo-Indian papers he has been defined as Saviour of the Punjáb. *Civil and Military Gazette* has its sycophant remark that O'Dwyer will be immortalised in British history of India. Fond lovers of bureaucracy might cut a caper at hearing his charming name, but to be frank, Indians will never utter it except with anathemas and curses. [Elsewhere the paper writes :—" The *Daily Express* reports that a sensation has been caused in Paris owing to the decision of the Commission of Jurists that a charge cannot be laid against the Ex-Kaiser in connection with the war..... But if we reflect we shall understand how often we see big officials being shielded because of their position or because of the theory of prestige. We do not at all wonder at the impunity with which highly placed bureaucrats grossly abuse their power when we see a Sir Michael O'Dwyer being slavishly adulated and flattered amidst a blaze of sycophant smiles and hypocritical congratulations, notwithstanding the fact that the revolt in the Punjáb can be directly laid at his doors, he having done what he could to exasperate the feelings of the Punjábis beyond measure by his studied policy of repression. The way in which a Sir Michael can be permitted to cry aloud like any vain jackdaw his own particular merits at the cost of comparative humiliation of his successor who is put away in corner, will certainly tend to put a premium on this ' Prussian ' policy. Does the liberty-loving, justice-preferring British nation contain any more Burkes or Foxes or Sheridans upon whom we may call in the name of a bleeding province to haul up the gubernatorial criminal before the bar of the Lords for his misdemeanours? Let us wait and see."

Comments on the appointment of Mr. A. M. Kajiji as a judge of the Bombay High Court.
Mufid-e-Rozgár (140), 15th June; *Muslim Herald* (141), 20th June.

56. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* states that the absence of a Musalman judge on the bench of the High Court of Bombay has been keenly felt since a long time. Luckily this unpleasant incident is a thing of the past. Musalmans will be glad to hear that Mr. A. M. Kajiji has been permanently appointed as a Judge to fill a vacancy. His elevation to the bench is but meet and proper. [The *Muslim Herald* is pleased to note that Mr. Kajiji is competent and adds that Kazis used to administer justice under Moslem kings.]

57. "The matter of pay and prospects of the primary teacher is still in the same unsatisfactory stage as it was three years ago..... The Government of Bombay, however, appear to be more concerned about the *training* of the primary teacher. There are now 22 training schools under public management in this Presidency with an attendence, according to the latest report, of 1,369. We have no great hopes of this small number meeting the demand for trained teachers all over the Presidency, and Government will have to consider the possibility of opening a first year's training class for primary teachers in each district town. The means which the Government of Bombay have taken to supervise these training classes reveal an amazing degree of ineptitude. We understand that the educational inspector in each of the three divisions in the Presidency proper and in Sind is, in each case, the inspecting authority for the full three years' course training colleges for vernacular teachers in the division, but for the new first year classes for training primary teachers, Government have selected, as the inspecting officer for all the divisions, an Indian who was serving in a clerical capacity, and created for him a grade of Rs. 350-600. This officer, whose vernacular is, we understand, Gujaráti, is expected to tour in Sind, and in Gujarat, the Deccan, and the Kanarese-speaking parts of the Presidency and to direct and control the training classes for primary teachers. Government have, presumably, required the officer to pass at least the Higher Standard test in Sindhi, Marathi, and Kanarese. We do not know whether he possesses any experience in teaching, but it is difficult to understand how an officer, although he may as an Indian be more intimate with the difficulties attendant on the training of primary teachers, can, with efficiency, and without an unseemly waste of public money in travelling allowances, supervise such training all over the Presidency."

Comments on the appointment of Inspector of Primary Training Classes in the Bombay Presidency.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st June.

58. Commenting upon the proposal of Government to fill, by nomination, 180 vacancies in the Indian Civil Service, the *Kesari* writes:—According to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, 30 per cent. of the vacancies are to be filled by Indians in the first year after the passing of the Reform Act. According to this proportion, 54 posts out of 180 ought to go to Indians instead of only 40. Parliament should, therefore, raise this figure to 54 and redeem the pledge given by the Secretary of State. Besides while making the appointments birth alone should not be taken into consideration. Some time ago Government decided that 10 Indians should be admitted to the commissioned ranks in the army every year. But it appears from the selections made that most of the posts have gone to the ruling houses and one or two to Sikhs. The Bombay Presidency seems to be under disfavour in this respect. In spite of the proved prowess of the Maráthas they do not get a single post and there is no justification for this. Care should, therefore, be taken to see that similar partiality is not shown while making appointments to the Civil Service.

Proposed nominations of Indians to the Indian Civil Service.
Kesari (109), 17th June.

59. "A Patil in difficulties" writes:—When is Government going to grant to village Patils an increase in their emoluments just as it has done in the case of other Government servants? Some of the Patils do not hold even *inam* lands and the annual allowance which they receive amounts only to Rs. 40 to 50! The Patil is to be responsible for all the things that take place in his village. But how can he discharge the responsible functions of his office when he has to do hard work elsewhere for earning his own livelihood? When will the benign Government take this into consideration?

Necessity of increasing the emoluments of village Patils.
Kesari (109), 17th June.

60. "A poor teacher" writes:—The Primary school teachers in some villages of the Panvel Taluka (Kolába) received their pay for the month of April in the 2nd week of June. The payment of their pay is sometimes delayed as much as three months. Some village school-masters elsewhere have a similar complaint.

Complaint that primary school teachers in Kolába do not receive their pay in time.
Kesari (109), 17th June.

Will arrangements be made for paying the poor teachers their pay punctually during these days of abnormal prices?

61. It is certainly regrettable that England, at the instance of her colonies, should have joined in refusing the application of the principle of equality to all nations as desired by China and Japan. This conduct of hers would hardly accord with the spirit of friendship and co-operation of all nations which is the ideal of the League of Nations. The South African Government has at present proposed to prevent by law Indians or Asiatics from owning immovable property. To give effect to such a proposal would place the British Government in a more derogatory light than it placed even the Boer Government. It is the duty of the Viceroy as a trustee of this country to put a stop to such a state of affairs and to see that Indians are not treated unjustly and autocratically in other parts. The gates of India should be closed against those colonies and their trade until they recognise the necessity of doing justice to Indians in their own Government. [The *Hindusthán*, while writing in the same strain, asks Government to fight for the people's rights in the colonies and calls upon the public to carry on a powerful agitation in all parts of the country in order to protest against and remedy this state of affairs.]

Protest against anti-Indian legislation in South Africa.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 17th June; *Hindusthán* (24), 20th June.

62. The Union Parliament had appointed a committee to inquire into the grievances of Indians in the Transvaal. Today the Indians there are labouring under several disabilities. But their chief complaints which call for immediate redress are (1) the difficulties they encounter in obtaining trading licenses and (2) the obstacles in the way of their acquiring property. Those who expected that the committee would deal with this question in a satisfactory manner will not fail to be disappointed. The recommendations of the committee will of course prove very agreeable to the Union Government. Indeed those who are acquainted with conditions in South Africa believe that it must be at the instance of Government themselves that the committee made these recommendations. It appears from this that the authorities there are paving the way for a renewed Indian agitation of a bitter character.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 15th June.

63. Commenting upon the recent arrests at Hyderabad (Sind) in connection with the *Satyagraha* movement the *Lokasangraha* writes:—Although the whole affair is depressing it is not without its gratifying feature. There is only one reason why the high-handed officials in this Presidency did not succeed, like their confreres in the Punjáb, in introducing Martial Law here, *viz.*, this, that His Excellency the Governor did not keep his head and ears at the disposal of the Police as the Commissioner in Sind did. Otherwise a man like the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri would have been subjected to insult which, in view of his position, would have meant an insult to Government themselves. The question that naturally arises is whether the morality of India is so very bankrupt that our most prominent men find themselves in such difficulties. We ask those who argue that the proportion of political offences in India is large whether they have sought for the reason. Since Indians are the same as before some change must have come over the bureaucracy who rule over them. A former Governor of Madras described Dr. Subramaniam Aiyer as a thorough gentleman, but when he wrote a letter to President Wilson pleading the cause of his country, a liberal politician like Mr. Montagu lost his temper. When Ravindra Babu, being unable to see the miseries of his countrymen in the Punjáb, renounced his title of 'Sir', the *Times*, the self-constituted king of the newspapers in Asia, characterised him as a disgrace to the order of knighthood. Similar views were expressed about Sir Sankaran Nair. In this way the conduct of gentlemen in India becomes ungentlemanly when they do not agree with those in authoriy. Therefore the Police who make criminals of these gentlemen in a trice must verily be thorough gentlemen.

Comments on certain recent arrests in Sind.

Lokasangraha (new), 19th June.

64. Looking to the vast Muhammadan population of the British Empire it would never be safe to keep them in anxious suspense about the future of the Khalifate. The indication given in Mr. Montagu's recent speech that the question was to be solved in conformity with the feelings of the Muhammadans has doubtless

The question of the Khalifate.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 17th June.

eased their minds to a certain extent. But the *Mussalman*, a muslim paper, reminds Government that the Khalif ought to be an independent sovereign and that the Turkish Government should have full control over the holy places of Islam. In view of the loyalty shown by the Muhammadans during the war, their demands about the Khaliphate would, we hope, be sympathetically considered by Great Britain.

Why India has been enrolled as a member of the League of Nations?
Kesari (109), 17th June.

65. It appears that it was due to the insistence of President Wilson that India has been given a place in the League of Nations. India's name did not occur in the first draft of the League's constitution submitted on 14th February, but it began to figure in it in the revised draft from 28th April. Our readers can surmise as to who might be the statesman whose efforts brought about this change. This admission of India into the League of Nations places it on a footing of equality with independent countries, and as such, it can place its grievances, if any, before the League. That is why it has become necessary for the British Government to satisfy India's demands and leave none of its grievances unredressed. One of the greatest obstacles in the path of India's achieving *swardjya* has thus been removed.

Comments on the prospects of peace.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 21st June.

66. The American Congress has by a majority protested against the peace terms and the present constitution of the League of Nations. The difference between Italy and the Jugo-Slavs is growing more acute from day to day and the enemy is trying to win over Italy to his side. It is doubtful whether the military strength of the enemy is so much weakened as he pretends to the outside world. In fact, one feels very suspicious of the real internal state of Germany. It would scarcely be suprising if the enemy should have engaged himself in preparing for war during the six months' respite that he has had after the armistice. In these circumstances it is impossible for us to assert with certainty that we are now free from war once for all. Let us see what will be Germany's reply on Monday next; but in the meanwhile we hope the Allies will remain completely united by sinking all their past differences and will present a united front to the enemy in case he refuses to sign the peace treaty.

Comments on His Highness the Aga Khan's advice to his disciples.
Lokasangraha (new), 16th June.

67. His Highness the Aga Khan has advised his disciples to assist the British Empire against the Afghans. He is quite right. It would never be wise to be disloyal even for the sake of one's co-religionists. We are, however, surprised to see His Highness alleging that some Indians have rebelled against Government although as a matter of fact they are only agitating for political rights. No responsible leader in India has declared that a rebellion has broken out in India. Although the Aga Khan is the head of a religious sect he is known in Europe as a sound statesman. It detracts from his statesmanship, therefore, to bring this charge against his helpless countrymen on the strength of the cry raised by the Anglo-Indian journals. Besides, His Highness who betrays want of confidence in the loyalty of his disciples had no sympathy for them when the Rowlatt Bill was passed into law. Why did he not give any advice to the Government of India then?

MUNICIPALITIES.

Comments on the Government Press Note on municipalities and local option.
Jágaruk (45), 14th June.

68. Commenting upon the Government Press Note on the Honourable Mr. Patel's resolution recommending that the Municipalities be empowered to determine the number and location of liquor shops within their limits the *Jágaruk* writes:—We do not know what calamity would have befallen the country if Government had accepted the Resolution. Perhaps the Municipalities would have closed some liquor shops within their limits. But would that have harmed anyone? One of the objections urged by Government against the sudden closing of liquor shops is that it would lead to illicit distillation. This objection is in our opinion childish. It is very shameful that our Government have not the courage to allow a few

Municipalities to prohibit or control the sale of liquor when the Government of the United States has prohibited liquor traffic throughout its territories. Government's rejection of the Honourable Mr. Patel's resolution will not fail to create a misunderstanding especially among the backward classes. Although Government are prepared to allow any Municipality to introduce free and compulsory primary education they think it risky to allow it to determine the number and location of liquor shops. What are the people to infer from this? Is the question of liquor traffic more important than that of primary education? If not, why should Government think it unwise and risky to allow the Municipalities to control the sale of liquor? The unwillingness of Government to grant this minor right to the Municipalities, when under the scheme of constitutional reforms it is proposed to transfer the whole Abkari Department to the control of the people, shows that they lack statesmanship.

Comments on the proposed expansion of Bombay City.

Jám-e-Jamshed (26), 19th and 20th June.

69. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* does not think it proper on the part of Government to undertake the Back Bay reclamation scheme at present as it involves a huge expense of crores of rupees and requests them to attend to the more urgent needs of the public before launching on the scheme. It considers the housing problem as very pressing and urges Government to take it up and solve it as early as possible by expanding the present municipal limits of Bombay City by including therein some of the suburban areas in its neighbourhood. [In its subsequent issue, commenting upon Mr. Cowan's report on the expansion of Bombay, the paper expresses disapproval of the expensive scheme recommended in the report on the ground that the major portion of the cost of developing these suburban areas will fall on the present tax-payers. It recognises the necessity of the expansion of Bombay but warns the Corporation against undertaking this very expensive task before the financial question arising out of the scheme has been satisfactorily solved.]

Appointment of a Sanitary Superintendent in place of a Health Officer by the Poona Municipality.

Lokasangraha (new), 16th June.

70. The *Lokasangraha* says that although the Health Officer of the Poona City Municipality who resigned in January last was inefficient, the Municipality could not take any steps against him as he was the nominee of Government and writes:—After his resignation the Municipality requested Government that it should have the power to fine its Health Officer in case of absolute necessity. We understand the Collector refused to grant this legitimate request and ordered the Municipality to appoint at once a Health Officer without expecting any fresh powers. If this be a fact we make a present of it to Mr. Montagu. Without quietly submitting to the order of the Collector and without caring for Government assistance the Committee have recently appointed an able man as its Sanitary Superintendent whom it could completely control. It is to be seen what highhanded action the Government officials now take. We congratulate the Municipality on its choice; but will the Government acquiesce in its decision?

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 27th June 1919.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 28th June 1919.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. "We have to examine the contents of the Bill by the test of the national needs of Responsible Government in India. It will not suffice to stop with comparing the Bill with the proposals of the Joint Report or discovering the points in which it happens to deviate from the reactionary despatch of the Government of India.....

Comments on the Indian Reform Bill.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th, 25th and 27th June.

The Government have at present the responsibility of immediately publishing the draft rules for public criticism and since they are of the essence of the scheme there should be no difficulty and no delay in making them available in India. Without them, the Bill is a fragment and a sketch of the Reform Scheme introduced by the Secretary of State. Nevertheless, it is enough to demonstrate its inadequacy as a measure meant to be a substantial step in 'the progressive realisation of responsible government in British India'..... The nation has emphatically claimed a measure of reform which cannot be circumscribed by the four formulæ registered by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State as inviolable. We cannot afford to miss this governing consideration in the strife of bills and counterbills and amendments which may centre round the little scheme offered for consideration in Parliament. We shall show that between the proposals embodied in the Bills and the Scheme in the joint Report there are some striking differences, and that, in the shuffle, so far as the provinces are concerned, the chief novelty obtained is the Minister with precarious functions and an impossible status. The real sources of power are not brought within the sphere of popular control..... As at present contemplated, the Bill merely brings in some innovations in the Provinces so far as the exercise of responsibility is concerned. While the system of divided responsibility urged by the Government of India is abandoned in the Bill, the absolutism of the Governor in the province tends to bring it into line with the unqualified authority of the Central Government which is to continue as at present..... With his freedom of action curtailed and responsibility to the Council nullified, the Minister is not likely to show any great record of success. A harmless and pacific selection, he may gradually prove himself to be a small cog in the official machine, which in all essential parts is expected to move without check. And after all, the control of the official machine is the essence of responsible government..... Can he (Mr. Montagu) say that the transference of power he proposes in the Bill is definite and concrete or that the success of his scheme is beyond the suspicious nature and temper of governors and lieutenant-governors?"

[In its second article the paper writes :—"The position of the Minister is, to begin with, precarious. According to section 47 of the Government of India Act of 1915, the members of a Governor's Executive Council shall be appointed by His Majesty by warrant under the Royal Sign Manual. According to section 3 of the present Bill the Governor 'may' by notification appoint ministers not being members of his Executive Council or other officials to administer transferred subjects, and any Minister so appointed shall hold office at his pleasure. The salary is apparently to be determined neither by statute nor by rule since it is to be settled by the Governor with the sanction of the Secretary of State. There is thus, as between the member of the Executive Council and the Minister, a serious disparity in the dignity of appointment. The Joint Report laid down the initial qualification that the Minister should be an elected member of the local legislature, but now it is stated that he may secure a constituency within three months after his nomination by the Governor. The original qualification is certainly better since the danger of a favourite nominee capturing a seat through subsequent official influence would not exist. The unitary aspect of the Government is to be maintained by the provision that all orders and proceedings of the local Government shall be expressed to be made by the Government of the province, but the transaction of business between the Executive Council and the Minister is to be controlled by such rules as the Governor himself may be pleased to make. These rules and orders are important for the smooth

administration of transferred subjects. In addition to the creation of a Minister being the Governor's pleasure, the rules of transaction also are to be entirely framed by him and the fear has been expressed that this private authority might, under hostile influences, completely nullify the freedom of the Minister..... Thus, with the choice of appointment, the framing of the rules of business and an obtrusive degree of control, it is difficult to see how much of responsibility would remain to the Minister. Would he survive so much elaborate nursing?" The paper writes in its third article:—"The Minister, responsible for his transferred subjects, will have to administer them through the permanent services in India and for his success he will have to rely on their co-operation and loyalty. A member of the superior service owes his appointment to the Secretary of State; while anomalously enough, the Minister who will have to command his services will be the Governor's creature. Already there has been a needless and prejudiced outcry against the conditions of serving under the Minister by members of the Indian Civil Service in some provinces, and it is hardly reassuring to the Minister to feel that while he will hold office at the pleasure of the Governor, his departmental inferiors will not be liable to dismissal by him. The least that can be done to cure the anomaly and to establish the Minister to good purpose as an administrative functionary, is to place him in point of status and emoluments as the equal of the member of the Executive Council..... The opportunities of collaboration and training for Indians which were contemplated in the Report are further curtailed in that the proposals for the appointment of Under-Secretaries and Standing Committees for departments are not to be found in the Bill..... The demand of the country has been that the Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the province, including the power to raise loans, to impose and to alter taxation and to vote on the Budget. For this purpose, it has also been demanded that all items of expenditure and all proposals concerning ways and means for raising the necessary revenue should be embodied in Bills and submitted to the Provincial Council for adoption. This condition, we repeat, is of the essence of provincial autonomy. Against this, the joint Report proposed that the Budget was to be voted on by the Council, the Governor possessing the drastic power of enforcing supplies for the reserved subjects by the power of certification. The Bill goes beyond even this limit. The proposals of Government for the appropriation of revenues in any year are to be submitted to the Council for its assent in the form of resolutions. The Governor shall, says the Bill, have power in cases of emergency to authorise such expenditure as may in his opinion be necessary for the safety and tranquillity of the province or for the carrying on of any department..... The last and crowning restriction of the financial powers of the Council is serious. It is laid down that no proposal for any revenues for any purpose, or for the increase of the amount of the expenditure authorised or proposed to be authorised by any resolution shall be made except on the recommendation of the Governor communicated to the Council. The Joint Report did not contain this restriction, but the Memorandum of the Secretary of State justifies it in this wise: 'In accordance with the principle of British Parliamentary practice, it is laid down that no proposal for the appropriation of the provincial revenues or for the increase of any expenditure proposed to be authorised by resolution, *shall* be made except on the recommendation of the Governor.' We fear the imposition is to be made through a false analogy. It is true that in Britain, the initiative for the proposal of fresh expenditure is with the Government. But there is no 'shall' in it, since Parliament has the unchallengeable right of rejecting or reducing the sums asked by Government. We expect the evolution of a similar convention in India, but it is absolutely wrong to impose on the Council a disability by statute. The power of the purse should be inherent in the Council. The Bill makes out that the residue of power left after the sufferance of the Governor may remain to the Council for useless and unmolested enjoyment. The conception has to be entirely reversed, and if the British parallel is to be cited at all, it must be cited in full. The most important point in regard to which the British parallel has no application to conditions in India has been entirely overlooked. And it is this that not merely is

Parliament, in the ultimate analysis, supreme so far as the power of the purse is concerned, but it is also supreme so far as decision as regards the continuance of the Government in power is concerned, and the fact that its existence in power depends on the will of Parliament serves as a salutary check on the vagaries and incompetence of any Government. Not only is there no such check over the Government, as a whole, contemplated in the Bill, but the restrictions imposed on the Council with regard to the disposal of revenue reduce its freedom and utility almost to vanishing point, and in the bulk constitute the negation of popular claims."]

2. "The most satisfactory feature of the Bill is that the Government of India's reactionary proposal that the Legislative Council should have no authority to sanction or disallow expenditure, but should be allowed merely to exercise scrutiny and make recommendations has not been adopted, but, as proposed in the Joint Report, the Council is given power to alter budget allotments subject to the reservation, also mentioned in the Report, *viz.*, that the Governor can restore the original figure on a reserved subject on his certificate of the necessity of such a course. To this reservation, however, some more are added in the Bill, which did not find mention in the Report. Emergency grants are provided for on the sole authority of the Governor to any amount and in the case of any department, whether reserved or transferred. Nor is it clear that the Governor will at all be under an obligation to summnn his Council in cases of such emergency. There is no justification whatever for the Governor sanctioning any expenditure over the head of the Council, and it is difficult to think of an emergency which would constitute a sufficient reason for deviating from the usual rule of modifying budget allotments according to the vote of the council, in the case of the transferred departments. Cases of unforeseen outlay are met in other countries by supplementary estimates, and there is no reason why a different practice should be followed in India..... While the Government of India's proposal for the elimination of financial control is thus turned down, it is not equally clear that the Bill does not adopt the separate purse system recommended by that Government. Rather, as we said in our last week's issue, the fact that among the matters to be provided for by rules is 'the allocation of provincial funds' for the administration of the transferred subjects suggests that this system is contemplated..... The net result of adopting the separate purse system will be not only that the legislative council will be deprived of the power to control expenditure for reserved services, but will be impotent to resist further taxation entailed by expenditure on those services. Under the joint purse system recommended in the Report, the Council could indirectly influence the whole expenditure and could effectively control levy of fresh taxes. Thus, if the Government of India's scheme for provincial finance comes to be adopted, our councils will not have even the power conceded to Egypt in her first Organic Law. This will certainly mean a very great falling off from the standard of popular control contemplated in the Joint Report. As regards legislation on reserved subjects, the Bill in its present shape affords none of the safeguards provided in the Report..... The Bill does not provide for any of these expedients by which the official part of the Government was required, under the scheme of the Report, to pay some amount of deference to the popular will. We realise that most of these things are such as may best be provided for by rules, but the Government of India's despatch which recommends the elimination of the first two safeguards gives rise to the apprehension that the rules may omit them altogether..... With regard to mixed registration the Bill repeats the mistake which was thought to be inadvertently made in the Joint Report. The Governor may direct, in the case of a bill relating to a transferred subject but certified as impinging on the reserved sphere in some of its parts, that no proceedings shall be taken by the Council in relation to such clauses of the bill. This is withdrawing from the council a right which they now enjoy. At present every bill, if it secures the vote of the non-official majority must pass through all its stages, but, under the Bill, such a measure may have to be dropped, whatever support it may command in the council. This is a very drastic deduction from the powers apparently meant to be conferred

Servant of India (10), 26th June.

upon the council, for hardly any legislation in regard to transferred subjects can be thought of which will not affect, or cannot be made to appear as affecting, the reserved field of legislation..... But, as provided for in the Bill, the Governor need not even refer the proposal to a grand committee, but may stop it altogether, and the Government of India suggest that he should be able to stop it at any stage, even before it is formally introduced. This withdrawal of an existing privilege is as much without reason as it is far-reaching in its consequences. If a bill relating wholly to a reserved subject must, if certified, go to a grand committee, why should another bill, dealing mostly with a transferred subject but invading the reserved subjects only in a clause, not be referred, as regards that clause, to a grand committee, and why should the Governor have the extraordinary power to stop all further proceedings? If, again, this certificate of the Governor is to be freed from all 'embarrassing restrictions' the seriousness of this provision in the Bill will be apparent. It is very curious that while several important proposals relating to fundamental principles as, for instance, the amenability of the ministers to the legislature, are left to rules, such a detail, nullifying to a great extent the effect of some progressive provisions, should be incorporated in the body of the Bill."

3. "Scrutinised closely, Mr. Montagu's Bill promises reform, but the reforms promised are halting and will not satisfy the Indian public anxious for intelligent and just reconstruction in the coming days. The pivot of the reforms with which Mr. Montagu proposes to start India on the road to 'nationality' and 'Self-Government' is the Indian Minister. But what are the powers the Bill proposes to give to the Indian Minister? He is to hold powers at the 'pleasure' of the Governor! In transferred subjects, the Governor is to be guided by the advice of the minister in charge, but in any matter in which the Governor may see sufficient cause to dissent from the opinion of the Minister, he may require action to be taken otherwise than in accordance with the advice of the minister. The Bill proposes, it is gratifying to note, that 70 per cent. of seats in the Council be filled by elected members..... But the power of the Councils is to be limited by the appointment of a Grand Committee, the majority of whose members are to be nominated and which is to have the power to *pass or reject* laws without the assent of the Provincial Legislative Council! Thus Grand Committees can easily render the Provincial Councils impotent! The Bill proposes that Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the Upper Provinces, the Punjáb, Behár and Orissa, Central Provinces and Assam be constituted into Provinces, but Sind is excluded. Under the circumstances, the 'reforms' contemplated now and those which are to come in the years before us will not help Sind, unless Sind becomes a separate Province. We have pleaded, again and again, for the provincial autonomy of Sind, and until Sind is raised to the status of a Province, she will continue to be at a disadvantage as compared with other parts of India."

New Times (9), 20th June.

4. The Bill is a bloodless, fleshless and skinless skeleton built up by putting into legal language the principles laid down in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and nothing more. It does not disclose much anxiety for the birth of *Swardjya* in India. Mr. Montagu seems to have framed it thinking that it was to bring about the beginning of the end of bureaucracy, leaving the birth and development of *Swardjya* to the future. His speech at the second reading shows that he is inspired more by the desire to put an end to the bureacuracy than to grant *Swarájya* to India. Our delegates in England have been able to form an opinion as to the extent to which he is opposed to the bureaucracy. Mr. N. C. Kelkar writes that Mr. Montagu's assent to the Rowlatt legislation was obtained fraudulently. He, however, is not prepared to openly blame the bureaucracy for it, as he is afraid that it would make short work of him. He has, therefore, taken care not to go beyond the Joint Report in framing the Bill. The objections taken by the congress to the Report are equally applicable to the Bill. It will neither put an end to the bureaucracy nor give birth to *Swarájya*. Both the end of

Kesari (109), 24th June.

the bureaucracy and the birth of *Swarájya* will depend upon the rules and regulations to be made under it. Mr. Montagu practically asks the *Swarájists* to shift for themselves for the attainment of *Swarájya* or to be drowned in the attempt and at the same time seems to permit the bureaucracy to bring about the discomfiture of the attempt by means of rules. As a matter of fact Mr. Lloyd George's cabinet ought to have taken upon itself the responsibility of framing a Bill granting *Swarájya* to Indians, but it has done nothing more than laying down general principles, and Mr. Montagu, afraid of the bureaucracy, has left everything to the Parliamentary Committee. It depends upon what the Committee does how far the measure is to prove useful. If the Bill in its final form receives praises, he will gratefully accept them, but if it evokes condemnation it will be passed on to the Parlimentary Committee. The bureaucracy expects that the framework of the Bill as filled in by the Southborough Committee's recommendations will be accepted by the Parlimentary Committee and therefore the Sydenham clique and certain Anglo-Indian papers are venting their spleen against Mr. Montagu. It appears that the Sydenham clique hoped to see the Bill thrown overboard by the nationalist party on the ground that it does not grant full provincial autonomy nor any share in the Central Government. The clique ought to have known that neither Mr. Tilak nor the Congress delegates would throw overboard Mr. Montagu and side with the bureaucracy. The Bill discloses defects worse than those to be found in the Joint Report. Unless these are removed and Sir Shankaran Nair's suggestions are accepted and a share is granted in the Central Government and rules and regulations about franchise and other important matters are embodied in the Act itself, the measure will not prove acceptable even to the Moderate party.

Gujaráti (20), 22nd June; *Gujaráti Punch* (22), 22nd June; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (27), 2nd June.

5. The efforts made by Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu for the last two years have at length borne fruit. Since the signing of the armistice with Germany, races other than white, who took part in bringing the war to a successful issue, have not been considered fit to exercise the right of self-determination, and Bolsheivsts are accused of inciting non-white races to ask for equal rights with the whites. Strong measures have been taken to put down disturbances in Egypt and the Punjáb. In these circumstances Mr. Montagu must have had to overcome enormous difficulties before he could introduce the Indian Reform Bill in Parliament. We do not know how far he is himself satisfied with the Bill but we are not prepared to say that the Indian public will derive any satisfaction from it. It is a matter of some satisfaction that Mr. Montagu has not embodied in the Bill all the reactionary suggestions made by the Government of India in their recent despatch. But the very fact that some of these suggestions have been accepted gives us cause for anxiety. The Indian public must now wake up and send their suggestions on the Bill through the Indian deputations that have gone to England. Anglo-Indians and the Civilians will not sit quiet. They have an alert friend in Lord Sydenham in England. Indians should, therefore, recognise the necessity of acting in unison as far as practicable. The Civilians in India have objected to the pronouncement made on the 20th August. The members of the Indian Civil Service are not "Indian", are not "civil" to Indians and are not "servants" of India but its masters. How can the Indians co-operate with them? Mr. Montagu has placed India under his obligations by including the declaration of the 20th August in the Bill but it does not contain the Declaration of Rights of the people of India demanded by the Congress at its special sessions in Bombay. There will no doubt be an increase in the popular element in the Imperial Legislative Council but the Council of State will afford scope for getting measures like the Rowlatt Act passed and allowing men like Sir Michael O'Dwyer to rule in a highhanded manner. While the Bill contains provisions for placing the provincial governments on the firm footing of *swarájya* it does not in any way affect the Government of India. It is strange that even the Parliamentary Committee will have no power to effect changes in the constitution of the

Government of India. Another matter that arrests our attention is that the Bill gives full powers to the Government of India to interfere in the affairs of the provincial governments. According to the Bill Executive Councillors will have freedom to maintain connections with commercial firms to which they may belong. This is a debatable matter. We feel sure that the Indian deputations in England will be able to make their opinion felt by the Parliamentary Committee. [The *Gujaráti Punch* considers the Bill defective in many respects and expresses the hope that the deputations in England will join hands in getting these defects remedied by voicing the opinion of the Indian public. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* also hopes that the Indian deputations will make a good impression on the Parliamentary Committee and exhorts the Indian people to do their best to prove themselves worthy of the trust reposed in them by Mr. Montagu in his message.]

Rájakáran (116), 22nd June.

6. The Reform Bill provides for some slight control by the people over the administration. This, however, does not mean that a real beginning has been made in the transference of power from the bureaucracy to the people. Up to this time the British Parliament has been excercising supervision over the bureaucracy in India through the Secretary of State. The bureaucracy does not want either the Parliament or the people here to control it. Mr. Montagu proposes to lessen the control of Parliament and substitute in its stead a little control by the people through their representatives. The Anglo-Indian bureaucracy interprets the grant of *Swarájya* to mean that the white officials here should have complete liberty of action. In view of such conflicting motives there is a wide gulf between the Reform scheme outlined by Mr. Montagu and the one suggested by the Provincial Governments.

Sudhákar (124), 22nd June.

7. On the ground of its length the Reform Bill was not published in India until after it was read a second time in Parliament. But people had formed an estimate of its character from the speech Mr. Montagu made in introducing it, and their expectations have been realised. The Bill is wholly incapable of satisfying our legitimate and just demands as it stands. People entertained high hopes from this Bill. They expected that it would confer extensive powers upon them, but we are sorry to find that their hopes have not been fulfilled.

Comments on the allegations of corruption made against the Food Control Department, Bombay, by the *Independent* of Allahabad.

Jám-e-Jámshed (26), 25th June, Eng. cols.

8. "If the revelations which the *Independent* of Allahabad makes regarding the food control procedure in the Bombay Presidency rest on facts, our contemporary has earned renown for itself and relief in future for millions. In the face of the existing serious allegations it will be now out of the question for the Government of Bombay to observe silence or issue a communique which does not bear on the face of it evidence sufficient to contradict the unequivocal assertions of the *Independent*. Closely connected with the exposure of the alleged gigantic scandal is the memorial submitted to the Government of Bombay by the Rice Merchants' Association. We accord it our humble support because the facts stated therein are easy of verification and because the submission is couched in language of studied moderation. Of the six firms of Rangoon which are permitted to export rice only two have direct Indian or Bombay connections, namely, Messrs. Tata and Sons and Messrs. Amarchand Madhaoji and Company. The rest who seem to have been specially favoured are all foreign trading corporations which have been permitted preferential facilities. It spells artificial aggravation of widespread, poignant and natural distress. We have our own what we call domestic quarrel with the celebrated firm of the Tatas; but our complaint is entirely of a communal nature. As Indians we believe that they have been treated with much less than their due by a Government whose highest representative in India has publicly acknowledged their indebtedness during the stress of the War."

9. Certain defamatory statements made by the *Independent* of Allahabad are likely to lead people to suppose that their sufferings were due to criminal mismanagement prevailing in the establishment of the Controller of Prices. It would not be wise to observe sullen silence in the matter. It affects the prestige of the Controller and the Government alike. They should therefore cause an enquiry to be held in the matter and allow the public an opportunity to derive satisfaction therefrom.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 25th June.

10. "The charge of corruption is so openly made that a public enquiry cannot be refused. The *Independent* has published facsimiles of the letters of a certain Pestonji Nassarwanji Dastur who, the *Independent* tells us, 'was and is only a bosom friend of the Assistant Controller of Prices, Mr. Byramji Batliwala'. The letters reveal Pestonji as wielding so much influence over food supply that he and his friend must have 'hunted in couples'. On the very face of them the letters inculpate Mr. Byramji if his relations with Pestonji are as intimate as disclosed by the *Independent*. Popular feeling has been strong against him for a considerable time and on occasions has manifested itself unmistakably. We think it is a duty which the Bombay Government owes not only to the public but to its own faithful servants, to conduct a thorough public enquiry into this matter and punish the officer if he be guilty or clear his character if he be innocent."

Servant of India (10), 26th June.

***11.** "We congratulate the *Independent* of Allahabad for bringing to light a scandal of the worst type in the control of foodstuffs in Bombay..... We had long before urged the Government to make short work of the control department on other grounds, because, in its actual operation, it proved to be a greater hindrance than a facility for cheapening the foodstuffs. The whole system broke down in a short time after its establishment, and there were strong rumours of curruption and malpractices which ended in an affray. The Government ought to have before long made searching inquiries into the scandals and placed the whole system on a better and honester basis. The rice-merchants have already submitted a memorial to the Government which throws much light on the actual working of this control machine. They also waited upon His Excellency the Governor of Bombay last week and His Excellency must have been sufficiently enlightened on the situation. We cannot have patience with those—however high in position they may be, who attempt to get rich at the cost of the starving poor. We earnestly appeal to His Excellency to hold a thorough inquiry and mete out due and dettering punishment to those who deserve it."

Mahrátta (8), 29th June.

12. It was not possible for the general public to have a first hand knowledge of the working of the Control Department under Mr. Cadell and his Assistant Mr. Batlivala, but as soon as they saw that since the institution of the control the prices of the foodstuffs went up instead of going down, the people complained that the control was killing them. All knew that the administration of such a vast department, dependant upon the sweet will of a single official was bound to be defective, but as none could adduce direct proof about the mismanagement, nothing further than voicing the general complaint could be done. It must, however, be said that Government has been seriously guilty of closing its eyes in the matter. For, could a matter which formed the general talk of the people for at least three months past have failed to reach the ears of Government? What was the C. I. D. doing? While such confusion reigned in the Controller's Department, was the C. I. D. taken up only with instituting searches of the offices of men like Mr. Bhurgri and forming plans for Mr. Horniman's deportation? But truth comes out after all, and the *Independent* of Allahabad has exposed the doings of the Department. It is indeed strange that rascality in Bombay should have to be exposed at Allahabad, but that was due to the deportation of Mr. Horniman. The paper has brought to light how one Mr. Pestonji Nasarvanji Dastur who was outwardly quite unconnected with the Controller's office used to secure for commission licenses for exporting foodstuffs to the Punjáb. We leave it to our readers

Kesari (109), 24th June.

to imagine as to how and why the authority for granting licenses for export of foodstuffs came to be transferred from Messrs. Cadell and Batlivala into the hands of Mr. Dastur. It is evident that the *Independent* has in its possession many more letters of the kind it has now published. But the published letters amply give an idea as to how the Control Department must have harassed the starving masses. It is now the duty of Government to abolish the control and to get the affairs of the department presided over by Mr. Cadell, recently highly honoured by Government, examined by a commission. Nothing else will satisfy the people.

Hindusthán (24), 25th June.

13. The *Independent* has rendered good service to the public in exposing the control scandal. Mr. Dastur had made good earnings under the present control system. His business of this kind of commission agency was possible only through the grace of the control system. It is the duty of Government to find out what profession Mr. Dastur was following before the introduction of the control system and why he accompanied Mr. Behramji Batliwalla, the Assistant Controller, to Gujranwala. We ask the Bombay Government why they have not yet published an explanatory press note in this connection, though the *Capital* of Calcutta has repeatedly alluded to such a state of things in general terms. When the public heard of Mr. P. R. Cadell being honoured with the title of C. S. I. and of his being made an aide-de-camp to His Excellency the Viceroy, they were convinced that despite their complaints against the administration of officials, the bureaucracy in this country was still too powerful to allow any complaint of the people to reach the higher authority. It is openly reported among the public that thousands of rupees of the merchants have been swallowed, thanks to the control system. It is the duty of Government to find out who is at fault in this respect. The public feel confident that His Excellency Sir George Lloyd will not suffer any connivance at this state of things after the appearance of the correspondence above referred to in a newspaper. The best course in this connection is that our sympathetic Governor should appoint a commission of inquiry and should invite all those who may have given bribes to give evidence, at the same time promising them a pardon for their offence of giving bribes. In our opinion the Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla's help in this respect will be most useful to Government in investigating the corruption of the control system.

Comments on the Memorial of the Bombay Rice Merchants' Association regarding rice control.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd June.

14. "The system of control of rice in Bombay is proving a scandal and an intolerable hardship on the poor and middle classes, and unless prompt measures are taken to remedy matters the discontent among the long-suffering public may assume undesirable proportions. We warn the authorities concerned that there is more discontent and resentment among the despairing poor of this city than is apparent on the surface. Every week the Director of Civil Supplies issues a list of prices of grain and other articles of necessity like sugar, ghee, oil, both vegetable and mineral, coal and firewood. So far as the food grains are concerned the price list is, in practice, a make-believe, and adds, as it were, insult to injury for not even one man in a thousand is able to secure from the vendors any of these articles at the so-called controlled prices. Take, for instance, rice. The Director of Civil Supplies announces wholesale prices ranging from Rs. 11-2-0 to Rs. 16 and retail prices ranging from Rs. 12-8-0 to Rs. 17 per bag of six maunds of unbroken Burma rice. So far as the wholesale rates are concerned, the general public have nothing to do with them. But what do they find as regards retail prices? Even ordinary qualities of Rangoon rice cannot be had in the market for less than Rs. 18 to Rs. 20 per bag, while for superior qualities the prices demanded are from Rs. 24 to Rs. 32 per bag! That is to say, the present system of control enables the retail vendors to charge, on each bag, Rs. 5-8 to Rs. 16 extra as middlemen's profits including conveyance charges from Dana Bunder. Of what earthly use is the Director of Civil Supplies' weekly notification of prices, if nowwhere in Bombay can any one secure for love or importunity food-grains at the notified prices? The retail dealers are defiant of public opinion,

because they know that the so-called 'control' is a myth and profiteering is tolerated, if not openly abetted, in the interest of the monopolists of the trade. ..... That there is something wrong in the system of control will further be evident from the memorial of the Bombay Rice Merchants' Association and the letter of its *vice*-president, Mr. Matani, published elsewhere..... If, as the memorial alleges, the interests of the whole trading class have been subordinated to those of a few monopolists, and if therein, too, an unbecoming racial discrimination is exercised, and, generally, the interests of the poor consumer are wholly overlooked—and no one who knows anything about Bombay has any serious doubt in regard to these allegations—immediate and thorough overhauling of the machinery of control is required in the interests of the mass of the public who have been driven to despair by the prevailing famine prices. There is, however, a more potent reason why an open, thorough and searching enquiry into the administration or mal-administration of the whole Control Department must immediately be undertaken. For months past unsavoury stories about transactions of an undersirable character have been going round from one end of the country to the other, not to speak of the City itself. It is not in the interest either of the public or of the purity and integrity of administration that such stories should gain currency, among the mass of people who are vitally affected by the operations of the control system. Every day that passes adds to the danger of the apathy and indifference displayed by Government in taking no notice of these stories which, so far as the vast bulk of the people are concerned, are accepted as facts—and in refusing to take the proper action that is called for. That action is, as we have emphasised, the institution of an immediate and open enquiry into the administration of the Control Department. During the time Sir George Lloyd has been in this country he has evinced a vigilant interest in seeing that every department of Government is maintained at the required level of efficiency. It is not necessary for us to remind His Excellency that the integrity of an institution—especially of a public institution, on the working of which the happiness of thousands of lives depends—is of far greater importance, and, therefore, deserving of a more jealous attention, than its efficiency as it is uuderstood in bureaucratic parlance."

15. "The control of rice in Bombay has become so open a scandal that no Government which cares for its good repute can withhold a public enquiry and refuse to bring to book the parties responsible for the scandal. The charges are no less than gross inefficiency, favouritism and corruption..... A memorial addressed by the Bombay Rice Merchants' Association to His Excellency the Governor mentions facts which amount to a charge of favouritism. The rice merchants were on the whole satisfied with the system of control that prevailed up to April last when a new system was introduced, under which licenses have been given for importing rice in the month of June only to seven parties, five of them representing four rice mills in Rangoon and the other two being merchants of Bombay. It appears that at the meeting of the Advisory Board held on May 5th it was decided to distribute licenses at a subsequent meeting of that Board, but that the licenses were actually distributed at a hole-and-corner meeting to which only the favoured seven parties were invited, all of them getting licenses. The representatives of the rice mills in Rangoon are said to be Europeans who were not importing much rice to Bombay previous to the present control. Though we do not attach much importance to the solicitude which these merchants have expressed for the poor consumer, we think their complaint is legitimate that by the new system they have been deprived of the trade which they have long been following. They pray that their Association may be included among the present license holders, that pending the disposal of their memorial, licenses for July may not be issued and that His Excellency may be pleased to receive a deputation of their Association on this subject. Favouritism there may or may not be, but His Excellency will be adopting a wise policy in allowing the deputation to wait on him."

Servant of India (10), 26th June.

16. It must be admitted that the control system placed a check on the ever-rising prices of food-stuffs. However, the prices that had gone high did not come down and so people received no relief from their hardships. Besides, in some respects it was found that the superior commodities the prices of which were not controlled were sold at higher rates in the market while the inferior commodities that were subject to the control were sold at lower rates. Certain wholesale and retail merchants who had obtained passes from the Controller cleaned inferior food-grains and mixed them with superior qualities and gave rise to the anomaly of controlled and uncontrolled food-stuffs. These merchants defeated the object of Government and indulged in profiteering. Certain changes were no doubt made to correct the vagaries prevailing in the Controller's office after the incident in which the Assistant Controller was assaulted. But the arrangements arrived at do not seem to have proved satisfactory. The rice merchants of Bombay have submitted a memorial to His Excellency the Governor and have asked permission for their deputation to wait upon him. Government should either enforce the prices fixed by the Controller or remove the control altogether and afford facilities for the free movement of food-stuffs in the country by placing more waggons at the disposal of the trade and lowering freight charges. The people earnestly wish for some relief in the matter of high prices. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* expresses a hope that His Excellency Sir George Lloyd will recognise the necessity of giving careful consideration to the memorial and granting an interview to the deputation. The *Praja Bandhu* dwells at length on the failure of the control system and emphasises the necessity of discouraging the cultivation of cotton and encouraging that of food-grains.]

Bombay Samáchár (62), 23rd June; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 24th June; *Praja Bandhu* (30), 22nd June.

17. "The question which the All-India Congress Committee met to consider at Allahabad occupies the foremost place in the thoughts and feelings of the people of India. ..... It is to-day no use disguising the fact that the question which has taken precedence of all others in the minds of people, is not that of constitutional reform, as at present understood, but it is the spectacle of the Punjáb. The feeling is one in which Indians are entirely unanimous..... The Honourable Mr. Chintamani, a militant 'Moderate' and a keen admirer of the Joint Report and its scheme, said on the eve of his departure to England, that the absorbing issue of the moment was the treatment of the Punjáb and all that it signified regarding the rights of our citizenship and the attitude of the bureaucracy respecting them. Government would be in error if they imagined that Indians would, without reparation, easily forget the tragedy of the Punjáb as an unfortunate interlude in which there was an outburst of popular violence which had to be met with a strong counter-blow. In their important resolutions the All-India Congress Committee rightly condemned the excesses and the acts of violence for which sections of mobs were immediately responsible. The destruction caused to life and property deserved to be followed by appropriate punishments to its authors. No one has contended that they should be granted a writ of exoneration or that their acts should be ignored. Nevertheless it was essential, in the interests of justice, that the charges should have been fairly and properly investigated and the real culprits discovered without the suppression of due opportunities of defence. If the excesses of the people are punishable, it is only right that the alleged unlawful use of force by the authorities, who fought the disorders, should also be thoroughly investigated. To furnish the public with gruesome pictures of the depredations of mobs, is not to answer the issue that the authorities who used excess of force should also be amenable to justice. We confess to a feeling of dismay that the Viceroy has refused to accede to the prayer that persons condemned to death may not be immediately executed and that such sentences may be suspended in view of appeal to His Majesty in Council. It is a tremendous responsibility, and the refusal of a short term of respite to enable condemned men to appeal has, we fear, nothing in

Comments on the All-India Congress Committee's session at Allahabad regarding Punjáb affairs.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 26th June.

common with the classical inexorableness of justice..... Not less serious than the allegations that shooting and flogging and bombing were resorted to on occasions which could not justify them, is the reality of the statement that there was 'armed rebellion' in the Punjáb. Leaving aside the short and sharp methods of those who administered Martial Law and the fifty drastic orders of Colonel Frank Johnson, who revelled in their promulgation, is the question of the justice of the trials, under Martial Law, of people whose alleged offences were not amenable to the decisions of Martial Law Commissions and of the continuance of Martial Law Commissions themselves after Martial Law has been abrogated. And in what interests has the Ordinance, in giving retrospective effect to the Martial Law Ordinance and ousting the jurisdiction of ordinary courts in favour of Martial Law Commissions, been scrupulously maintained? The care and legal finesse with which the case of Kali Nath Roy has been disposed of must serve to the public as a measure of the risk of injustice inseparable from these Commissions..... The lid cannot be put on the Punjáb with its excruciating memories without a true apportionment of blame. Faith in British justice is the foundation of British rule in India; and it is for the British Government to realise the tragedy of the Punjáb and insist that while the guilt of citizens is visited with punishment, the blame of officials does not pass without cognisance—and thus only can the *bonâ fides* of British rule be vindicated."

Alleged inhuman character of the sentences passed by the Punjáb Military Tribunals.

Loka Sangraha (new), 27th June.

18. Up to this time it was deemed sufficient to sentence the accused themselves, but the Military Tribunals of the Punjáb have refused to take such a narrow view. Their orders for forfeiture of property have fully provided that along with the accused their wives and children and other relations as well should suffer not only from grief but also from starvation. Nobody would say that the guilty should escape, but the inhuman sentences that have been passed by the Judges make one doubt whether we are living under the protection of the world-famed merciful British Government or have been caught in a forest fire. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and others had prayed the Government of India to postpone the execution of the death sentences till the result of the Secretary of State's promised inquiry, but its heart did not melt to grant even this small concession!

Kesari (109), 24th June; *Dnyán Prakásh* (41), 25th June.

19. The *Kesari* gives figures showing the number of accused persons tried by the Martial law Commissions in the Punjáb and the various sentences passed by them and writes:— It is needless to point out how very severe these sentences are compared to the excesses committed by the rioters. Besides had the accused been tried before ordinary courts and, had they all been able to secure proper legal assistance, some of them would have been able to prove their innocence and some would have received lighter punishments. The cases against some of the leaders are yet to be decided and it is unthinkable that they could be guilty of any excesses. In these circumstances it is necessary for the Viceroy to consider calmly whether he should allow the Martial Law Commissions to proceed with the cases before them or whether these should be transferred to ordinary courts, and also whether the sentences passed by the Commissions should be allowed to stand or whether the accused should be shown some mercy. So far the sentence of death has been commuted in the case of less than ten men. In most of the other cases only some slight reduction of sentences is to be seen. Indeed the Lieutenant-Governor or at least the Viceroy should have shown more mercy. It is satisfactory to note that the decisions of the special tribunals in this Presidency do not disclose the vindictiveness which was a characteristic of the Punjáb trials. It is to be hoped that this spirit will continue to the end. But in view of the harshness shown by the military courts to the people of the Punjáb it has become absolutely necessary that the Viceroy should show them mercy. The right course would be to appoint a commission to review all the cases so that only the deserving might be shown mercy. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* also is of opinion that the sentences passed are unduly severe and that capital sentences should not be carried out in the case of those who wish to appeal to the Privy Council.]

20. The public are anxiously awaiting the appointment of a commission to inquire into the Punjáb affairs, as declared by Mr. Montagu in his speech on the occasion of introducing the Indian Budget in Parliament. If this commission is meant simply to justify the actions taken by the officials or is to sit in camera like the Rowlatt Commission, Mr. Montagu had better drop altogether the idea of appointing it. It should not consist of Officials alone; nor should any one having a hand in the Punjáb affairs get a seat therein. One-third of its members should be members of Parliament and of the remaining, there should be as many representatives of Indian public opinion as there are officials. Unless it includes such leaders of public opinion as Messrs. Shastri, Chintamani, Gandhi, Hasan Imam, etc., it will not inspire any confidence in the public. [In its subsequent issue the paper tries in a long article to establish the innocence of Mr. Kali Nath Roy and strongly appeals to His Excellency the Viceroy for his release in deference to the united voice of all sections of Indian public opinion. It also calls upon all patriotic men and women to subscribe liberally to the fund started by the All-India Congress Committee on his behalf. The *Sánj Vartmán* writes:—In the eyes of the public the writings of Mr. Kali Nath Roy, for which he has been condemned to two years' rigorous imprisonment, are quite innocent and we believe a great injustice has been done to this innocent editor. It is the duty of the public to get that injustice removed and to ask for his release. We are glad to learn that Madras is going to have a public meeting for the purpose and we wish Bombay also would convene a meeting for the same purpose. People from all provinces should appeal to His Excellency the Viceroy for his release. In a later issue the paper strongly protests against trials by the Martial Law Courts now that the Martial Law has been long withdrawn from most parts of the Punjáb and fully endorses the views of the All-India Congress Committee regarding the inquiry into the Punjáb affairs, as well as the justification by Mr. Montagu of the use of aeroplanes in the disturbances. It also calls for the withdrawal of the orders under the Defence of India Act passed against various persons in this country. The *Shri Venkateshwar* too writes in a similar strain. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* hopes that till the proposed commission for the Punjáb affairs concludes its inquiry, His Excellency the Viceroy should, in deference to the appeals made to him from different parts of the country, be pleased to suspend the execution of the capital sentences passed by the Martial Law Courts in the Punjáb.]

Hindusthán (24), 21st and 27th June; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 21st and 26th June; *Shri Venkateshwar* (82), 27th June; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (26), 27th June.

21. "One of the blazing instances of the flagrant carelessness, which the Government of India sometimes exhibit in matters which affect the life and death of the people, has come to light recently. The Deccan Sabha of Poona had sent, in the name of its president Sir Hormusji Wadia, a telegram to the Viceroy that the execution of all capital sentences passed by the Martial Law tribunals be stayed 'till the report of the inquiry. . . . which the Viceroy has always contemplated and which the Secretary of State for India has declared before Parliament, will be held not only into the causes of the recent disturbances but also into the measures taken to cope with them'. There was thus only this mention of the inquiry, and not even a word about any 'appeal to the Privy Council' in the whole telegram. But, strange as it may appear, the Government of India promptly, in the fashion of, and perhaps in tune with, the expeditious Martial Law tribunals, replied to the Deccan Sabha that they are unable to postpone the execution 'pending their appeals to the Privy Council'! Can there be any instance, we ask, of a more flagrant carelessness than this amazing reply of the Government of India to the Deccan Sabha? Have they, we ask, even read, and if read, have understood the meaning of Sir Hormusji Wadia's telegram? Was it not their duty to at least see what was the prayer of an influential man like him? Was there even a word about the appeals to the Privy Council in that wire? Does this not show criminal negligence on the part of the Government of India in doing their duty in the matter of those about whose cases the whole

Comments on the Viceroy's reply to the Deccan Sabha's appeal for staying the execution of capital sentences passed in the Punjáb.

**Mahrátta* (8), 29th June; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 28th June.

country is anxious and feels that full justice is not done to them? Will the Government of India now at least confess their glaring negligence in the matter, and see the force of public opinion behind such appeals before replying to them?" [While commenting on the Government of India's reply to Sir H. A Wadia's request for the postponement of the execution of capital sentences in the Punjáb, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—The Government of India have shown no wisdom in giving such an unsympathetic reply to the appeals that were made to them from all parts of the country in this behalf. India's loyalty has been spoken of in high terms by the British Government. What is the use of this appreciation of its loyalty if the united appeal of the whole country is thus spurned? We still hope the Secretary of State will advise the Government of India to revise their decision in this respect so that India's traditional faith in British justice and liberality may be confirmed in the public mind.]

Comments on Mr. C. F. Andrews' letter asking for funds to enable an appeal being made to the Privy Council on behalf of the editor of the *Tribune*.

Sind Observer (13), 13th June.

22. The *Sind Observer* expresses indignation at Mr. C. F. Andrews' letter asking for funds to enable an appeal being made to the Privy Council on behalf of the editor of the *Tribune* and remarks:—"Evidently Mr. Andrews' cherished ideas concern themselves only with normally peaceful times, and cannot adapt themselves to a state of open rebellion, when brutal murders are committed, accompanied by acts of incendiarism and destruction of property and railways. Mr. Andrews blinds his eyes to the state of affairs at Láhore and Amritsar and prates of 'freedom' when the abuse of the freedom enjoyed by the Press contributed, in this and in some other instances, towards aggravating, if not creating, the state of dissatisfaction."

Comments on the appointment of the Indian Currency Committee.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd June.

23. "It is a characteristic of Indian administration which will not fail to strike outside observers and impartial critics as extraordinary that, after a century of British rule, the policy underlying its Government and the principles animating the progress of its people, should be discussed and laid down in London by men for whom it is not possible to appreciate its aspirations and understand its needs. The higher and the more responsible posts in the so-called 'Indian' services are filled by officers who are not Indian. Commissions and Committees of Inquiry into the affairs and requirements of the people of this country are composed mainly of non-Indians. The most prosperous 'Indian' industries and banking concerns are not in the hands of the children of the soil. The financial and currency problems of India have been settled by committees thousands of miles away from the country whose interests are at stake. With all the sincerest desire in the world to shape Indian policy and direct the course of Indian affairs in the best interests of the people of India, even angels will fail to perform the feat, and taking human nature as it is, it is hoping for the impossible to expect that either those who are moulding the destinies of this nation will carry out their mission, if left to themselves, to its best advantage, or that the people will be satisfied with the results achieved and the method of attaining them. ..... It is needless to say that, in the circumstances, the Currency Committee which will sit in London to inquire into the effects of war upon Indian exchange and currency and to recommend modifications therein with a view to placing them on a firm and sound footing will suffer from the serious drawbacks from which all such inquiries have suffered in the past. It is believed that the one Indian member of the Committee will adequately represent Indian interests, or perhaps that there are no special interests involved in the inquiry which cannot be represented by the non-Indian members. What is true of the composition of the Committee is true likewise of the material on which the Committee is to frame its decision. The Government of India, we understand, do not propose to invite witnesses from this country to give evidence before this Committee and to send the witnesses to England at public expense. That is, however, not all. Even if commercial bodies in the country are prepared to send their representatives at their

own expense, it is not certain if their voluntary service will be accepted. For, we learn that the Government of India are not prepared to do anything beyond ascertaining the wishes of the committee as to whether they desire to examine the witnesses at all. This attitude of the Government of India is as amazing as it is regrettable. This practical shutting out of evidence—and especially evidence that really matters—cannot but create the impression in the country that the authorities have already made up their mind as to the currency policy that is to be adopted and that the Committee is merely to register their decision. We feel that this is a matter in which the body of the general taxpayers is as much interested as any group of people engaged in commerce, industry or banking, if not more so. The needs of the nation as a whole are paramount and all vested interests are subordinate to them. A Government which acts and must act in all national affairs under the control of public opinion will look to these needs and safeguard the interests of the people. But a Government which is not in touch with the feelings of the peopie and is not responsible to them may adopt a policy which runs counter to the wishes of the nation. This is what has happened in the matter of India's currency and the exchange system."

24. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* considers it a defect in the composition of the Currency Commission that it contains no representatives of the Indian Industrial community or of those who largely deal in Indian industrial products. In order to inspire public confidence in the working of the commission the paper thinks it expedient to include a few more Indian representatives from amongst those Indians who are in England and France at the present time. If calls upon Government to explain why they should have dropped their original idea of taking evidence of those who are best fitted to speak on the question from the Indians point of view. It regrets that those whom the exchange problem most affects in this country are given no opportunity to express and argue out their views on the question before the commission. It declares the present arrangement regarding the commission as quite disappointing so far as India's interests are concerned and so asks Indian Merchants' Chambers all over India to urge Government to effect an early change therein.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 23rd June.

25. The Government of Bombay cancelled the unjust order of pre-censorship passed against the *Bombay Chronicle*. We now urge His Excellency the Governor to rescind the other unjust order also of Mr. Horniman's deportation. Indeed there is no reason now why this order should still continue in force. The Directors of the *Chronicle* have already given an explanation about the allusion to the use of soft-nosed bullets and they have also announced that the charge of distributing copies of the paper free to British soldiers is absolutely untrue. Even supposing for the sake of argument that Government cannot accept this explanation as satisfactory, to deport an editor on such grounds is to "hang a man for stealing a cucumber". Moreover, the treatment meted out to Mr. Horniman was not only harsh but we suspect that he has been sacrified to screen certain real offenders. When after a channel has been closed to prevent unpalatable facts from coming to light they see the light of day through some other opening, it is unwise to persist in keeping closed the original channel. We hope, therefore, that Sir George Lloyd will cancel the order of deportation and there are strong grounds for entertaining such a hope. Of the evil stars under whose baneful influence Bombay has been of late, the Honourable Mr. Cadell has become lustreless and Sir George Charmichael too is setting for a period of four months and a half. It is rumoured that the Honourable Mr. Curtis also is going on leave. Mr. Crump, a level-headed judge, is appointed in place of Sir G. Carmichael. For some years past both the posts on the Executive Council were monopolised by Revenue Officers. It is a good augury that this practice has been stopped and a Judicial Officer has been appointed to the vacant post. We conclude from all these signs that the new Governor, Sir George Lloyd, is just and watchful. Why should we not infer that this sense of justice will lead to the cancellation of the order of deportation against Mr. Horniman?

Request for cancellation of the order for Mr. Horniman's Deportation.

Kesari (109), 24th June.

26. "In another column will be found an interesting petition from Mr. Manilal Vyas, of Karáchi, to whose case reference has already been made in these columns. As will appear from the petition, the petitioner settled in Karáchi for trade in 1913, and commenced business as a commission agent and general merchant. After six years' peaceful residence, he is summarily and upon a moment's notice, without any cause being assigned for the step, ordered to 'remove himself forthwith from British India by rail from Karáchi.' For high-handed action, this order would be hard to beat, if the facts set forth in the petition are, as they appear to be, correct. We have given our opinion regarding Act III of 1864, and we agree with the contention raised by the petitioner that the order is illegal, and that he cannot be treated as a foreigner. If he was really a foreigner, the order such as the Commissioner of Sind was pleased to serve on Mr. Manilal Vyas in the circumstances set forth by him might easily become a *causa belli* on the part of a foreign state. But what steps can an Indian prince in alliance with His Majesty take to protect his subjects from ill-treatment by the suzerain power? In other words, can the suzerain power treat the subjects under its suzerainty as foreigners, and deal out summary justice as has been done in the case before us? Indeed, we have been accustomed to think that even foreigners expect and receive justice in the British Dominions. We hope, therefore, that His Excellency the Governor-in-Council will redress what on the face of it appears to be a cruel wrong even apart from the legal aspect."

Comments on the petition of Manilal Vyas, deported from Karáchi, to His Excellency the Governor.
Young India (16), 25th June.

27. Every moment we expect to take part in the celebrations for Germany's signing the peace treaty. The only thing that stands in the way is the universally condemned Rowlatt Act. As respect for public opinion has been the leading principle of all modern political reform it is but proper that the Act should be repealed. If that is done, Mr. Gandhi will not resume his *Satyagraha*, the Moderates will feel satisfied and the Nationalists will find the thorn of insult in their side removed. If the soreness felt by the Indian national leaders is thus removed India will celebrate the signing of the Peace a hundred times more joyfully than would otherwise be the case.

The Rowlatt Act should be repealed in view of the Peace celebration.
Sandesh (new), 24th June.

***28.** "It must be said that the circumstances in which the Peace Treaty is being signed do not promise a bright and cloudless future..... The Allies, it follows, will have to maintain an army ready to strike if they are to get Germany to abide by the terms of the Treaty. It looks as if the burden of this will fall mainly on the British Empire..... When all is said, the impression still forces itself that the British Empire will have to bear the brunt of the task of reconstructing civilisation. If this is so, it behoves all parts of it and all classes and communities in it to sink such of their differences as cannot be readily made up and settle down to work with the consciousness of the great task to which they are called..... India will freely and willingly sacrifice more out of gratitude and goodwill than she can be made to do by coercion. The proceedings at the last Imperial Conference showed that the self-governing Colonies appreciate India's contribution to the common stock of the Empire and are entirely favourable to reforms which will place her on an equality with themselves. Only perverse statemanship will throw away this great opportunity for consolidating the Empire. On the side of the Indian people there is the greatest desire to co-operate heartily with other parts of the Empire in promoting peace and goodwill, if the opportunity to do so is accorded to India on a footing of equality. We earnestly urge on the Government here and in England to trust India. The Reform Bill offers them a unique opportunity. English opinion on the Rowlatt Act is beginning to assert itself. Let the Rowlatt Act be repealed, let the internees be released, and let the Reform Act be brought into operation. India will respond to such a demonstration of English goodwill and confidence in a way which will

India's place in the British Empire.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 29th June.

surpass the most sanguine expectations of those who believe in the vital necessity of India to England and of England to India. Among such we count ourselves."

Alleged harsh treatment of the Savarkar brothers in the Andamans.
Kesari (109), 24th June.

29. That the concessions allowed to the most hardened criminals in the Andamans have been withheld from the two Savarkar brothers deserves condemnation. Andaman prisoners are allowed to see their relations once in five years, but Dr. Savarkar has been allowed to see his brothers for the first time these nine years though he has been trying to secure the permission to see them for four or five years past. And before the permission was accorded Mr. Ganesh Damodar Savarkar's wife died from disappointment at not being allowed to see her husband. This shows how hard-hearted is the treatment accorded to political prisoners by the authorities. As the Andaman climate not agreeing with Mr. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar has much reduced him in weight, humanitarian considerations require that he should be sent elsewhere. No body wants him to be sent to any particular place, but where is the difficulty to send him to some place that would agree with his health ?

Comments on the nominations of five Indians to cadetships at the Sandhurst College recently made by the Secretary of State.
Home Ruler (6), 14th June.

30. Referring to the nomination by the Secretary of State for India of five more Indian gentlemen for cadetship at the Sandhurst College, the *Home Ruler* remarks :—" We earnestly hoped that at least some of them, if not all, would be selected, not from the aristocracy as was done last year, but from men with higher education and other necessary qualifications than merely the family connections. We are, however, totally disappointed in this as the names of the five gentlemen now announced show that the old rule has been followed without an exception and that out of the selected candidates, two are *Kunwars*, one a *Nawab*, one a *Sahibzada* and one a *Bedi*. Thus besides the family connection which we have noticed from their names we are not aware of any other claim of these gentlemen to fill the new posts in the Army."

Reflections on the admission of an Indian to American citizenship.
Surya (new), 22nd June.

31. Referring to the American Federal Judge Beldow's decision in the case of Mr. Mohansing of Calcutta that as the Hindu belonged to the Aryan stock the word "white" included the Hindu also, the *Surya* writes :—Mr. Beldow's impartiality in admitting Mr. Mohansing to the American citizenship has shown to the world that American civilization is genuine and not superficial. The Judge has set an example for all those who seek to distinguish between the black skin and the white skin. Why should England not follow the example of America ? France, England and America know how much India has done to help them in re-establishing the world's peace and yet nothing is being done to remove the injustice being done to the Indians in South Africa and on Indian Railways. Is it not civilized England's duty, therefore, to see that things are not done that cast a stain on its civilization and to make all its colonies and dependencies to treat all British subjects with equality ? While the status of Indians is being raised outside the Empire, is it not shameful that in some of its parts they should be treated in a humiliating manner ?

The Afghan Foreign Minister's letter regarding propaganda work to win over Moslems and Hindus to the side of the Amir.
Mufid-e-Rozgár (140), 22nd June.

32. Referring to the comments of the *Akhbár-e-Islám* on the letter of the Afghan Foreign Minister to the Afghan envoy with the Government of India, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* says:—We are not so wise as the *Akhbár-e-Islám* so that we may brand a Moslem king with folly in a hurry. This is quite improper. In the first place there is no proof that the Foreign Minister is the writer of the letter in question. Secondly we know from experience that the style of this letter is different from that usually employed in state papers. Thirdly, the remark in the Foreign Minister's letter—" what law is this which runs counter to huma-

nity ? "—shows clearly that some clever Indians misled the poor Afghans. Now that peace *pourparlers* are in progress it is best to forget these things. [Elsewhere the paper remarks that the close of hostilities against Afghanistan has created a little calm in Muhammadan circles. In yet another place it criticises the Anglo-Indian papers for alleged anti-Moslem writings, and particularly deplores the act of those Musalmans and Moslem organs who try to curry favour by abusing a Muhammadan king. It holds that such conduct is against the tenets of Islám, and inquires to what extent those persons are loyal to Government who are so intoxicated by the wine of sycophancy that they are even ready to disobey religious commands.]

Reflections as to what terms will be imposed on the Amir.
Kesari (109), 24th June.

33. The Amir has indirectly suggested in his letter to the Viceroy that in view of the principles that have found acceptance throughout the world during the great war, the Government of India should assent to the complete independence of Afghanististan. The Government of India will not object to acknowledge in writing that Afghanistan is completely independent. But as Afghanistan is a backward country they will not fail to secure authority for themselves to build railways in it with a view to elevating it. Besides, in order to settle the question of the frontier tribes once for all they will stipulate that the Amir should agree to whatever steps they would take with regard to the tribal territory. Similarly in order to guard Afghanistan, and also India, against the Bolshevists they will free that country from its relations with Bokhara, Samarkand and the territory bordering on the Caspian, and will assume the responsibility of keeping a watch on those territories themselves. It is evident that after embodying these precautionary and far-sighted measures in the Rawalpindi treaty of peace there will be embodied no clause in it conflicting with the full independence of the Amir.

Prospects of Peace.
Servant of India (10), 26th June.

34. "The conclusion of the Peace Treaty is an event of momentous importance to the world. It opens a new epoch in the history of civilization and unfolds long and wide vistas of the possibilities of human advancement. But the responsibilities cast upon the leading nations are tremendous. High hopes have been roused everywhere about the future. Seeds of democratic and nationalistic principles have been sown broadcast in the East and in the West, and it is up to the great Powers to prove by their actions that the greatest war known to history was not fought in vain. The experience of the past was not very encouraging, and we can only hope for the best in the future."

Sánj Vartamán (33), 23rd and 24th June; *Hindusthán* (24), 23rd June; *Bombay Samáchár* (62), 23rd and 27th June; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 25th and 27th June; *Akhabár-e-Islám* (59), 26th June.

35. The preparations that are being made by the Allies lead us to think that the Allies themselves are not sure of Germany signing the peace treaty. They have, therefore, seen the wisdom of being fully prepared. Rumours coming from the enemy country point to the possibility of Germany eventually consenting to sign the peace. But as there is always some danger involved in believing news coming from enemy sources we shall not predict peace in the absence of any official statement. [In the subsequent issue the paper welcomes the official announcement made to the effect that Germany had consented to sign the peace and while breathing a sigh of relief hopes that a new era of industrial development will begin with the advent of peace. The *Hindusthán* hails with delight the news of Germany's consenting to sign the peace. It is, however, afraid that the world will not enjoy peace for a long time as the harsh terms imposed by the Allies on Germany will rankle in her heart and she will try to get her wrongs redressed. The *Bombay Samáchár* declares that it would be suicidal on the part of Germany to refuse to sign the peace. It approves of the firm attitude assumed by the Allies in their reply to Germany and does not think that Germany would be in a position to make any stand against the Allies. In a subsequent issue the paper expresses its

joy at the willingness shown by Germany to sign the peace and regards it as an admission on her part that the peace treaty is based on justice. It, therefore, hopes that the peace will not be short-lived. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* congratulates the Allies on their diplomacy in inducing Germany to sign the peace and considers it a very wise step on their part to have removed all restrictions placed on trading with that country. It hopes that the Allies will ensure the peace of the world by giving a judicious consideration to the grievances of Asiatic nations and giving them no ground to complain by a tactful adjustment of all their claims. In the subsequent issue while welcoming the news of Germany's willingness to sign the peace the paper asks Government to devise measures for the industrial development of India to enable her to meet German competition and also to show mercy to all the persons involved in the Punjáb disturbances with a view to strengthening the bonds of friendship between England and India. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* is also gratified at Germany's willingness to sign the peace. It is of opinion that it was very considerate on the part of the Allies to have removed trade restrictions against Germany and hopes that they will be equally considerate in dealing with Turkey and other smaller states.]

***36.** "We rejoice at the final victory of justice and freedom but at the same time ask the Allies to keep before their eyes the dictum of President Wilson that the end of the Associated Peoples was to establish the principle of 'settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignity, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship upon the basis of *free acceptance* of that setttlement by the people immediately concerned and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery,' which means 'Self-determination' pure and simple. That is the way to permanent Peace, that is the divine instrument of Justice which would prevent war and usher in an era of bliss and a reign of right and justice."

Mahrátta (8), 29th June.

37. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* states that the news about the permission accorded to the Turkish Peace Delegates to confer with the Allied statesmen has caused lively satisfaction among the Muhammadans. It urges the latter to hold a meeting with a view to establish the fact that the peace with Turkey will not affect Turkey only, but that it will have a bearing on the interests of the whole Moslem world; and also to declare expressly that the Indian Musalmans will never consent to the existing arrangements in the Hedjaz and to its separation from Turkey. [Elsewhere the paper pays a tribute to the services rendered by His Highness the Agha Khan in this connection, and characterises His Highness' utterances as a true interpretation of Moslem feelings. It also maintains that while the war has caused a great loss to the Allies, it has done no less harm to the Moselm countries. In yet another place it declares that the Musalmans are supremely anxious to know how far European statesmen will admit Turkish claims and deal honestly by Turkey.]

Turkey and the Peace Conference.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (140), 22nd June.

38. Mr. Montagu has well championed the cause of Muhammadans in his speech on the occasion of introducing the Indian Budget in Parliament. He deserves to be congratulated on his so ably representing the Moslem case. We believe if England and America remain firm in their opposition regarding the dismemberment of Turkey, other Powers will have to yield to those two great Powers in the end. England can well set an example to other Powers in this respect by renouncing her claim over Mesopotamia and thereby allowing the right of self-determination to it. If she takes such a bold step, it will once for all silence all other Powers in respect of this question and will considerably enhance the prestige and reputation of the British in the world. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* thinks that

Appeal to the British Government to preserve the integrity of Turkey.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 23rd June; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 23rd June.

Turkey was quite innocent up to the last though it was entrapped by the enemy into the war and so hopes that the Allies will take compassion on it in deciding its fate in the Peace Conference. It writes:—The British Government are in a position to use their influence in preserving the integrity of the Turkish Empire as far as possible. In the meanwhile the Muhammadans in India should encourage their Muslim representatives in London by immediatety sending an influential Muslim deputation to His Excellency the Viceroy. Elsewhere in the same issue an anonymous correspondent urges the Musalmans of Bombay to hold a public meeting in the matter of the Khaliphate and also to send a Muslim deputation to His Excellency the Viceroy with a view to impressing the acuteness of Muhammadan feeling on this question on the minds of British statesmen.]

Comments on the sinking of the German fleet at Scapa Flow.
Sánj Vartamán (33), 27th June.

39. The *Sánj Vartamán* denounces the sinking of the German fleet at Scapa Flow as an act of perfidy and writes:—Germany will have to pay compensation for the loss of the ships. Is the nation that is capable of such treachery on the very eve of peace fit to enter the League of Nations? It would be futile to hope that Germany will change after the peace. It would be equally futile to hope for the eradication of war after the conclusion of peace and the formation of the League of Nations. The Germans complain that the terms of the peace give a blow to their self-respect. But it is open to question whether the nation that violates one of the most important conditions of the armistice before the conclusion of peace at all possesses any self-respect. Its latest act of treachery affords a grave warning to the Allies.

Comments on the forfeiture of the security deposited by the keeper of the Shri Krishna Press, Karáchi.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd June.

40. "Governments, like individuals, are liable to sporadic inspirations. After duly convicting Mr. Durgadas Advani for having happened to be the printer of the press in which the pamphlet 'New Call' was printed in his absence, the Government have served an order on the prisoner that in addition to his punishment the security of Rs. 5,000 (500?) deposited under the Press Act has been forfeited. The idea of thus carrying the action home to the press itself seems to be very recent, because after the trial the Government appeared quiescent and satisfied. The alleged offence for which penalties are thus multiplied under different laws is that of sedition, and the case, we learn, is to be argued in the appellate court. The policy of inflicting several penalties for a single offence is indefensible. While Mr. Advani was lying sentenced for his delinquency, it was hardly fair to follow him up with a new punishment."

Young India (16), 28th June.

41. "Mr. Durgadas Advani, keeper of the Shri Ram Krishna Press at which the leaflet called *The New Call* was published, and Mr. Mariwalla, the writer of the leaflet, have, as our readers are aware, been tried and found guilty of sedition under the Indian Penal Code and sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for two years with a fine of Rs. 1,000 each. The convictions are under appeal. The appeal is likely to be heard in early July. And yet strange as it may appear, under section 4 of the Press Act of 1910, the security of Rs. 5,000 (500?) lodged by Mr. Durgadas has been forfeited on account of the printing of the leaflet *New Call*. Consequently it is reported that the publication of the *Home Ruler*, printed at Mr. Durgadas's Press, has been suspended. If such proceedings were taken by an individual, they would be considered malicious. Being taken by orders of a Government, the fiction 'no King can do wrong' is applicable and the Government remains immune from a suit for damages. The wholesome fiction is based upon the supposition that a king never does and never should do any wrong. But the basis is often forgotten and immunity from the ordinary consequences of a wrongful act is enjoyed by most Governments. In the present instance the wrong done to the printer as well as the public is totally unwarranted. In our opinion the local officials have overstepped the bounds of propriety. As a rule when there are proceedings in a court of law for sedition, there is no forfeiture of security for the same offence. The forfeiture of security clause is, we are often told, utilised when the authorities consider it inadvi-

sable to take legal proceedings by reason of such trials being likely to cause excitement. In this case there was a trial and no excitement. There can, therefore, be no justification for the forfeiture, the obvious inference (being?) that the Government did not want the *Home Ruler* to exist. We hope we are wrong in our inference. But in the absence of any other cause being shown, the conclusion we have drawn seems to be irresistable. And have not the Government prejudged the issue by forfeiting the security although appeal has been noted against the convictions? Will they refund the security if the convictions are set aside? Let us for a moment analyse the offending leaflet. The precious document will be found in another column. For the edification of the curious lines from various authors have been strung together anyhow. We admit that it is not an elegant publication; we admit that it is disjointed. But we fail to see any sedition in it. The purpose of the writer is clear. He exhorts his readers to suffer for securing justice. It is possible to produce from the speeches of many leading men passages equal in vehemence of language to the strongest passages in the *New Call*. Where the writer goes further than the speakers alluded to is as to the conventional methods adopted to secure justice. 'How long were they to bleat for justice', he asks. One may rightly take exception to the use of the expression 'bleat' as bad taste. But 'bad taste' is not sedition though we admit it is not *Satyagraha*. The writer's meaning is absolutely clear. For in almost the next sentence, he says 'Now indeed, were the men of India weaklings, if this moment of fighting a spiritual combat and achieving a spiritual triumph were to pass unemployed.' Again, 'Oh for a hundred thousand *Satyagrahis* with Truth on their lips and Ahinsa in their actions, prepared to sacrifice their all and all for their suffering prostrate mother!' We do not defend the leaflet. We have been in possession of it for some time, but we were loth to advertise it, as we considered it, and as we consider it now, to be devoid of merit. But the whole trend of the sheet is certainly anything but seditious. His Excellency the Governor of Bombay has a tough task before him. He is reputed to possess a level head and a mind of his own—certainly the official doings in Sind require a thorough over-hauling, if justice is to be done."

***42.** "Mr. L. A. Advani of the *Home Ruler* of Karáchi has prepared an illuminating statement which reveals an ugly picture of the unfortunate victims of the hated steam-roller of the Press Act. The statement shows that during the last three months or so securities were asked for from fourteen presses to the extent of Rs. 23,000, securities of Rs. 12,500 were forfeited of six papers, and new securities to the extent of Rs. 47,000 are asked for..... Thus rolls forth the soul-less steam-roller of the bureaucracy and crushes to dust its victims. Where is all this to end? The British people boast of having established their Western institutions in India, but have they brought with them their 'British character'? Is the British press in England crushed under the Press Act as the Indian press is in India? Where is the boasted liberty of speech, liberty of press and liberty of action which attends British citizenship? If Self-government is to follow this gagging of the press which truly represents the views of the people, of what earthly utility can it be? Democratic government is said to be a government by free discussion and agreement, but where can we expect to have that free discussion if the press is gagged as is being done now? Let the Government take heed and hold their hand in time that the Indian Press may not be driven to shut up their shops as a protest and thus deprive the Government of their valuable help in the administration of the country."

The hated steam-roller of the Press Act and its victims.
Mahrátta (8), 29th June.

43. Referring to the serving of a notice declaring forfeit the security deposited by the keeper of the Shri Krishna Press at which the *Home Ruler* was printed, the paper remarks:—"Coupled with the financial liabilities connected with the *New Call* case and the fact that a heavy security is now likely to be demanded, the serving of the notice makes the issue of the *Home Ruler* impossible for some time; and we have there-

Suspension of publication of the *Home Ruler* on account of forfeiture of security.
Home Ruler (6), 21st June.

fore with regret to suspend its publication..... The *Home Ruler* has, throughout, had like most nationalist organs to bear the brunt of heavy financial losses, but that its publiction is suspended is due to an official decree of fate to which we have to submit."

Comments on the withdrawal of the pre-censorship over the *Bombay Chronicle*.

New Times (9), 21st June; *Home Ruler* (6), 21st June.

44. "The pre-censorship order against the *Bombay Chronicle* has been withdrawn under the orders of the Bombay Government. Sir George Lloyd deserves thanks for this wise act which removes a cause of extreme irritation to the public mind. With a Governor of the qualities of Sir George, our Presidency may well look forward to an era of continuous progress." [The *Home Ruler* remarks:—"We are glad to notice that the *Bombay Chronicle* has after all been restored to a free life..... ... May we hope that in the matter of the deportation of Mr. Horniman also, the Government of Sir George Lloyd will see their way to cancel their order of deportation which has excited widespread feelings of dissatisfaction?"]

Sánj Vartamán (33), 21st June. Eng. cols.

45. "The whole of Bombay, indeed we might say the whole of India, and indeed that portion of the public that admires honest, outspoken and fearless journalism, is bound to hail with real pleasure the announcement that the ban of pre-censorship against the *Bombay Chronicle*, has, at last, been withdrawn. We congratulate the *Chronicle* on its newly-acquired freedom, but more than the paper itself, we congratulate the Government of Sir George Lloyd for retracting an invidious order. But the party that deserves the greatest congratulation is the public itself. Without the *Chronicle*, the public life of Bombay was as dull as ditch-water..... If, as is said, the people's voice is the voice of God, then the *Chronicle* wonderfully succeeded in giving shape and form to this voice. Thus in these days when we all speak so glibly about the liberty of speech and freedom of action—shibboleths more observed in their breach than in their observance—it signified something preposterously wrong that this able vehicle for conducting the people's voice should be muzzled..... What is the good of giving freedom to the paper, if the great advocate and champion of freedom is not at its helm? What is the good of giving freedom to the *Chronicle* if the one who breathed freedom into its heart is himself not free?..... We think this granting of freedom to the *Chronicle* becomes a sham and a delusion, as long as one, who has been deprived of his freedom for the sake of the paper, remains himself a stranger to freedom. We think, since His Excellency the Governor has started with an act of justice and reparation, he should complete his graceful action by removing the ban against Mr. Horniman's freedom."

The conversion of the *Sunday Tatler* into the *Bombay Review*, to be published twice weekly.

Sunday Tatler (15), 29th June.

*46. "It gives us great pleasure to announce that this journal will, from July next, be known as *The Bombay Review*, and be published twice weekly, every Tuesday and Friday. The next issue will appear on Friday. This change has been necessitated by the very gratifying demand that exists for a Moderate organ, which shall at once be independent in the expression of public opinion and free from racial or partisan bias of any kind whatsoever. In meeting this demand, it shall be the endeavour of the conductors of this journal to maintain unimpaired those traditions of loyalty to the British Throne and Empire and of sober, fearless expression of the thoughts and sentiments of the people which are associated with the life work of the great pioneers of Indian progress."

Comments on the appointment of the Honourable Mr. Crump to the Bombay Executive Council.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 29th June.

*47. "The Government of Bombay are to be congratulated on the excellent selection they have made of a successor to Sir George Carmichael who has gone to England on leave on medical certificate for four months and a half. Mr. Crump's service in connection with the Franchise Committee has been specially recognised in Lord Southborough's report. He is a singularly open and just-minded officer, and while, no

doubt, he shares, to some extent, the prejudices of his class, he may be thoroughly relied upon not to let them colour his judgment on public questions. With men like Mr. Crump as members of the Executive Council, the position of Indian Ministers will be the least detrimentally affected by the many checks and safeguards and vetoes of the Reform Scheme."

48. "Not a day passes when we do not hear bitter complaints as to the income-tax assessments in this town..... We are of opinion that complaints will not abate so long as the present method of believing those who, with a view to curry favour with officials directly responsible for assessment of income tax, escape themselves and make false and exaggerated reports for others' profits and incomes."

Complaint about income tax assesments at Shikárpur (Sind).
Sind Advocate (11), 12th June.

49. "The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye has given notice of his intention to move at the next session of the Bombay Legislative Council a resolution recommending to Government to take immediate steps to remedy the grievances of passengers to and from the ports south of Bombay, specially with regard to overcrowding on steamers, the want of sufficient accommodation on board and inadequacy of convenience at these ports. Mr. Paranjpye has moved in the matter not a day too soon. The way the steamship companies have been treating their passengers, specially the deck passengers, has been a longstanding and crying scandal. The boats are always overcrowded and the passengers are bundled on these steamers like cattle and the less said about the arrangements for their comforts during the voyage the better. The Bombay Steam Navigation Company, which controls most of the traffic to the ports on the Konkan Coast, and which in the absence of a coastal railway enjoys a monopoly of traffic, both human and mercantile, is the most sinning in this respect. Times out of number have the helpless passengers raised their feeble voice against the treatment meted out to them on board the steamers, but to no avail, since no concerted protest has been made strong enough to induce the management of the Company to remedy the prevailing state of things. The facilities for landing and other conveniences at the ports also leave very many things to desire. We are glad the whole question is at last coming up before the Council and we hope Government will treat the matter as one of urgency and deserving of sympathetic consideration. We would also suggest to Mr. Paranjpye to secure the permission of the Council to include ports north of Bombay also in the proposed enquiry."

Hardships of passengers by coasting steamers on the Konkan coast.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th June.

50. Mr. Raghuttamacharya Ramchandracharya, Jahagirdar, Bhuyar, taluka Indi, district Bijápur, Secretary, Inamdar Association, Bijápur, writes to the *Dnyán Prakásh*:—The Record of Rights Act first came into existence in 1903. By the Notification of 12th January 1914 Government exempted all Inam villages from the operation of this Act. In 1916 Government decided to cancel this order of exemption in the case of Inam villages whose survey settlement had not been made. Government cannot prepare a Record of Rights before a survey is made. There are several Inam villages whose survey has not been made. Many years back a rough survey was made of them simply for the assessment of judi and the Inamdars never acquiesced in it also. Obviously on the strength of this rough survey Government cannot proceed with the preparation of the Record of Rights. Section 216 of the Land Revenue Code clearly provides that Government cannot make a survey of Inam villages unless the Inamdars ask for it. Government never consulted the Inamdars when they withdrew the exemption from Inam villages in respect to the Record of Rights. The making of a survey of Inam villages depends upon the will of the Inamdars and Government cannot compel them to submit to it, and the Record of Rights cannot be prepared in respect of those villages whose survey has not been made. Though such is the case the Mamlatdar of Málsiras in the Sholápur District

A complaint from Inamdars in the Sholápur and Bijápur districts.
Dnyán Prakásh (41), 22nd June.

ordered last year the village officers of Bacheri not to pay any revenue collections to the Inamdar on the ground that he did not agree to a survey being made of his village. This year also orders have been issued that the revenue of the village in question should be paid into the treasury. The village officers had paid to the Inamdar of Bacheri Re. 1 collected by them, but that too the Mamlatdar recovered from him. Besides, the revenue officers have issued orders to one or two villages in the Bijápur District that they must agree to the preparation of the Record of Rights. Thus the rights of the Inamdars are being trampled under foot and all should endeavour, therefore, to secure redress from Government.

Recent anti-Indian legislation in South Africa.
Dnyán Prakásh (41), 26th June.

51. No one now needs to be told how very retrograde are the recommendations of the Select Committee appointed by the Union Government to inquire into the grievances of Indians in the Transvaal, as well as the Bill framed in accordance with those recommendations. No wonder this has caused considerable unrest among Indians in South Africa. A South African paper has given it as its opinion that the introduction of this Bill in the Union Parliament foreshadows the abandonment of the compromise arrived at between Mr. Gandhi and General Smuts. Mr. Gandhi inaugurated the *Satyagraha* movement in South Africa with a view to getting the grievances of Indians redressed but in the end he displayed his statesmanship by accepting a compromise so that the lot of the Indians might be improved at least to a small extent. On that occasion he even incurred the displeasure of his countrymen. The present Bill is an excellent illustration of how the action of Government themselves is sometimes responsible for spreading unrest by setting at naught their own pledges. Indians in South Africa naturally expect the Government of India to help them in their hour of need. The Indians knew beforehand that the appointment of the Select Committee was intended to deprive them of their rights and, therefore, they sent a deputation to interview the Viceroy. Instead of giving it an interview himself the Viceroy deputed Sir Thomas Holland to hear it. It appears from the South African paper *Swarajya* that the Indians there regarded this as an affront. They now realise that since they have no power in their own country they cannot command any respect in another. There are only two remedies to redress their wrongs, *viz.*, (1) the Imperial Government should veto the present measure, and (2) Indians should adopt a policy of retaliation in respect of the white people who come here from South Africa. It rests with others to employ the first remedy and the second cannot be employed until we control our administration. Indians in South Africa will now realise from the attitude adopted by the Union Government that unless India gets *Swarajaya* and unless she is able to retaliate all other movements will be of no avail.

Jám-e-Jamshed (26), 25th June.

52. The report of the Parliamentary Committee appointed to report on the grievances of Indians in South Africa is extremely disappointing to the Indian settlers in that colony. Its recommendations are most objectionable inasmuch as they are selfish, partial and based on racial distinctions. Such a policy not only injures the cause of friendship and co-operation of Asiatic nations with the white races; but it also encroaches on the rights of the former; and as such it can hardly be calculated to be productive of any good in future. Such a policy, bad as it is, will never prove advantageous to the prosperity and progress of the British and we hope the Government of India will be good enough to represent the opinion of the Indian public on this question to His Majesty's Government in England.

The condition of Indian labourers in Ceylon.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th June.

53. "A brief message from Madras states that a deputation of six gentlemen consisting of planters and Government officials is expected at Ootacamund from Ceylon to discuss with the Madras Government 'the questions connected with cooly emigration to Ceylon and the improvement of labour conditions'. The genesis of

this somewhat mysterious deputation is to be found in what the *Hindu* of Madras has aptly described as the 'Purdah' Commission which the Government of Ceylon appointed some time ago to investigate into the conditions of labour in Ceylon. This Commission sat behind closed doors and has, it seems, made some recommendations about the nature of which the public of Ceylon are still kept in the dark. From a letter of a Ceylon correspondent published in the *Hindu* it is not difficult to understand why so much secrecy was observed in regard to the Commission. Labour as such, whether Indian or Ceylonese, had no voice on the Commission, which was composed wholly of planters and Government officials, who, no doubt, were quite satisfied that the interests of labour were safe in their hands. We are not sure whether even the non-official public of Ceylon, excluding the semi-official European planting interest, had any representation on that body. The atmosphere of secrecy with which the whole business is being shrouded does not inspire confidence that the problem is being faced in a just and proper way. India is vitally interested in the problem of Ceylon labour and cannot let matters drift in the manner the Ceylon Governent are allowing it to do. There are over five lakhs of Indian labourers on the Ceylon plantations who are wholly voiceless. We have in these columns brought to light more than once the harsh and serf-like conditions in which these labourers are forced to pass their days on the plantations..... The planting community of Ceylon is, no doubt, alarmed at the agitation in India and Ceylon against the rule of absolutism they have been so long enjoying on the plantations. But the 'coolies', too, have their rights which civilized Governments must recognise, and Government must see that they are respected by the employers of labour. We cannot allow five lakhs of human beings to live in conditions of semi-slavery. We want to know what things are being done behind the purdah of secret Commissions in the name of employers' rights. The Government of India should insist on immediate publication of the Ceylon Labour Commission's Report and the draft ordinance before they entertain any proposal from the Ceylon Government. Also in any settlement of the problem the total abolition of imprisonment for labour offences must be a primary condition. Labour in Ceylon must also be adequately represented on the Legislative Council."

RAILWAYS.

54. The *Gujarâti Punch* deplores the indifference shown by the B. B. & C. I. Railway to the numerous grievances of third class passengers and asks the Railway authorities to issue instructions to the Station Masters of important railway stations to inspect third class carriages of passing trains with a view to relieving overcrowding and removing the nuisance caused by the uncleanly state of the latrines attached to these carriages.

Grievances of third class railway passengers.
Gujarâti Punch (22), 22nd June.

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Oriental Translator to Government.

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*Reported in advance.

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